

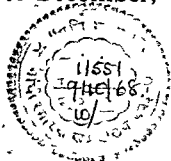
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Ramananda Chatterjee

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WHOLE
No 139

AT THE CROSS ROADS

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE

AT the present moment the World Drama is at the change of its acts and we do not know towards what denouement it is moving. This uncertainty has given rise to a universal perturbation of mind from which India is not free. But having remained for long outside the arena of living and creative history we are now in this crisis at a loss to know what to do or how to think. Our mind is enveloped in the dust storm of exaggerated hopes and fears and this blinds us to the limitation of facts. When the promise of self government suddenly showed signs of fulfilment we failed to see clearly what it meant to us and how to claim it with justice. The hope of it was spread before us like a feast before the famine stricken and we did not know whether there was more danger in gorging ourselves or in desisting from it. The cruelty of the situation lies in the abnormal condition to which we have come through long years of deprivation.

I am fully aware that we have not had the training of taking up the tremendous responsibility of governing our country. The present upheaval in the West clearly shows what terrible power has gradually been concentrated in certain parts of the world and what a menace it is to those who never had the opportunity or foresight to prepare to meet it. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind as to what would follow if India were completely left to herself. If the birth throes of the new Japan were to happen at the present time we know it would be throttled at its birth even as New Persia was.

But our problem is how are we to receive our lessons in political wisdom discreetly gradual? When an Englishman in England discusses this he bases his discussion on his full faith in his own countrymen. Personally I myself

have a great admiration for the English people. But it is not the best ideals of a people that govern a foreign country. The unnaturalness of the situation stands in the way and everything tending to encourage the baser passions of man—the contemptuous pride of power, the greed of acquisition,—comes uppermost. The responsibility of the weak is tremendous. They keep themselves too obscure to be able to claim human consideration and the conscience of the strong grows inactive for want of proper stimulus. It is sure to cause moral degeneracy in men to exercise habitually authority upon an alien people and therefore not to encounter the checks that arise from the relationship of natural sympathy. This is evident to us not only in the callous arrogance of the bureaucracy but also in the policy of most of the Anglo Indian newspapers whose consistent chorus of clamour against the least expression of Indian aspiration or the possibility of our gaining the slightest privilege now held by the rulers becomes virulently cruel. It creates a vicious circle—the helplessness of the governed sapping the moral manhood of the governors and that again reacting upon the governed prolonging and deepening their helplessness.

This is the reason why most of our countrymen find small consolation when they are told that the rights and the power of the government of their country will come to them gradually as they are being made fit from the hands which hold that power now. The gift is to be cautiously doled out to us by somebody who is critic judge and donor combined—and naturally, not an overenthusiastic donor. If we could be certain of a genuinely sympathetic guidance we would be content with very little at the commencement

But not having that full confidence in the bureaucratic agency of our donors, our people at the very outset claim those powers which, consciously or unconsciously, may be set against them in making it impossible for them to prove their fitness. No one can pretend to say that the British Government in India has been or ever can be disinterested. It is a dependency upon which depends the prosperity of England, though time may some day prove that such prosperity has not been for the good of the ruling country. But so long as the present cult of the self worship of the Nation prevails, the subject races can only expect the fragmentary crumbs of benefit, and not the bread of life, from the hands of the powerful. It will ever be easy for the latter to find plausible arguments to keep the real power in their own hands and to prolong that state in which such arguments cannot effectively be refuted. For the ideal of the Nation is not a moral one, —all its obligations being based upon selfishness with a capital S. It principally recognises expediency in its own conduct and power in that of its neighbours. And as expediency, in God's world, cannot wholly be dissociated from a moral foundation, it finds its place in the Nation's government of the alien people but it is there on sufferance, it is only secondary, and therefore the Nation's relationship with the non Europeans easily breaks out into rampage, which is, to speak mildly, not Christian.*

The question remains, what are we to do? Charity, on the one side, self-congratulatory and superior humble acceptance of small favours on the other side, laudatory and grateful,—this is not the proper solution. We must have power in order to claim justice which is real. It is a blessing that we have the opposition of the powerful to overcome, that a boon cannot easily be given to us, even when there is some amount of willingness on the part of the giver. We must gain it through victory and never otherwise.

But whenever we speak of power and victory, the words at once conjure up pictures in our minds of Dreadnoughts, long range guns and massacre of men by millions, because these belong to the great festivals of the religion of Nation worship,

when human sacrifices must be without limit. For political and commercial ambition is the ambition of cannibalism, and through its years of accumulation it must get ready for its carnival of suicide.

I cannot imagine that we shall ever be able to enter into competition about their own methods and objects with these Nation worshippers, and the boon of their power which they get from their gods is not for us. We must confess that, in spite of considerable exceptions, the Hindu population of India does not consist of martial races. We do not have any natural pleasure or pride in indulging in orgies of massacre for the sake of its glory. Some of our modern disciples of the West may blush to own it, but it is true that the religious training which we have got for ages has made us unfit for killing men with anything like a zest. No doubt, war was held to be a necessity, but only a particular body of men was specially trained for this work, and, for the rest of the members of society, even the killing of animals was held to be a sin. There is something very harshly unnatural and mock heroic in the shrill pitch to which we have tuned our voice while vociferating that we are fighters and we must be fighters. I do not mean to say that by training and proper incentives a large number of us cannot be made into soldiers, but at the same time it will serve no good purpose if we delude ourselves into thinking that this is a vocation of life in which we can excel. And if, for the want of natural ferocity in our blood, we cannot excel in this the Europeans, who at present hold the world in their grasp, our soldiers' training will merely entitle us to fight in a subordinate position which, from a material point of view, will bring us meagre benefits and from a higher one will be productive of evil.

I have been accused of going to the absurdity of the extreme for insisting upon an idealism which cannot be practical. But I assert that the absurdity is not in the idealism itself, but in our own moral shortsightedness. What they mean by saying that we must be practical is that we must live, and in this one cannot but agree, for suicide can never be an ultimate object for any creature. But fortunately for man his existence is not merely physical or even political. Man has attained all that is best in him by strongly believing

* See passages quoted from M. Anatole France *Gleanings* in this number.

that there are things for which he can afford to die. To ask him to lay down his life for some political good, and at the same time to be miserly where the moral good of humanity is in view, is to ask him to pay the highest price yet refuse to accept the thing of the highest value.

There are things in which men *do* go to extremity in the teeth of practical common sense. We have heard of instances where men, set adrift on the sea without provisions, have looked upon each other as possible food in case of emergency. But those exceptions among them who could not think of such an enormity in any conceivable circumstance, have done more permanent service to man by refusing to eat human flesh and dying, than those who survived by following the contrary course. And for nations also, it is wise not to indulge in cannibalism even at the risk of non survival. For true survival is to live beyond life.

We must bear in mind that European civilisation, which is based on militant Nationalism, is on its trial in this war. We do not know what is going to be the end of it, for this may not be the last of such wars in Europe. But one thing has been made quite evident, that the attainment of political power has not the moral ideal behind it which can give it the true permanence of finality. Greece still lives where she was truly great, not in her possessions, but in her mind, and Rome survived the wreck of Empires where she attained the immortal. For centuries the Jews have had no political existence, but they live in the best ideals of Europe, leaving its intellectual and spiritual life. The political ambitions of fighting races leave no other legacy to humanity but the legacy of ruins, and the power which grows tremendous, following its narrow channel of self seeking, is sure to burst its bonds and end in a deluge of destruction.

And therefore, let us not seek the power which is in killing men and plundering them, but the moral power to stand against it, the moral power to suffer—not merely in passive apathy, but in the enthusiasm of active purpose. This is an age of transition. The Dawn of a great Tomorrow is breaking through its bank of clouds and the call of New Life comes with its message that man's strength is of the spirit and not of the machine of organisation. It will be the greatest sign of weak-

ness in us,—the most abject defeat,—if we still cling to the atheistic faith that those nations who thrive upon their vicissitudes are great because they are powerful, and that sacrifices have to be brought to the altar of their false gods.

I know that an instinctive faith in the adequacy of moral ideals and the inner strength of the spirit for building up the world anew from its wreckage will be held as the sign of ignorance of world politics, for it does not wholly tally with the experience of the past. But all the fearful danger of the present day has come from that experience hardening into a crust obstructing the growth of spiritual humanity,—the humanity which aspires after an infinite inner perfection. The present-day Civilised Man, disillusioned and doubting, suffers from the moral senility of prudent worldliness that knows too much but does not believe. Faith is of the future, it may lead us into danger or apparent futility, but Truth waits there for us to be courted at the risk of death or failure.

The immense power of faith which man possesses has lately been concentrated on his material possibilities. He ignored all checks from his past experiences when he believed that he could fly in the air, and even repeated failures and deaths have not deterred him from attaining this seeming impossibility. But he has grown cynically sceptic concerning the infinite reality of the moral laws.

The time for this prudent man has come near its end. The world is waiting for the birth of the Child who believes more than he knows, who is to be the crowned King of the future, who will come amply supplied with provisions for his daring adventures in the moral world, for his explorations in the region of man's inner being.

We have heard that Modern Russia is floundering in its bottomless abyss of idealism because she has missed the sure foothold of the stern logic of Real Politik. We know very little of the history of the present revolution in Russia, and with the scanty materials in our hands we cannot be certain if she, in her tribulations, is giving expression to man's indomitable soul against prosperity built upon moral nihilism. All that we can say is that the time to judge has not yet come,—especially as Real Politik is in such a sorry plight itself. No doubt if

Russia *did* try to adjust herself to the orthodox tradition of Nation worship, she would be in a more comfortable situation to-day, but this tremendousness of her struggle and hopelessness of her tangles do not, in themselves, prove that she has gone astray. It is not unlikely that, as a nation, she will fail, but if she fails with the flag of true ideals in her

hands, then her failure will fade, like the morning star, only to usher in the sunrise of the New Age. If India must have her ambition, let it not be to scramble for the unholy feast of the barbarism of the past night, but to take her place in the procession of the morning going on the pilgrimage of truth,—the truth of man's soul

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

CHAPTER VII

SANDIP'S STORY

(6)

WE are men, we are kings we must have our tribute. Ever since we have come upon the Earth we have been plundering her, and the more we claimed, the more she submitted. From primeval days have we men been plucking fruits, cutting down trees, digging up the soil, killing beast, bird and fish. From the bottom of the sea, from underneath the ground, from the very jaws of death it has all been grabbing and grabbing and grabbing,—no strong box in Nature's store room has been respected or left unrifled.

The one delight of this Earth is to fulfil the claims of those who are men. She has been made fertile and beautiful and complete through her endless sacrifices to them. But for this, she would be lost in the wilderness, not knowing herself the doors of her heart shut, her diamonds and pearls never seeing the light.

Likewise, by sheer force of our claims, we men have opened up all the latent possibilities of women. In the process of surrendering themselves to us, they have ever gained their true greatness. Because they had to bring all the diamonds of their happiness and the pearls of their sorrow into our royal treasury, they have found their true wealth. So for men to accept is truly to give for women to give is truly to gain.

The demand I have just made from Bimala, however, is indeed a large one!

At first I felt scruples, for is it not the habit of man's mind to be in purposeless conflict with itself? I thought I had imposed too hard a task. My first impulse was to call her back, and tell her I would rather not make her life wretched by dragging her into all these troubles. I forgot, for the moment, that it was the mission of man to be aggressive to make woman's existence fruitful by stirring up disquiet in the depth of her passivity, to make the whole world blessed by churning up the immeasurable abyss of suffering! This is why man's hands are so strong, his grip so firm.

Bimala had been longing with all her heart that I, Sandip, should demand of her some great sacrifice,—should call her to her death. How else could she be happy? Had she not waited all these weary years only for an opportunity to weep out her heart,—so satiated was she with the monotony of her placid happiness? And therefore, at the very first sight of me, her heart's horizon darkened with the rain clouds of her impending days of anguish. If I pity her and save her from her sorrows, what then was the purpose of my being born a man?

The real reason of my qualms is that my demand happens to be for money. That savours of beggary, for money is man's, not woman's. That is why I had to make it a big figure. A thousand or two would have the air of petty theft. Fifty thousand has all the expense of romantic brigandage.

Ah, but riches should really have been

mine! So many of my desires have had to halt, again and again, on the road to accomplishment, simply for want of money. This does not become me! Had my fate been merely unjust, it could be forgiven,—but its bad taste is unpardonable. It is not simply a hardship that a man like me should be at his wit's end to pay his house rent, or should have to carefully count out the coins for an Intermediate Class railway ticket,—It is vulgar!

It is equally clear that Nikhil's paternal estates are a superfluity to him. For him it would not have been at all unbecoming to be poor. He would have cheerfully pulled in the double harness of indigent mediocrity with that precious master of his.

I should love to have, just for once, the chance to fling about fifty thousand rupees in the service of my country and to the satisfaction of my self. I am a nabob born, and it is a great dream of mine to get rid of this disguise of poverty, though it be for a day only, and see myself in my true character.

I have grave misgivings, however, as to Bimala ever getting that Rs. 50,000 with in her reach, so it will probably be only a thousand or two which will actually come to hand. Be it so. The wise man is content with half a loaf, or any fraction for that matter, rather than no bread.

I must return to these personal reflections of mine. Later News comes that I am wanted at once. Something has gone wrong.

It seems that the police have got a clue to the man who sank Mirjan's boat for us. He was an old offender. They are on his trail, but he should be too practised a hand to be caught blabbing. However, one never knows. Nikhil's back is up, and his manager may not be able to have things his own way.

"If I get into trouble, Sir," said the manager when I saw him, "I shall have to drag you in!"

"Where is the noose with which you can catch me?" I asked.

"I have a letter of yours, and several of Amulya Babu's."

I could now see that the letter marked urgent to which I had been hurried into writing a reply was wanted urgently for this purpose only. I am getting to learn quite a number of things.

The point now is, that the police must

be bribed and hush money paid to Mirjan for his boat. It is also becoming evident that much of the cost of this patriotic venture of ours will find its way as profit into the pockets of Nikhil's manager. However, I must shut my eyes to that for the present, for is he not shouting *Bande Mataram* as lustily as I am?

This kind of work has always to be carried on with leaky vessels which let as much through as they fetch in. We all have a hidden fund of moral judgment stored away within us and so I was about to wax indignant with the manager, and enter in my diary a tirade against the unreliability of our countrymen. But if there be a god I must acknowledge with gratitude to him that he has given me a clear seeing mind, which allows nothing inside or outside it to remain vague. I may delude others, but never myself. So I was unable to continue angry.

Whatever is true is neither good nor bad, but simply true, and that is Science. A lake is only the remnant of water which has not been sucked into the ground. Underneath the cult of *Bande Mataram*, as indeed at the bottom of all mundane affairs, there is a region of slime, whose absorbing power must be reckoned with. The manager will take what he wants, I also have my own wants. These lesser wants form a part of the wants of the great Cause,—the horse must be fed and the wheels must be oiled if the best progress is to be made.

The long and short of it is that money we must have, and that soon. We must take whatever comes the readiest, for we cannot afford to wait. I know that the immediate often swallows up the ultimate, that the Rs. 5000 of to-day may nip in the bud the Rs. 50,000 of to-morrow. But I must accept the penalty. Have I not often twitted Nikhil that they who walk in the paths of restraint have never known what sacrifice is? It is we greedy folk who have to sacrifice our greed at every step!

Of the cardinal sins of man, Desire is for men who are *men*—but Delusion which is only for cowards, hampers them. Because, delusion keeps them wrapped up in past and future, but is the very deuce for founding their footsteps in the present. These who are always straining their ears for the call of the remote, to the neglect of the call of the imminent, are like

Sakuntala* absorbed in the memories of her lover. The guest comes unheeded, and the curse descends losing for them the very object of their desire.

The other day I pressed Bimala's hand, and that touch still stirs her mind, as it vibrates in mine. Its thrill must not be deadened by repetition for then what is now music will descend to mere argument. There is at present no room in her mind for the question 'why? So I must not deprive Bimala, who is one of those creatures for whom illusion is necessary, of her full supply of it.

As for me, I have so much else to do that I shall have to be content for the present with the foam of the wine cup of passion. O man of desire! Curb your greed, and practice your hand on the harp of illusion till you can bring out all the delicate nuances of suggestion. This is not the time to drain the cup to the dregs.

(7)

Our work proceeds apace. But though we have shouted ourselves hoarse, proclaiming the Mussulmans to be our brethren, we have come to realise that we shall never be able to bring them wholly round to our side. So they must be suppressed altogether and made to understand that we are the masters. They are now showing their teeth, but one day they shall dance like tame bears to the tune we play.

"If the idea of a United India is a true one," objects Nikhil, "Mussulmans are a necessary part of it."

"Quite so," said I "but we must know their place and keep them there, otherwise they will constantly be giving trouble."

"So you want to make trouble to prevent trouble?"

"What, then, is your plan?"

"There is only one well known way of avoiding quarrels," said Nikhil meaningly.

I know that, like tales written by good people, Nikhil's discourse always ends in a moral. The strange part of it is, that with all his familiarity with moral precepts, he still believes in them! He is an incorrigible schoolboy. His only merit is his sincerity. The mischief with people like

him is that they will not admit the finality even of death, but keep their eyes always fixed on a hereafter.

I have long been nursing a plan which, if only I could carry it out, would set fire to the whole country. True patriotism will never be roused in our countrymen unless they can visualise the motherland. We must make a goddess of her. My colleagues saw the point at once. "Let us devise an appropriate image!" they exclaimed. "It will not do if you devise it," I admonished them. "We must get one of the current images accepted as representing the country,—the worship of the people must flow towards it along the deep cut grooves of custom."

But Nikhil needs must argue even about this. "We must not seek the help of illusions," he said to me some time ago, "for what we believe to be the true cause."

"Illusions are necessary for lesser minds," I said, "and to this class the greater portion of the world belongs. That is why divinities are set up in every country to keep up the illusions of the people, for men are only too aware of their weakness."

"No," he replied. "God is necessary to clear away our illusions. The divinities which keep them alive are false gods."

"What of that? If need be, even false gods must be invoked rather than let the work suffer. Unfortunately for us, our illusions are alive enough, but we do not know how to make them serve our purpose. Look at the Brahmins. In spite of our treating them as demi-gods, and untiringly taking the dust of their feet, they are a force going to waste."

"There will always be a large class of people, given to grovelling, who can never be made to do any thing unless they are bespattered with the dust of somebody's feet, be it on their heads or on their backs! What a pity if after keeping Brahmins saved up in our armoury for all these ages,—keen and serviceable,—they cannot be utilised to urge on this rabble in the time of our need."

But it is impossible to drive all this into Nikhil's head. He has such a prejudice in favour of truth,—as though there exists such an objective reality! How often have I tried to explain to him that where untruth truly exists, there it is indeed the truth. This was understood in our country in the old days, and so they had the

* Sakuntala after taking her lover went back to his kingdom promising to send for her when he lost in the thoughts of him that she failed to hear the offer from the guest who thereupon cured her. It is said that the object of her love would forgive all for her. 27

courage to declare that for those of little understanding untruth is the truth. For them, who can truly believe their country to be a goddess, her image will do duty for the truth. With our nature and our traditions we are unable to realise our country as she is, but we can easily bring ourselves to believe in her image. Those who want to do real work must not ignore this fact.

Nikhil only got excited. "Because you have lost the power of walking in the path of truth's attainment," he cried, "you keep waiting for some miraculous boon to drop from the skies! That is why when your service to the country has fallen centuries into arrears all you can think of is, to make of it an image and stretch out your hands in expectation of gratuitous favours."

"We want to perform the impossible," I said. "So our country needs must be made into a god."

"You mean you have no heart for possible tasks," replied Nikhil. "Whatever is already there is to be left undisturbed, yet there must be a supernatural result."

"Look here, Nikhil!" I said at length, thoroughly exasperated. "The things you have been saying are good enough as moral lessons. These ideas have served their purpose, as milk for babes, at one stage of man's evolution, but will no longer do, now that man has cut his teeth."

"Do we not see before our very eyes how things, of which we never even dreamt of sowing the seed, are sprouting up on every side? By what power? That of the deity in our country who is becoming manifest. It is for the genius of the age to give that deity its image. Genius does not argue, it creates. What the country imagines,—to it I only give form."

"I will spread it abroad that the goddess has vouchsafed me a dream. I will tell the Brahmins that they have been appointed her priests, and that their downfall has been due to their dereliction of duty in not seeing to the proper performance of her worship. Do you say I shall be uttering lies? No, say I, it is the truth—nay more, the truth which the country has so long been waiting to learn from my lips. If only I could get the opportunity to deliver my message, you would see the stupendous result."

"What I am afraid of," said Nikhil, "is, that my lifetime is limited and the result

you speak of is not the final result. It will have after effects which may not be immediately apparent."

"I only seek the result," said I, "which belongs to to-day."

"The result I seek," answered Nikhil, "belongs to all time."

Nikhil may have had his share of Bengal's greatest gift—imagination, but he has allowed it to be overshadowed and nearly killed by an exotic conscientiousness. Just look at the worship of Durga which Bengal has carried to such heights. That is one of her greatest achievements. I can swear that Durga is a political goddess and was conceived as the image of the *Shakti* of patriotism in the days when Bengal was praying to be delivered from Mussulman domination. What other province of India has succeeded in giving such wonderful visual expression to the ideal of its quest?

Nothing betrayed Nikhil's loss of the divine gift of imagination more conclusively than his reply to me. "During the Mussulman domination," he said, "the Marathas and the Sikhs asked for fruit from the arms which they themselves took up. The Bengali contented himself with placing weapons in the hands of his goddess and muttering incantations to her, and as his country did not really happen to be a goddess the only fruit he got was the lopped off heads of the goats and buffaloes of the sacrifice. The day that we seek the good of the country along the path of righteousness, He who is greater than our country will grant us true fruition."

The unfortunate part of it is that Nikhil's words sound so fine when put down on paper. My words, however, are not for being scribbled on paper, but to be scored into the heart of the country. The Pandit records his Treatise on Agriculture in printer's ink, but the cultivator, at the point of his plough, impresses his endeavour deep in the soil.

(8)

When I next saw Bimala I pitched my key high without further ado. "How often have I told you," I began, "that had I not seen you I never would have known all my country as One. I know not yet whether you rightly understand me. The gods are invisible only in their heaven,—on earth they show themselves to mortal men."

Bimala looked at me in a strange kind of way as she gravely replied "Indeed I understand you Sandip" This was the first time she called me plain Sandip

"Krishna," I continued, "whom Arjuna ordinarily knew only as the driver of his chariot, had also His universal aspect, of which, too, Arjuna had a vision one day, and that day he saw the Truth I have seen your Universal Aspect in my country. The Ganges and the Brahmaputra are the chains of gold that wind round and round your neck, in the woodland fringes, on the distant banks of the dark waters of the river, I have seen your collyrium-darkened eyelashes, the changeful sheen of your sari moves for me in the play of light and shade amongst the swaying shoots of green corn and the blazing summer heat which makes the whole sky lie gasping like a red tongued lion in the desert is nothing but your cruel radiance

"Since the goddess has vouchsafed her presence to her votary in such wonderful guise it is for me to proclaim her worship throughout our land and then shall the country gain new life. 'Your image make we in temple after temple.' But this our people have not yet fully realised. So I would call on them in your name and offer for their worship an image from which none shall be able to withhold belief. Oh give me this boon, this power."

Bimala's eyelids drooped and she became rigid in her seat like a figure of stone. Had I continued she would have gone off into a trance. When I ceased speaking she opened wide her eyes, and murmured with fixed gaze, as though still dazed, "O Traveller in the path of Destruction! Who is there that can stay your progress? Do I not see that none shall stand in the way of your desires? Kings shall lay their crowns at your feet the wealthy shall hasten to throw open their treasure for your accept-
ance, those who have nothing else shall beg to be allowed to offer their lives. Oh my king, my god! I have seen the immensity of your grandeur in my heart. Who am I, what am I in its presence? Ah, the awful power of Devastation! Never shall I truly live till it kills me utterly! I can hear it no longer, my heart is breaking!"

Bimala slid down from her seat and fell

at my feet, which she clasped, and then she sobbed and sobbed and sobbed

This is hypnotism indeed,—the charm which can subdue the world! No materials, no weapons,—but just the delusion of irresistible suggestion. Who says "Truth shall Triumph"? Delusion shall win in the end. The Bengali understood this when he conceived the image of the ten handed goddess astride her lion, and spread her worship in the land. Bengal must now create a new image to enchant and conquer the world. *Bande Mataram*!

I gently lifted Bimala back into her chair, and lest reaction should set in, I began again without losing time. "Queen! The Divine Mother has laid on me the duty of establishing her worship in the land. But, alas I am poor!"

Bimala was still flushed, her eyes clouded her accents thick, as she replied "You poor? Is not all that each one has yours? What are my caskets full of jewelry for? Drag away from me all my gold and gems for your worship. I have no use for them!"

Once before Bimala had offered up her ornaments. I am not usually in the habit of drawing lines, but I felt I had to draw the line there! I know why I feel this hesitation. It is for man to give ornaments to woman, to take them from her wounds his manliness.

But I must forget my self. Am I taking them? They are for the Divine Mother, to be poured in worship at her feet. Oh, but it must be a grand ceremony of worship such as the country has never beheld before! It must be a landmark in our history. It shall be my supreme legacy to the Nation. Ignorant men worship gods. I, Sandip shall create them!

But all this is a far cry. What about

* A quotation from the Upanishads

† There is a world of sentiment attached to the ornaments worn by women in Bengal. They are not merely indicative of the love and regard of the giver but the wearing of them symbolises all that is held best in wifehood—the constant solicitude for her husband's welfare, the successful performance of the material and spiritual duties of the household entrusted to her care. When the husband dies and the responsibility for the household changes hands then are all ornaments cast aside as a sign of the widow's renunciation of worldly concerns. At any other time the giving up of ornaments is always a sign of supreme distress and as such appeals acutely to the sense of chivalry of any Bengali who may happen to witness it. Tr

the urgent immediate? At least three thousand is indispensably necessary—five thousand would do roundly and nicely. But how on earth am I to mention money after the high flight we have just taken? And yet time is precious!

I crushed all hesitation under foot as I jumped up and made my plunge. 'Queen! Our purse is empty, our work about to stop!'

Bimla winced. I could see she was thinking of that impossible Rs 50,000. What a load she must have been carrying within her bosom, struggling under it, perhaps through sleepless nights! What else had she with which to express her loving worship? Debarred from offering her heart at my feet, she hankers to make this sum of money, so hopelessly large for her, the bearer of her imprisoned feelings. The thought of what she must have gone through gives me a twinge of pain, for she is now wholly mine. The wrench of plucking up the plant by the roots is over. It is now only careful tending and nurture that is needed.

'Queen!' said I, 'that Rs 50,000 is not particularly wanted just now. I calculate that, for the present, five thousand or even three will serve.'

The relief made her heart rebound. "I shall fetch you five thousand," she said in tones which seemed like an outburst of song—the song which Radhika of the *Vaishnava* lyrics sang

For my lover will I bind in my hair

The flower which has no equal in the three worlds!

—it is the same tune, the same song five thousand will I bring!

The narrow restraint of the flute brings out this quality of song. I must not allow the pressure of too much greed to flatter out the need; for, as I fear, music will give place to the questions 'why?' what is the use of so much?' 'How am I to get it?'—not a word of which will rhyme with what Radhika sang! So, as I was saying, illusion alone is real,—it is the flute itself, while truth is but its empty hollow. Nikhil has of late got a taste of that pure emptiness—one can see it in his face, which pains even me. But it was Nikhil's boast that he wanted the Truth, while

mine was that I would never let go illusion from my grasp. Each has been suited to his taste, so why complain?

To keep Bimla's heart in the rarefied air of idealism I cut short all further discussion over the five thousand rupees. I reverted to the demon-destroying goddess and her worship. When was the ceremony to be held and where? There is a great annual fair at Rumar, within Nikhil's estates where hundreds of thousands of pilgrims assemble. That would be a grand place to inaugurate the worship of our goddess!

Bimla waxed intensely enthusiastic. This was not the burning of foreign cloth or the people's granaries, so even Nikhil could have no objection,—so thought she. But I smiled inwardly. How little these two persons who have been together, day and night, for nine whole years, know of each other. They know something perhaps of their home life, but when it comes to outside concerns they are entirely at sea. They had cherished the belief that the harmony of the home with the outside was perfect. To-day they realise to their cost that it is too late to repair their neglect of years, and seek to harmonise them now.

What does it matter? Let those who have made the mistake learn their error by knocking against the world. Why need I bother about their plight? For the present I find it wearisome to keep Bimla soaring much longer, like a captive balloon, in regions ethereal. I had better get quite through with the matter in hand.

When Bimla rose to depart and had neared the door I remarked in my most casual manner "So, about the money."

Bimla halted and faced back as she said "At the end of the month, when our personal allowances are due."

"That, I am afraid, would be much too late."

"When do you want it then?"

"To-morrow."

'To-morrow you shall have it.'

(To be continued)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REFORM

I

THE English education of India! It is one of the most momentous events the world has ever seen and most difficult problems the human brain has ever faced

How to transplant the learning method and spirit of Western Europe to Middle Eastern Asia among a subject race who have been denied the contact with the realities of life and the world which the responsibility of government imposes who lack the sobering levelling and co-ordinating influence that comes among brethren in arms from life in the camp and the gazing on death in the battle field—who habitually shrink from contact with foreigners and ought to perform penances for visiting foreign lands—who have no fleet of their own? How to transplant European knowledge among such a people and make it grow as native of the soil—how to safeguard it during its period of acclimatisation and what modification is to allow its new environment to make in the exotic without upping its strength and true character?

It is a problem more difficult than the European conquest of Asia or the economic exploitation of the whole globe by the white races. It is a more difficult achievement than the annihilation of time and space by modern science the extinction of tropical diseases by European medical skill or the placing of fabrics woven from Berar cotton in Manchester in the Berar market at a lower cost than cloth woven in Berar itself. It is a hundred times more difficult than the victories of a Clix or a Pizarro over hundredfold odds. For, it is the conquest not of dead matter not of Nature not even of the human body, but of the mind—and the mind of a race intensely proud of a glorious though far off past whose higher minds prefer to be plunged in thought of their ancient philosophy and theology in silent deep disdain of their bustling political and economic masters who have rich sacred and vernacular literatures of their own that can still soothe the highest spirits and almost

satisfy the highest intellects. The fellow countrymen of Kalidas and Sankara *charya* of Abul Fazl and Zahuri are a different class of raw material in the hands of the English educationist than the Basuto the Maori and even the Algerine and the Cambodian.

II

The difficulties in the path of the English educationist in India are clear to the commonest observer. Every winter tourist notices them every Tory paper harps on them.

First we have not one people,—even if we confine ourselves to one province of India instead of generalising about the whole country. We have to deal with a variety of races, creeds and castes—and to a lesser extent of tongues also. The modern schoolmaster in India gets raw material which has not been standardised which means variety of machinery and method and multiplication of labour and cost. The academic out turn cannot have uniformity of finish and grade.

Then unlike Japan we have here a divorce between college and life. We read in our text books that men are born equal and free that the stars do not influence human life that the properties of a substance can be exhaustively learnt by laboratory analysis alone. We give intellectual assent to these propositions we prove them—in our answer papers—so satisfactorily as to secure first class marks. But we do not translate them into action we do not apply them to our life and society. Every Hindu or (Musahman) graduate regulates his marriages and very often his journeys by astrology which in the answer paper he has proved to be an exploded science. He often nurses a pigtail and believes in the occult power of *mahatmas* even when he has discarded the old rigid rules of food and touch which stand as corollaries to these things in our sacred books. Even social reformers who have celebrated widow marriages in their families in the teeth of social opposition still believe in their descent from mythical ancestors and different ate between members of the same

sub caste in the same district according to an utterly false tradition of *purya* and *gotra*. The Principal of a College (now no more) where chemistry was compulsory with all students, believes that he cured a case of cholera in his family by making the patient drink the washings of the butcher's knife in the temple of Kalighat. The Vice Chancellor of a learned University kept a Senate meeting waiting for half an hour, because he had scalded his fingers in cooking his own meals in the absence of any other member of the sub caste of Brahmins to which he belonged. The Vice Chancellor of another University never lives in any house where the initial *puya* (*gruha pravesha*) has not been performed. Yet another Vice Chancellor abstained from taking his lunch before washing himself pure from the unholy touch of the High Court, where he adorned the Bench. In hardly any College can all the Hindu members of the staff be induced to take even light refreshments together, and yet they are not Sanskritists, not orthodox Pandits, but Masters of modern European subjects and even Masters of Science or Kantian Philosophy.

It is, therefore, patent that the true spirit of science—the fearless acceptance of proved truth—is still wanting among all but a small fraction even of our intellectuals. The ranks from which our colleges draw their recruits, both pupils and teachers, are still medieval. Religious books still form the largest proportion of the works printed in India every year. European learning may have killed our ignorance, but not certainly our *impouissance de vivre* in the modern world.

The reason is, our society is afflicted with lateral paralysis. The whole of its left side (*avasthanga*) is inert. Our women are still medieval completely untouched by the spirit of modernism, ignorant of or indifferent to science. The action of the men must, therefore, follow an irregular vacillating line being the resultant of these two forces, the shastra-fugal M. Sc. or Ph.D. and the shastra-petal dead inertia of our better halves. The light that fails is the light of our harem. The woman is the cause of man's fall—from rationalism.

Nor can we ignore the economic factor. India is a very poor country, with an income per head which is only one twenty-second of the average Britisher's income. Modern education, on the other hand, is very

expensive, because it is so very progressive. Progress implies that every three or four years the old books, the old machines, the old apparatus and even the old teachers must be scrapped up, such frequent loss of material must be endured as the inevitable condition of keeping our efficiency unimpaired. A poor population has to find the money for their renewal. Our general poverty adversely affects our education, we often want the necessary advanced books and journals which must supplement the text books. We have few libraries worth the name, our centres of education often lack the civilised appliances and amenities of civilised life which alone can raise to a maximum the outturn of the (academic) workman.

The influence of our poverty is even worse on the intellectual side. If our University's efficiency depends upon the extent and value of the influence which the surrounding society exerts upon it, then the medieval atmosphere in which it is planted, the cheap antiquated unreliable conditions of life and things around it must prevent its growth to the fullest possible height and strength.

Nor has this defect been compensated for by the type of the men within the University itself. Leaving out the few honourable exceptions, there has been a dearth of genuine scholars and earnest educational workers. The conditions of the Government Education Service seem to have been expressly designed to exclude all self-respecting and able Indians from it, while the rapid rise in our cost of living during the last 30 years and the low pay in unaided colleges, has driven the best Indian scholars to other professions. As for Europeans, the Government has by its own admission failed to attract first-rate European talent to the cause of Indian education, in spite of its giving to I. E. S. officers, a salary incomparably higher than that paid in European universities and a position of independence and domination over Indian teachers on the ground of race alone. No Oxford Ovid cares to banish himself among the Gophs of Calcutta or Dyeca even for twice the pay of the Master of Trinity. We have to face the fact that in our Government colleges—which are the richest and best in the land—as a rule second class Indians are to day keeping in countenance third class European graduates while the missionary and unaided colleges

cannot afford to do anything better. The highest type of work is impossible with such labourers and the raw materials we have described above.

A University must be a brotherhood of scholars, it must have a corporate intellectual life, or it will fall short of its true function. But our universities are mere groups of disjointed colleges, often placed at the opposite extremes of a province as large as France. Even the recently started University classes for post graduate studies do not form a college or band of scholars living and working together. Their lecturers are either isolated educationists each ploughing his lonely furrow and with hardly a bowing acquaintance with his "colleagues" or professional lawyers, who come in the evening jaded from the dusty purlieus of the High Court, deliver their hour's lecture in the Darbhanga Buildings and are off to their homes. There is no regular organisation provided by the University, and existing social ideas stand in the way of any informal friendly gatherings by which all the professoriate of the University itself (leaving the staffs of the affiliated colleges out of account) can meet together and exchange ideas. No educational journal, like the *Times Educational Supplement* or the *Athenæum* is widely read and eagerly contributed to by the University staff, many never read them from year's end to year's end. Thus our highest teachers (with a few exceptions) have no knowledge of the latest development of pedagogics, often no knowledge of the latest books on their subjects and of the present position of debatable points as treated in the journals of learned societies. M. A. candidates have to study the history of England under George III. The learned University Lecturer only lectures on it, i. e., he dictates notes consisting solely of a page by page epitome of Lecky, in blissful ignorance of the fact that Lecky's book is now forty years out of date and that it has to be supplemented by dipping into the Cambridge Modern History, the Political History of England, and the writings of Dr. Holland Rose. Napiers' *Peninsular War* is still prescribed as a text book, though it is ninety years old, and was written before the publication of Wellington's *Despatches*, the Spanish histories, and most of the French and English memoirs and state papers. While Oman's work on the sub-

ject, the latest and best, is not even mentioned by name. Such is the guidance in study which our highest students receive from the highest members of our University staff. No wonder if both fall into the same pit.

Nor should climatic conditions be forgotten in explaining the comparative barrenness of English education in India. Calcutta is a vapour bath for most parts of the year. It is free from malaria, no doubt, but strenuous mental toil is impossible within it. Every year we pay a heavy toll of the lives of some of the best intellects among our youth whom we force to grill here for six years, others escape with their degrees and lives, but carry only the empty shells of their brains into the outer world.

The handicap placed by a foreign medium of teaching and examination and the foreign language of all our text books, advanced works and learned journals has been fully discussed in our January Number.

III

Such is the educational position in India as it appears at a hurried view. It is gloomy enough to chill one's ardour and faith in the future. But we do not despair. We are hopeful not so much because some of the above generalisations require modifications, considerably weakening their force, it is rather because the above picture does not tell the whole truth but leaves out certain elements of hope which are known only to deep thinkers and experienced observers among us. And these we shall here recount.

After all the atmosphere in Bengal is, mainly for historical and partly for racial reasons, more highly charged with the modern spirit than that of any other province of India. (We have in our view the average man, in this comparison.) It is unhistoric to say that the British Government (or missions) in Bengal have forced a foreign culture on an unwilling people. On the contrary, the Bengalis for more than a hundred years past, have been willingly, eagerly taking to English education and mostly paying for it. (The state contribution if we leave out the inspection and office expenses and the cost of buildings amounts to a small fraction only of the annual cost per pupil.) The result is that we have long passed the

dangerous first stage of English education in India when the pouring of the new wine into the old bottles led to the bursting of the bottles. Bengal, first among the Indian provinces, has solved the problem of harmonising the East and the West in literature, thought and to a great extent in life, too,—but not in the narrow circle of caste usage (Here I speak of the higher minds who set the tone to society) Bengal, in the person of her son Ram Mohun Roy, has evolved a philosophy for India in the new age. In the words of Tagore, "he has built a bridge between the East and the West." So too, has Bankim Chandra done in literature and Vivekananda in monachism.

Secondly, the English educationist in Bengal must rejoice that he has the most keen witted race in Asia to deal with. The people here have a tradition of learned poverty, of plain living and high thinking, which goes back for more than twelve centuries. No doubt circumstances have changed in our own days, but the outlook upon life which holds that Man liveth not by bread alone has not ceased to be comprehensible to the Hindu. He is not dead to the things of the mind. The new fire of English knowledge does light upon combustible material here.

The Bengali students, especially the younger ones among them, are generally eager to earn and ready to work hard, (often too hard). They have not to be baptised into a new life of the intellect, they only require true guides.

Then, again, though for economic causes one may deplore that boys of all ranks and incomes come to school we must recognise the advantage that the college teacher has the entire youth of a nation to pick his pupils from. True, interdining and inter marriage among the castes are not yet prevalent in Bengal, but here, alone in the continent of India, the caste differences have almost reached the vanishing point as regards ways of life and thought, our population is homogeneous, which is far from the case in Bombay or Madras. And we have also only one vernacular for nearly 45 millions of souls living in one compact territory under one government and one University.

Even the poverty of the hitherto neglected and negligent castes, who are now sending their boys to our schools, is an asset to the educationist. It infuses

ardour into the work of the class and raises the intellectual tone of the whole school. As Mr W F Rawnsley writes in the *Times*, "Boys in a good day school are much more keen to learn than the boys in a boarding school. It is because they all know that they have to get their living by their brains."

Our strongest sign of hope is that a true Renaissance took place in Bengal about the middle of the 19th century, and influenced our life, thought, literature, art, and (secretly but steadily) our society too, to a degree comparable only with the effect of the Revival of Learning on Europe. It has produced a literature and an art that have fully assimilated the spirit of the West, while they have solved the more difficult problem of harmonising the East and the West, without rejecting what is good in either. There has been, among us, a real new birth of the intellect. The most recent examples of it are the many provincial and even district societies for conducting researches in our archaeology, history, philology, and ethnology. They are conducted exclusively by Indians and use the vernacular medium, but they are mostly inspired by western standards and follow the western scientific method of inquiry. The exotic has taken root in India's coral strand and is bearing fruit.

Even Hindu society itself is not unaffected by the new spirit imported from the west, though here the change has, necessarily, been the slowest. The majority are still conservative, but the minority of reformers and rationalists are no longer negligible and every year sees an increase in their number and the thinning of the ranks of the Old Guards of the *ancien regime* by the pitiless tireless hand of Time. Anglo Indian officers who had retired to England, have, after every fresh visit to India, declared in public that the country is changing so rapidly that they could hardly recognise the land and the people they had known so well only five years before. The sleeper is awake.

For instance, the pig tail of which there has been an atavistic revival of late, is now greeted with a grin from all sensible Hindus, whereas a generation ago it used to extort a *pranam*. Our women have been reading the terribly modern novels and vernacular magazines, though they are as yet afraid to take action as the mother in law is still the home ruler. But

she will be soon called to the realm of the blessed Pandits' sons are declining to be pandits and becoming 'gentlemen'

IV

There is then no ground for despairing. The problem is really one of improvement how to make the University more efficient how to get the best value for the money now being spent on it or likely to be given to it in future? We shall here indicate the chief lines of progress required by indicating its chief defects to day.

(1) The supreme need of the day is the education of the Indian professoriate in the science of education. How to bring the latest ideas in pedagogics circulating in Europe to bear promptly on the actual teaching work and influence the method of the professors and examiners of our University? This can be done in two ways by making every university lecturer go through a period of probation as assistant to a University Professor of mature experience and standing in the world of scholarship or by organising regular *symposia* on pedagogics and recent advances in each subject at which all the teaching staff must attend and participate in the discussion. Our highest teachers in each Department must be deputed to make frequent visits to Europe to keep themselves abreast of the latest advances in knowledge.

It is not enough that a professor has taken a high degree in India or Europe he must refresh his knowledge by periodical visits to the most progressive centres of learning in the West or show by his original researches that he has kept touch with the latest research in his special department.

(2) To attract the best brains to the work of education a progressive ladder to the highest rewards of the profession should be set up by the Universities. A young teacher ought to be made to feel that he will be promoted according to the work that he can place before recognised critics of his subject and not according to colour or hok and corner jobbery. Every post in the University post graduate colleges ought to be widely advertised at least four months in advance and a statement of the qualifications and list of published works of the selected candidate should be published by the Board of Appointments. But what do we find in actual practice? A teacher of physics in a

technical college is superannuated from Government service after receiving two or three extensions beyond the age for compulsory retirement, he is then appointed Registrar of the University and renders his term memorable by three successive leakages of question papers and gross mismanagement of office and then instead of retiring to sorely needed rest is suddenly appointed University Professor of Botany! In many other cases the first notice the educational public have received of the creation of a lectureship at Calcutta has been the appointment of the incumbent! People have been known to be promised some post and then posts have been specially created for them by expanding the courses and even by ousting older lecturers from their special subjects in order to give the young favourites some subject which they can teach. An assistant is forced upon the University Professor of Chemistry, who protests that he does not require one. When the young man joins his post it is found that in the special branch of Chemistry which he is fit to teach there are already enough teachers on the staff, but he must be provided with work by order, and so the staff of the science college has to be reshuffled in order to carry out the mandate. The secret is that this young man, when adorning a mufassil college had secured a promise of employment at Calcutta! Thus men are not selected with a view to the posts but posts are twisted and modified to suit the men. Square pegs are put into round holes because the pegs have been purchased and cannot be thrown away. And this is the condition of an institution where every teacher ought to be a specialist. This utter want of principle and even common business method this relegation of everything to the discretion or caprice of one dread dictator, is not only fatal to the advancement of learning but is the most effectual method that can be devised for keeping out men of real ability and character, and putting a shoddy self advertiser type of work—and a very small quantity of that too—in return for the expenditure of lakhs of rupees.

(3) A true university is a brotherhood of scholars. Its members must have an organic unity. To secure this end and also to ensure the economy of talent or the arrangement under which a specialist

lectures on his own special branch and on nothing else it is necessary to have concentration of the higher studies. Every where post graduate studies are directly undertaken by the university and not left to its constituent colleges. Such is the trend of educational theory and practice in Europe.

But in Bengal it is not without grave dangers. The European Universities which follow this practice are small city republics in which the defects of one can be avoided and partly counteracted by its neighbours. But when we have only one university for a country half as large as France the evils of centralisation are incurable. They infect the educational atmosphere of the entire nation as there is no rival institution within reach. The megalomaniac truncates the constituent colleges by depriving them of the power of M. A. and Honours teaching. He robs the staffs of these colleges by luring away their best professors to his University College sometimes at a day's notice. He commandeers their scientific apparatus for advanced laboratory work for his Central College of science leaving them only fit for the teaching of elementary science and their professors absolutely unable to do private research work in the comparative leisure which men enjoy in the mufassil. The big octopus of the Central University college with its silver tentacles sucks in the ambition, the brain, the energy of the professoriate of an entire country and throws away to the other colleges the crushed and dead limbs. There cannot be a great University without great constituent colleges. The man who rolls in wealth while his sons starve in slums or live in wolf houses has a very limited duration of greatness.

And the evil of such centralisation is intensified when the megalomaniac follows not fixed general principles but personal discretion and a special rule or violation of rule for each individual when he shuns publicity and slow orderly procedure and and prefers to act by sudden emergency strokes which leave no time for deliberation, discrimination and public notification when his activity is directed to whitewashing the exterior of the Temple of Athena without purifying the interior when he sends forth into the world pretentious courses of study and syllabuses of lectures while the actual teaching is exactly like that of a cramming college or

lecture institute—and when he takes no step to exclude examiners liable to personal influence, personal bias or a mean jealousy of rival institutions and rival professors. The character of the examination of the papers (not the printed questions) and the means by which success is known to be attained under such examiners influence the studies of our highest graduates, the printed syllabuses and the names of the lecturers count for nothing though they may serve as an eye wash for foreign visitors. In this grove of Saraswati the trees expect to be judged by their leaves (self fluttered) and not by their fruits.

But where lies the remedy? No body would suggest the closing of the University colleges and a return to the old state of things. But the present arrangement is admittedly defective. Let these defects be cured. First while certain branches of advanced study should be carried on under the university only, because only a few students select them and not more than one or two competent teachers of each of them can be found in all India—there is no reason why in the more popular branches (such as History, Pure Mathematics, General Philosophy, Inorganic Chemistry, &c.) certain well equipped colleges should not be allowed to carry on M. A. and Honours teaching. A specialist in a small subdivision of science or art may be allowed to carry on his teaching up to the highest degree in his own college and laboratory and the University students who elect that branch ought to be sent to him instead of the teacher being uprooted and transplanted to Darbhanga buildings. The present arrangement leaves no place under the University for isolated scholars to do their own quietly specialise and follow their own line to finality. They must all come to Calcutta conform to the same type, carry out the mandates of the megalomaniac lose their thin small voice in the Babel of the Council of Post graduate Studies and have their individuality their special gift crushed out by the system.

Secondly there should be some amount of decentralisation and clearly defined delegation of powers in the body that conducts the post graduate studies of the University. There is at present one man rule discretionary government, and not

the reign of law, privilege (in the Latin sense) and not fixed principle, closettings not public councils, special promotions not regular grading of the staff. It may do in emergency times but ought not to be the normal condition of a respectable university with a sixty years glorious history behind it. The Dictator ought to be replaced by the *Senatus*.

It may be argued that an inefficient or corrupt senate makes a dictator like Cæsar necessary for the public good. Our answer is *Look at Mexico*. It was a semi-barbarous country, torn by civil wars and subject to medieval conditions. Porfirio Díaz made himself dictator of it, he unscrupulously restored order, introduced the amenities of civilised life and for some years made Mexico take rank with third class European States—in newspaper reports. Then Díaz left his throne and Mexico is exactly where it was before, as if the interval of the reign of Díaz had been blotted out of its history. If as you argue a dictator was necessary in order to set our (senate) house in order, there is no knowing when he will cease to be necessary and those 'disqualified zamindars',—our Fellows—will become capable of managing their own affairs. Our Porfirio Díaz cannot last for ever. How will the 26 Boards, half a dozen Faculties, and every sub-committee appointed by the university, of which he is now chairman manage to do their work when in the natural course of time, the beams of Saraswati are withdrawn from them? Is the Universal monarch (*Chakra varti Sam bud dha gama*) training any successor any vizier to take his place? If not he will leave behind him worse chaos than before his rise to power.

Another sinister development of our University during the regime of Dr Sarbajit has been the deposition of the Vice-Chancellor from the control of its highest and special work. The University has now gigantic Arts and Science classes for the Mastership degrees with several hundreds of lectures and a salary fund amounting to lakhs of Rupees. The whole of this department has been placed under the control of Sir Asutosh as President of the Council of Higher Studies, though he ceased to be Vice-Chancellor 5 years ago, all this enormous power and *patronage* continues still in his hands and the poor nominal Vice-Chancellor presides over some clerks, small

colleges shorn of all (—and in future of Honours teaching) and petty examinations for the 1 A or B A Pass degrees. Thus there are now two Kings in our Senate House. The Vice-Chancellor *de jure*, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, and the Vice-Chancellor *de facto* to whom all aspirants for office, degrees, chairs and even academic favours and pardons, look up. This is not a healthy state of things. Is it going to be continued by Dr Sadler?

We insist upon publicity, fixed principles, corporate management and the rigid exclusion of the personal element in the government of the Higher Studies of the university because we want to avoid the fate of Mexico. We want continuity of policy and action, and not the uncertainty, the wide variation, the jobbery that must inevitably spring from the discretionary government of one man subject to no public scrutiny, no advice of responsible counsellors, no audit by an independent board. If the good work done by Sir Asutosh Mukherji is to be perpetuated, he must follow the more difficult art of training his successors and working in co-operation with associates (in public) who can carry on his work. In Europe a statesman is judged by the permanence of the fabric he has built and not by his individual brilliancy. How far is this test applicable to our dictator? The incessant changes going on in the method of work, staff and management of our 'Higher Studies' prove that this showy crowning dome of our University can be kept standing only by feverish repair, buttressing and no small amount of lime wash. This cannot go on for ever.

Therefore, control of University affairs especially studies and examinations ought to be vested in an academic council composed of the teachers themselves as recommended by the Haldane Commission on the London University. But at Calcutta we have every thing left to the Senate and our Senate is a body in which educationists form a small minority. Even in bodies where a majority of educationists is necessary by statute the letter of the law is saved by electing practising lawyers who also happen to lecture once or twice a week at the Law College or the University Arts College and who thus elbow out the teachers by vocation. The

latter are at present nowhere in the management of the University.

A reference to the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council of Lord Curzon's time when the present Universities Act was passed shows that the proposal to allow the teachers of the affiliated colleges to elect a certain proportion of the Fellows was opposed by the Honble Dr Ashutosh Mukhopadhyay. The most natural portal for teachers to University management has been thus shut. The result is that real academic opinion has no means of making itself heard in the conduct of the affairs of the University. Under the existing conditions independent and self-respecting teachers cannot get into the Senate in sufficient numbers and the few that do are powerless to stem the tide. This is exactly the atmosphere that nourishes one man rule. The Senate House is an annexe to the High Court.

The anonymous author of the recent Aberdeen pamphlet *Reconstruction in the Universities* very wisely remarks. For what does a University exist if not to equip and train teachers to create their standards and to inspire their ideals? Historically this is the most ancient of all its functions. To transmit and extend knowledge is but a part of the mission of a university. It must hold aloft the lamp of truth and let its light shine. To it are entrusted the interests of knowledge and of culture within its bounds. Its teachers are representatives and proper grandists of the higher learning and should afford living illustration of its power, its beauty and its worth.

How our university falls short of this ideal is well known. Its teachers are powerless spiritless idealless servants of a machine. Its professoriate should form a general staff composed of the brains of the teaching profession deliberately and corporately organising the teaching setting the standard and realising the ideal. But at present it looks more like the Russian army a chaotic mass of small regiments or companies with a dictator at the top but no respectable and responsible officers in command.

When we have set our house in order as suggested above the next reform would be the establishment of co-ordination and reciprocity among the different universities in order to make the most of our ex-

isting talents and resources, and prevent needless duplication and waste of men and money. Books professors and (higher) students should be freely exchanged between them and each of them asked to specialise in some branch for the benefit of all India. For the higher branches of study India is not yet a continent, it would be wiser to treat it as a single unit.

The present attitude of one Indian University to another is that of armed neutrality — What the devil do you want here? Off my grass. Their foolish rivalry often makes them as ridiculous as two Bengal zamindars owning parts of the same estate. The University Professor of Economics at Allahabad started a Journal of Indian Economics. His rival at Calcutta not to be outdone immediately afterwards started another. Both the papers are now about a year in arrears of publication as there is not sufficient economic talent available in India for more than one high class economic paper. The transfer of students even advanced workers from one University to another has to follow a cumbrous dilatory procedure and is often as difficult as the migration of a criminal tribe from one district to another. The result is that we have an expert in a particular subject pining without students in his own University while students of other universities who want to study that subject cannot do so or have to be content with the third rate teaching of it. India as a whole is the loser by this enforced unnatural inter-provincial isolation.

Similarly the highest technical institutions should be imperilled and thrown open to all the Indian provinces. It is no good multiplying small second grade provincial institutions unless they lead up to a centre of the highest teaching in the subject.

University reform in Bengal will be incomplete without the establishment of a hill college for postgraduate studies and research work. The Bengali intellect is no doubt very keen but its dreamy imaginativeness proneness to unscientific enthusiasm and fondness for vague generalisation require to be counteracted by unform strenuous long continued labour the patient plodding observation and correct record of numerous minute particulars and scientifically ascertained facts,

out which all generalisations all theories must be futile. It is only by staying contentedly in the laboratory (or library) that the Bengali can hope to wipe out the reproach of intellectual barrenness and literary charlatanism after half a century of the highest European education.

Our countrymen do not sufficiently realise the immense amount of labour behind every advance, however slight in European science or even technology. In Germany research scholars work 16 hours a day from year's end to year's end and it is sometimes only after ten or even twenty years of such toil that they venture to publish the result to the world. In England the greatest scientists work experiment and observe and record for at least 12 hours a day. Such strenuous labour is not possible in the Bengal plains at any time and continuous labour throughout the year is impossible here.

If therefore the research work of our students and professors is not to be of mushroom growth and of mushroom duration if India is again to take her place among the enrichers of the world's stock of knowledge the necessary climatic conditions for doing such work must be supplied.

The scheme is not costly. Land may be acquired and houses built between Mong and Durgam say at Sonada and

* When that scholar and veteran educationist Sir Theodore Morrison revisited India as a member of the Public Services Commission and heard that new Universities for Bihar and the Central Provinces were under contemplation he urged that these should be located in the hills in order to get the best intellectual results for the money and also ensure the development of health and character (through sport) among the students. Another distinguished educationist Sir C. P. N. Ghosh pleaded for the establishment of a hill college for Bengal in his paper to the Indian Association twenty years ago. *The Modern Review* has also done it before independently.

the highest University workers in certain departments of study transferred there. Only advanced students need go there the bulk of our M.A. and M.Sc. candidates would study in the plains. The professors who would work in these bracing cool heights during eight months would descend to earth in the cold weather and give Darbhanga Buildings (or the Palit Ghosh Institute) the benefit of the wisdom they have garnered and the secrets they have extorted from Nature in their Himalayan hermitage. A practical beginning can be made with only ten lakhs of Rupees which would fully cover all initial expenses of land acquisition (special) laboratory and library building and quarters for 50 teachers and 300 students but not the books and apparatus. The cost of living and the recurring expenses would be about 50 per cent higher than in the plains, but the result would pay it ten times over.

We require a great statesman or patriot to undertake the bold step of standing sponsor to this idea and we can assure him of public support when the scheme is once launched. It can be done and Bengal ought to do it.

K. V. A.

* The price of food stuffs will be considerably cheaper than in Calcutta but be assured of Calcutta dyspepsia the boys will eat more and therefore cost more on the whole. Another point; Calcutta house rent is prohibitive at our hill college it will be nominal being only 5 per cent of the cost of the house.

Estimated total expenditure	
Price of land	Rs. 2 lakhs
Cost of levelling roads, recreation	1½
Laboratory, library and lecture rooms	2½
50 family quarters at Rs. 5,000 each	2½
300 seats at Rs. 500 each (including kitchen and out-houses)	1½
Total	10

If Government grants the land free the total lakhs may be devoted to the purchase of books and apparatus.

DUSK

The bird of daylight folds her yellow wings
Behind the violet shadowed hills afar
From heights of peace some secret poet

On dusky streams the poem of a star
The sky the silence, and the dusk are mine,
For they are Thine, and Thou art mine in

Ah God! my heart is turning crystalline
Seeing Thee play at crystal stars above!

Deep in my soul the voice of beauty lulls
My white flame heart and earth enchanted
Through the dim purpled dusk my listen
Throbs to the music of the dreaming skies

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA¹

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

IV RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS
IN PEACE*The Agents of a State in its Inter-
national Relations*

GENERAL FEATURES

DIPLOMACY forms the most important division of peace in modern International Law and there is a large number of rules which regulate the appointment, qualifications, rights and duties of ambassadors in works on the subject. It has been already noted that in the case of India we have but meagre information derivable from the sources as regards rights and obligations in peace times. We are in a better position so far as this division of our subject is concerned.

Diplomacy in the sense in which it is generally understood in modern times is something that could not be met with as such in Ancient India. The system of accrediting ambassadors *permanently* from one court to another was a feature that did not exist in those ages. It has also to be noted that the same act of rules as regards this subject did not prevail in all the epochs of our political history. In works of modern International Law it is stated that the features of embassies and the regulations regarding them that were current in the Middle Ages were somewhat different from those that obtain in modern times. We are told that till the age of Louis XI the 'envoy' was merely a person who was sent by one sovereign to another to carry on a special mission. It was this king that began the system of stationing ambassadors permanently in foreign courts. The growth of international relations in later ages made 'diplomacy' an absolutely necessary department of statecraft.

In India gradual changes are visible as regards the character, qualifications and duties of diplomatic ministers, as we proceed from the Vedic to the 'historic period' of the ancient history of India. Even in the period of its latest development diplo-

macy never reached the advance of modern times. Permanent embassies were, it would appear, unknown and were probably unnecessary even in the time of Kautilya.² The diplomatic minister in his world was one sent as in the Middle Ages in Europe to carry on some special business. Yet he was entrusted with the intricate task of issuing ultimatum before war, declaring war, concluding treaties and in general keeping his sovereign informed of the state of the defences and the comparative strength and weakness of the country to which he was sent.³ He performed very much the same functions as were performed by his prototype in the western world.

HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY IN INDIA

In the age of the *Mantras* we meet with the term *duta* (दूत) employed in the sense of 'messenger' to carry news. Agni is often mentioned in the Vedas as a *duta* who was supposed to perform the function of carrying the offerings made to the gods by the *Iṣṭamāna* (यजमान). He is used as the medium of communication between the Supreme and the sacrificer.⁴ The term here does not however signify any person who was to serve as an international agent.

The *Lajur Veda Samhita*⁵ discloses to

1. If as Megasthenes says there was the second department of Chandra Gupta's administration which looked after the foreigners there was no necessity for the institution of a diplomatic office corresponding to that of the consul for instance.

2. Kautilya *Arthashastra* Bk. I 16 & II 11 & 12. Also see *Manu* VII 66, 67 & 68.

3. *R. V.* I 12.1. The passage is

यदि दूत उच्यते होतार विश्ववधं च स यदस्य दूतः
etc.

Sayana in his gloss on the passage quotes the passage in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* —

अग्निदेवतां दूतं आसित् ।

4. *Taittiriya Samhita* IV 7.1.

दूताय च प्रहिताय च

दूत is explained by Sayana as परमेश्वरानां
आदिदेवताय and प्रहित as रक्षिता प्रहित इत्यर्थः ।

good family, eloquent, clever, sweet speech ed, faithful in delivering the message with which they are charged and endowed with good memory ²⁸ They should in addition be well versed in Sastras, be of good personality, fearless in their actions, and have knowledge of the feelings, forms and activities of others and of the conditions of time and place ²⁹ Dignity, courtesy, tact, courage and resolution and moderation in action are laid down as other characteristics of ambassadors ³⁰ It is clear from the above that the envoy, if he was to perform his duties satisfactorily, had to possess large powers of head, hand and heart His qualifications may be broadly classified under —

(1) Hereditary—High birth integrity, loyalty to the sovereign

(2) Moral and Social—Freedom from vices, honesty, strength of character, courtesy, forgiveness and eloquence

(3) Physical and Mental—Memory, boldness, resolution, activity, tact, power of rightly understanding men's thoughts and actions, and fearlessness

The ambassador accredited to a foreign court was thus a person who was to combine in himself many statesmanly qualities It is indeed a very high ideal that is proclaimed in the works of literature It is not possible for us to know exactly how many kings were able to realise this ideal of the ambassador of whom Sri Krishna was a splendid example

BEGINNING OF A DIPLOMATIC MISSION

When once a diplomatic minister was chosen for a particular mission, it is necessary that he should be given certain credentials that he may be received kindly by the foreign court It is natural that he should be invested with powers to act on behalf of his sovereign He should have certain means of introduction and general instructions whether oral or written as to the line of action he was to take in the country to which he was accredited We have no means of knowing what all credentials

were taken by an envoy in ancient India, corresponding for instance, to the 'letters of credence,' 'full powers,' 'general powers' 'passports' or the like We can only say that some instructions oral or written and some means of identification were absolutely necessary and must have been given to the envoys before they departed with their mission to another country

IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF DIPLOMATIC MINISTERS

Elaborate rules are laid down in the text books on international law as regards the sacredness and inviolability of the person and property of diplomatic ministers Ministers and their suite are, it is generally accepted, exempt from local jurisdiction We find this has also been the practice current in the various epochs of the ancient history of India There was the strong belief that any violence committed on the ambassador was in fact committed on the king who sent him, for he is the representative of his sovereign being only his mouthpiece ³¹ We read that a king should never slay an envoy under any circumstances That king who slays an envoy sinks into hell with all his ministers ³²

A diplomatic minister enjoyed in the ordinary course great privileges in the foreign court To put to death an envoy was opposed to the general conduct of kings and condemnable by the whole world ³³ The virtuous have always held that the ambassador was on no account and under no circumstances to be slain ³⁴ He was not to be put to death even if he be offensive and did some serious wrong ³⁵ Let him be armed with weapons, still he could not be killed ³⁶ Be he good or bad, being sent by others and representing another he did not deserve death ³⁷ Thus the ambassador could not be put to death.

But we find there were certain recog

31 *Pamyana Sund Kand* 52 sl 19

ब्रुवन्प्राये परात्र दत्तो वचमर्हति ।

32 *M Bh Santi Rajadharma* 8, v 26.

33 *Ramayana Sund Kand* 52, and 6

राजमर्हद्विषयं च लोकवृत्तमर्हति

34 *Ibid* sl 13.

35 and 36 *Ibid Yuddha* Sec 25 16 and 20

37 *Ibid Sund* Sec. 52 19

28 *Mahabharata, Santi Rajadharmanusazana* parva Sec 85 v 28

29. *Manu* VII 65 & 64 The same qualifications are met with in the *Sukraniti* I 174 & 175

30 *Kautilya Arthashastra* I 16

nised punishments** that could be meted out to an offending envoy—such as causing deformity of the limbs mutilation cropping off the hair and lastly there was the last result—to send away the ambassador that had given offence and call for a more satisfactory one to carry on the negotiations. An instance where the diplomatic minister because he could not be put to death had to be punished in one of the above ways is met with in the Ramayana where Ravana gives the order for the mutilation of Hanuman for he was an ambassador and could not be slain.

TERMINATION OF EMBASSIES

Naturally an embassy was terminated

33 वैद्यमहः च केशभिवातो मौढ्यं तथा वल्लभ
सन्निपात । एतान्दिदं ते प्रवदन्ति दृष्टान् etc
(*Ra Sind Kand 52 15*)

when the mission with which a minister was sent was satisfactorily settled. A particular embassy had necessarily to be terminated in the following cases —

(1) When the particular minister died in the course of his diplomatic work

(2) When the sovereign of the country which sent the minister died there was perhaps the end of the old order and the old minister might be recalled

(3) Similarly also on the death of the sovereign of the country to which he is accredited

(4) Lastly on the eve of the outbreak of war the diplomatic minister was invariably recalled. In fact as in the case of modern nations war was always preceded by the recall of the ambassador

We shall next pass on to the consideration of the other aspects of the subject—Alliances and Treaties

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

(Continued from the last number)

XII MEDICINE

SUPERSTITIONS die hard. The progress of rationalism is slow. Hippocrates and Galen held a knowledge of astronomy or rather astrology to be essential to physicians. In Europe even so late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries diseases were regarded as punishment of God and the intervention of priests was requisitioned where one should call on a physician or a surgeon (Pettigrew). Thus when after the return of Columbus's party from the newly discovered America to the Old World venereal diseases created havoc in every country of Europe people used to offer masses and prayers and alms to assuage the wrath of God. From the Popes and Cardinals down to the soldiers and traders every rank of society was infected by the disease. It was therefore, considered to be a visitation from heaven to punish the licentious and rectify the universal ribaldry of the times.

In fact the pseudo science of Galen (second century A D) continued long to be an incubus upon medical theory and

practice in Europe. Absurd formulae held the ground in the Christian pharmacy of continental Europe to comparatively modern times. Another age of talismans amulets the fetish of royal touch, etc., is yet fresh in human memory. Really scientific medicine is very recent (Meryon).

It is in the perspective of this history of medicine that Hindu contributions to its science and art have to be read. Hindu achievements in this field as in others have not only an historical importance but have some absolute value also. Besides from the standpoint of comparative chronology Hindu medicine has been ahead of the European and has been of service in its growth and development.

Two great names in Hindu medicine are Charaka (c from sixth to fourth century B C) the physician and Sushruta (early Christian era) the surgeon. Both these schools were in existence about 500 B C according to Hoernle. They were not the founders of their respective sciences but the premier organizers of the cumulative experience of previous centuries. In ob

servation lay their great strength the "natural history of Disease" was their special study. By the first and second centuries A. D. surgery was a well developed art. Many instruments were devised of which 127 are mentioned. The materia medica grew from age to age with the introduction of new drugs (vegetable animal and mineral), of which the therapeutic effects were tested by the "experiments" of researchers.

(1) The Hindus have had hospitals and dispensaries since at least the third century B. C. Asoka the Great was an educator and propagandist. Through his Rock Inscriptions he popularized, among other things, some of the more common medical recipes for the treatment of both men and animals. The first Christian hospital was built in the fourth century A. D. under Constantine.

(2) The smoking of datura leaves in asthma treatment of paralysis and dyspepsia by the modern use of croton tiglium etc., are modern in Europe but have come down in India since very old times (Royle).

(3) The Hindus were the first in the world to advocate the 'internal use of mercury'. Pliny knew only of its external use (first century). By the sixth century it was well established among Hindu practitioners. It is mentioned by Varahamihira along with iron (587) (Ray).

(4) The Greeks and Romans used metallic substances for external application. The Saracens are usually credited with their internal administration for the first time in the history of medicine. According to Le Clerc, the first physicians in Europe, who used mercury lived in the fifteenth century and were induced to do so from reading the works of Mesue of Damascus (750).

But in this as in other matters the Hindus anticipated the Saracens and in fact taught them. As Royle observes, the earliest of the Saracens had access to the writings of Charaka and Sushruta, who had given directions for the internal use of numerous metallic substances.

(5) In the prescriptions of Dr. Vagbhata mineral and natural salts had a conspicuous place. His book was translated into Arabic in the eighth century.

(6) From the sixth century on every Hindu treatise on materia medica has more or less recommended metallic preparations

for internal use. It was only after Paracelsus at the end of the sixteenth century that these had a recognised place in European science (Ray).

Hindu medicine has influenced the medical systems of other peoples of the world. The work of Indian physicians and pharmacologists was known in ancient Greece and Rome. The materia medica of the Hindus has influenced medieval European practice also through the Saracens.

(1) Hippocrates (450 B. C.), father of medicine, was familiar with Hindu drugs. Thus he mentions pepper, cardamom, ginger, cinnamon, cassia, etc. Theophrastus (300 B. C.) mentions *sicusindica* and others among medicinal plants. Dioscorides (first century A. D.), the most celebrated compiler of Greek materia medica mentions *valeriana hinduica*, *calamus aromaticus*, etc. Aetius (fifth century) mentions *collyrium indiarum*, *santalum*, and other characteristic Hindu medicaments. Similarly Paulus Aegineta (seventh century) prescribes the internal use of steel, cloves, rhubarb, trypheryum etc.

Pliny, the Roman contemporary of Dioscorides had also mentioned Indian medicinal plants and drugs. The preparations of the Hindu pharmaceutical laboratories were thus in use in Greece as well as in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world.

The Hindu inventions were bodily incorporated in the European system. The Indian names, e. g. *hardwickii*, *trypheryum* etc., were retained, also the original Hindu uses of the drugs. And all this before the age of Saracen intermediaries (Royle).

(2) Hindu physicians were superintendents of Saracen hospitals at Bagdad. Introduction of Indian drugs by Moslems has been acknowledged by their own medical men.

Serapion the earliest Saracen author of materia medica (eighth century), mentions the Hindu Charaka. So also his followers, Rhazes and Avicenna (Wilson).

The Saracen physicians were surprised at the boldness with which Hindu practitioners prescribed the internal use of powerful metallic drugs. 'Taleef Sharcef' (Playfair's translation) is quoted by Udoychand Dutt to indicate the Moslem admiration of the Hindu practice.

While oxide of arsenic the Hindu physicians used these drugs in rectification, but usually confine them to external application.

Aristotle's error was committed by Charaka and Sushruta also. They all regarded the heart to be the central organ and seat of consciousness. The nerves (sensory and motor) were believed to ascend to and descend from the heart.

Later investigators, however, corrected this mistake both in the East and the West. Like Galen the Greek (second century A. D.), the Tantrists and Yogaists of India came to know the truth that the brain (and the spinal cord) is the real organ of "mind."

According to Surgeon Major Bamandas Basu the nervous system is more accurately described in the mystical "Tantras" than in purely medical treatises. We get the following from "Shiva Samhita."

1 Familiarity with the brain and spinal cord

2 The idea that the central nervous system is composed of grey and white matters

3 Familiarity with the central canal of the spinal cord, and its connexion with the lateral ventricles of the brain (through the fourth and third ventricles)

4 Familiarity with the ganglia and plexuses of the cerebro spinal system

5 The idea that the brain is composed of "chandra kala" or convolutions resembling half moons

6 The idea that the six "chakras" are the vital and important sympathetic plexuses, presiding over all the functions of organic life (Yoga or contemplation means control over the functions of these plexuses)

According to Seal also, the enumeration by Yogaists of the spinal nerves with the connected sympathetic chain and ganglia, is a distinct improvement on the anatomical knowledge of Charaka and Sushruta,

(1) The "Susumna" is the central cord in the vertebral column. The two chains of sympathetic ganglia on the left and the right are named "Ida" and "Pingala" respectively. The sympathetic nerves have their main connection with Susumna at the solar plexus. There are 700 nerve cords in the sympathetic spinal system.

(2) The soul has its special seat within the "Brahma randhra" above the foramen of Monro and the middle commissure, but traverses the whole cerebro spinal axis, up and down, along the Susumna.

XV EMBRYOLOGY

It is desirable at the outset to remember two facts in connexion with modern embryology.

1 It is only in recent years, thanks to the most magnifying microscopes, that the science has made real progress through the study of cells ("cytology").

2 Even Darwin believed that the children resemble their parents because the parents contribute multitudes of minute particles from their own tissues to form the cells of their offspring. But this theory of "pangenesis" has been subsequently proved to be wrong (Rid).

In the history of science Hindu embryologists deserve recognition (i) as having made precise observations, some of which are great approximations to the latest demonstrated truths, and (ii) as having guessed at theories, some of which are eminently suggestive. As for pseudo-biological hypotheses, India has not been more prolific than Europe from Hippocrates to Buffon (Meyron).

Some of the facts observed and explained by Charaka and Sushruta are given below.

All the members of the human organism are formed at the same time, but are extremely small, as the first spring of the bamboo contains the leaves, etc., of the future plant (Wise). This idea of the development of the fertilized ovum, by "palingenesis" survived in India after a long struggle with rival theories. It is an established truth today that though we find cells of one type in glands, of another type in the brain, of another type in the blood, and so forth, nevertheless all of them sprang from one original single cell (Thomson).

Weisman's theory of "germinal continuity" is the greatest discovery of modern embryology. It is now held that "somatic" cells contribute absolutely nothing to the original germ plasma, that no parent ever produces a germ cell, that the individual inherits nothing from his parents, but both he and they obtain their characteristics from a common source, and that the line of descent or inheritance is from germ cell to germ cell, not from parents (Leighton, and Thomson). This recent idea about the physical basis of inheritance depends on the distinction between germ cells and body cells (somatic). It was guessed to a

certain extent by the Hindu biologists also in their controversy regarding the transmission of congenital deformities and constitutional diseases of parents to offspring.

Atreya held that "the parental seed (germ plasma) contains the whole parental organism in miniature or (in potentia), but it is independent of the parents' developed organs and is not necessarily affected by their idiosyncrasies or deformities". The germ plasma was described as an organic whole independent of the developed parental body and its organs. The physiological characters and predispositions of the offspring were explained as being determined by the constituent elements of this parental seed. The continued identity of the germ plasma from generation to generation may be taken as a corollary to this, though nowhere expressly stated (Seal).

The stages of foetal development described on the basis of postmortem operations and major operations in obstetric surgery have also much of the truth established in recent years.

XVI NATURAL HISTORY

Minerals, plants, and animals were objects of study among the ancients and the Greeks in India as in Europe. But nothing approaching the "sciences" of mineralogy, botany, and zoology was achieved anywhere.

The discovery of the microscope in 1683 is the real beginning of the study of plant and animal anatomies and of the internal structure of minerals. The birth of modern chemistry in the work of Priestley and Lavoisier at the end of the eighteenth century started the physiology of plants and animals as well as the determination of the composition and constitution of minerals. In 1809 exact measurements of crystalline forms of many minerals were made. The perfection of the microscope in 1867 has given a great impetus to all these sciences during the last half-century (Encyclopædia Britannica).

All previous studies in minerals had been under the thralldom of alchemy. The researchers were swayed by mythological and metaphysical notions. (Muir) Roger Bacon believed that the "philosopher's stone" was able to transform a million times its weight of base metal into gold. It was no unusual assertion that the

fortunate possessors of the "elixir of life" had been able to prolong their lives to 400 years and more (Meyer). Even Libavius (1616), who combated the excesses of Paracelsus and the employment of "secret remedies", believed in the transmutation of metals and the efficacy of potable gold (Ray).

Studies in plant life from Theophrastus (B.C. 370-286), "father of botany", down to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century were mere observations in agriculture, horticulture, forestry, pharmacy, etc. (Greene and Sachs). So also the investigations regarding animals did not go beyond the stage of "bio nomics", i.e., the lore of the farmer, gardener, sportsman, and field naturalist, including thremmatology or the science of breeding (Ray, Lankester).

In this "pre scientific" mineralogy, botany, and zoology the Hindu students of natural history also played a part. Considerable power of observation was exhibited, as well as remarkable precision in description, and suggestiveness in expression. Their nature study was harnessed to the practical needs of their socio economic life. It was minute and comprehensive, and so far as it went, avoided the fallacies of mal observation and non observation. Whatever be the value of the results achieved, the investigation was carried on in a genuine "scientific" spirit.

(a) MINERALS

The principal metals and gems were discovered, described, and utilized by the Hindus independently of any foreign help. In fact, in this branch of knowledge the people of India were the pioneers as in many others.

Mining has been in operation in India since the earliest times. The use of gems and precious stones as well as their identification also have a long history among the Hindus, (Saurindramohan Tagore, Ramdas Sen, and Yogeshchandra Roy).

1. The Hindus were the first to discover gold. (Roscoe and Schorlemmer).

2. The Hindus taught the world the art of extracting iron from the ores. (Roscoe and Schorlemmer).

3. Even in the Mosaic period (1491-50 B.C.) precious stones and gems were in use in India. (Ball).

4. Homer mentions tin probably by its Sanskrit name "kastira" (Birdwood).

rendered and attempted to ascend to a natural cause by classing together phenomena of the same kind (This scientific attitude of mind Whewell does not find in any non-Greek except the Hindu! He forgets altogether the claims of the Chinese)

2 Epoch by epoch Hindu scientific investigation was not more mixed up with metaphysics and superstitious hocus pocus than the European. It enlisted in its service the devotion of hosts of specialists in succession. Their sole object was the discovery of the positive truths of the universe or the laws of nature according to the lights of those days.

3 There thus grew up in India a vast amount of specialized scientific literature each branch with its own technical terminology. The positive sciences of the Hindus were not mere auxiliaries or hand maids to the architectonic science of *neeti* or *artha* (i.e. politics, economics and sociology). The sciences (*shas-tras*) on plant and animal life, veterinary topics, metals and gems, chemistry, surgery, embryology, anatomy, symptomology of diseases, arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, architecture, music (acoustics), etc. had independent status. Besides like *Pliny's Natural History*, there have been scientific encyclopedias in Sanskrit e.g., *Samhita* (sixth century A.D.).

4 Scientific investigation was not confined to any particular province of India to any race or class of the Hindu population. It was a cooperative undertaking, a process of cumulative effort in intellectual advance. Thus among the heroes of Hindu medicine, Charaka (c. 600 B.C.) belongs to the Punjab in the N.W., Sushruta (c. 100 A.D.) is claimed by the Punjab as well as Benares in the middle west, Vagbhata (c. 700) belongs to Sindh (western India), Vrinda (900) to the Deccan (middle south), Chakrapani (1050) to Bengal (eastern India), Saranga dharma (1350) to Rajputana (further west), Visnudeva (1350) to Vijayanagara (extreme south) and Narahari (seventeenth century) is claimed by Kashmir (extreme north) but belongs most probably to Maharashtra (western coasts).

5 No one hypothesis or theory dominated Hindu thought in any age or monopolized the researches of all investigators in successive epochs. The intellectual universe of the Hindus was pluralistic.

There were different schools criticizing, correcting and modifying one another's inquiries.

The schools of abstract philosophy grew ultimately to sixteen in the time of Madhvaacharya (1350). "though as a southerner," says Haraprasad Shastri, he omits the two Shaiva schools of Kashmir and puts the school of Buddhist philosophy into one. There were fifteen different schools of grammar in the sixth century B.C., ten different schools of politics and economics in the fourth century B.C., various schools of drama, turgu and dancing in the second century B.C. and also various schools of 'karma' or sexology about the same time.

The diversity of scientific doctrines in India may be illustrated by the differences of views regarding the nature of life. The Charvakas (materialists and sensationalists) held that life (as well as consciousness) is a result of peculiar combinations of dead matter (or the four elements) in organic forms even as the intoxicating property of spirituous liquors results from the fermentation of intoxicating rice and molasses. According to a second school (the Samkhya) life is neither bio-mechanical motion resulting therefrom. It 'is in reality a reflex activity, a resultant of the various concurrent activities of the sensorimotor, the emotional and the apperceptive reactions of the organism'. A third school (the Vedantist) rejects both these doctrines. According to this 'sensations do not explain life. Life must be regarded as a separate principle . . . prior to the senses' (Sail).

Another illustration may be given from Hindu physics. This relates to the various hypotheses of sound phenomena. One school held that the physical basis of audible sound is a specific quality of air and that air particles flow in currents in all directions. Another school e.g., that of Shanbara dharma held that it is not air currents but air waves, series of conjunctions and disjunctions of the air particles or molecules that constitute the sound physical. A third school held that the sound wave has its substrate not in air but in ether. Further Prashastapada held the hypothesis of transverse waves and was opposed by Udyotakara who held that of longitudinal waves.

6 The story of scientific investigation among the Hindus is thus like that among

other nations the story of a growth and development in critical inquiry, sceptical attitude and rationalism. Historically and statistically speaking superstition has not had a deeper and more extensive

hold on the Oriental intellect than on the Occidental.

(Concluded)

BLAHO KUMAR SARKAR

THE VALUE OF PHONETICS TO THE LANGUAGE STUDENT

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PHONETICS is the science of pronunciation, the science which has for its object the investigation of the formation of speech sounds and the ways in which these sounds are combined so as to form words and sentences. It is a science which has numerous practical applications, the most important of which is its application to the study of modern spoken languages.

The advantages of having a perfect pronunciation of a foreign language are well known, and it is not necessary to enlarge upon them here. It is further common knowledge that the average person still speaks foreign languages with an atrocious pronunciation, and there still is in some quarters a disposition to regard the person who can pronounce a foreign language perfectly as a natural genius, 'a born linguist' whose accomplishments it is useless to try to emulate. It is the work of the phonetician to demonstrate that the proper pronunciation of foreign languages is not the monopoly of a few geniuses but is within the reach of the majority of language learners.

The secret of good pronunciation is to learn it systematically, don't trust to 'picking it up' in a haphazard way. Find out the exact nature of every difficulty of pronunciation presented by the language you are studying, tackle the difficulties one at a time and use the most appropriate means for overcoming each.

If the language to be studied has been phonetically analysed the task of the learner is by no means a difficult one. The phonetician has discovered for him the exact nature of all or most of the difficulties of pronunciation, and he has formula

ted for him the most suitable methods of surmounting each of them. All the student has to do is to follow the instructions.

In the case of languages which have not yet been phonetically analysed the student has to make his own analysis to discover the difficulties of pronunciation and to devise for himself the means which will enable him to learn to pronounce correctly. He will be able to make the required analysis if he has a sound knowledge of phonetic theory and a specially trained ear, without such preparation his analysis, and consequently his pronunciation, is certain to be inaccurate.

We will now enumerate the main types of pronunciation difficulties and indicate shortly the appropriate means of dealing with each.

1. *The student must learn to hear the foreign sounds properly, and to remember their acoustic qualities.* He must be able to distinguish them by ear from each other and from the sounds of his mother tongue. Inability to discriminate by ear between one sound of the foreign language and another will often lead to wholesale confusion of words. The difficulty of understanding the spoken language is in consequence greatly increased. Thus if as some times happens an Indian cannot hear properly the difference between *hive* and *how* or between *form* and *farm* he will necessarily find it difficult to understand sentences containing these words. Again English people who cannot hear the difference between the Urdu sounds *t th t, th*, are bound to experience special difficulty in understanding a sentence containing such a word as *sath* (which they may mis-understand as *sat* or as *sath*). If the stu-

dent cannot discriminate by ear between sounds of the foreign language and those of his mother tongue he will substitute his own sounds for those of the foreign language when he speaks and his words, if intelligible at all will be hopelessly mispronounced. It is by no means difficult to cultivate the power of discriminating by ear between sounds and remembering the acoustic effect of foreign sounds. Systematic listening practice is what is required.

There is only one effective exercise for this purpose viz, the dictation by the teacher of meaningless words to be written down phonetically by the pupil. These words should contain both sounds of the foreign language and sounds of the mother tongue and the pupil should write the words down by means of a system which provides a distinct symbol for each sound dictated i.e. a phonetic system. The teacher will see from what has been written whether the pupil has heard rightly or wrongly. If he has heard wrongly, the teacher should immediately pronounce the wrong sound and the right one in alternation a number of times in order to impress the difference of sound on the pupil's mind. These ear training exercises should precede any attempts on the pupil's part to produce the sounds himself.

The student should be on his guard against the pernicious lists of supposed correspondences between the foreign sounds and sounds of the mother tongue which figure in so many grammars and other text books. If an English learner of an Indian language sees in his text book such a statement as 'The o of this language is pronounced as the English o in go,' he should immediately cross it out and say to himself 'The author of this book has evidently not been trained to hear sounds properly.'

The above statement about o is an absurd one whatever the foreign language may be and as long as the student puts any faith in it the acquisition of a good pronunciation is an impossibility for him. The word go is pronounced in at least six easily distinguishable ways by different educated English people, so different readers interpret the statement in different ways moreover it is in the highest degree improbable that the o sound of the foreign language is the same as any one of the English varieties.

To grapple successfully with the pro-

nunciation of a foreign language, the student must begin by saying to himself 'I know that the great majority of the sounds of this language will be different from any thing occurring in my pronunciation of my native language if any of the foreign sounds appear to me to resemble my own sounds, it is because my ear is at fault, I must do systematic listening practice, until I can hear the differences.' If the student is learning a 'tone language,' he must cultivate an ability to distinguish by ear minute shades of voice pitch. He can do this by getting his teacher to give him systematic 'tone dictations.'

It is worthy of note that ear training cannot be properly done without the use of phonetic transcription. Unless the student is able to write the sounds (and tones) in an unambiguous manner, his teacher will never know whether he has heard rightly or wrongly.

2. *The student must learn to form with his organs of speech each sound of the foreign language.* Haphazard attempts at imitation will not as a rule enable him to do this properly. To ensure success, he should do appropriate exercises or 'mouth gymnastics' based on the organic formation of the sounds. If the teacher of the foreign language is phonetically trained, he will prescribe suitable exercises. For instance if an English pupil is to learn to make the French sound of u (as in lune), the phonetically trained teacher will say 'Put your lips into a rounded position like this [showing him the position], now, without moving them try to say your English sound of ee.' The pupil should look at his lips in a little hand mirror, so as to make sure that he gets them exactly into the position shown by the teacher. If the pupil is to learn to make Urdu *ū*, the teacher will explain that the tongue tip has to be curled backwards so as to touch a certain point of the palate, and he will make the pupil try different places until the right one is reached. If an Indian wants to learn to make the English vowel in *form* short etc, the teacher will tell him to put his lips into a certain 'rounded' position.

If the teacher of the foreign language is not phonetically trained the student must devise his own means of getting his organs of speech to perform the necessary actions. He will not be able to do this unless he has an acquaintance with the

principles of general phonetics he must have been through a systematic course of ear training and he must have acquired a good general control over the movements of his organs of speech

3 *The student must know what is the appropriate order in which to place the sounds in order to make intelligible words and sentences* Ability to pronounce foreign sounds with accuracy is not of much value unless the language learner uses the appropriate ones in the words he wants to say. In other words he must use the right sound in the right place in connected speech. Thus if an Indian wants to learn to say the English word *rough* he has to know that the appropriate sequence of sounds is (1) *r* (2) the same vowel as in *up much* etc. (3) *t* if an English person wants to say the Urdu word for fort he has to know that the proper sequence is (1) *g* (2) the English vowel of *much* (approximately) (3) *r* (4) *h*. A substitution of any other Urdu sounds would either make the word meaningless or turn it into another word.

How is the student to remember what the appropriate sequence of sounds is and what the appropriate pitch is? The answer is that these things must be memorized. This task is much facilitated by calling in the visual memory to aid the auditory memory. The best way of doing this is to have a system of alphabetic writing in which a separate letter is assigned to each speech sound of the language (and in the case of a tone language a special sign to each tone). When words and sentences are so written the student cannot possibly be in any doubt as to which of the sounds of the language are the appropriate ones to use and as to the order which they should be placed.

This kind of writing is said to be phonetic. The ordinary orthographies of such languages as are written alphabetically are mostly not phonetic. Ordinary English spelling is far from being phonetic. The spelling *rough* does not tell the student what sounds to use nor do the spellings *what all many* (compare *that shall man*).

Again ordinary spelling is often misleading to the person who wants to learn to talk the colloquial language. It often records a literary or archaic form of speech which differs considerably from

that used in everyday talk. An English man writes *bread* and *butter* but he says *bredn butter* he writes *miserable* but says something like *murbl*. A Frenchman writes *ce qu'il me faut* but pronounces the expression colloquially *skimfo*. An Indian generally uses in colloquial talk a form of speech differing considerably from that which he would write.

The following will be found a useful maxim for students of spoken languages. Never learn the conventional writing of a language until you can talk the colloquial with some fluency. If you start by learning the conventional writing it will probably spoil your pronunciation for good. If you learn to speak first you will have no difficulty whatever in learning the conventional writing subsequently. If you cannot memorize the sound order without the aid of writing use a phonetic transcription and if phonetic texts are not to be had make them yourself.

The plan of using a phonetic transcription quite independently of ordinary spelling has been adopted by numerous teachers and with conspicuous success for many years past in connexion with the teaching of French and other European languages. A beginning is now being made in this direction in connexion with languages of Asia and Africa.* It has been shown by innumerable experiments that the use of a phonetic transcription does not add to the difficulty of learning conventional spelling. Some teachers maintain that pupils who start with phonetic transcription make better spellers in the end than those who have only worked with conventional spelling†. They certainly make vastly better pronouncers.

4 *The student must learn the proper usage in the matter of the sound attributes viz length stress and intonation* In other words he must learn to pronounce each sound in every sentence with the appropriate length and each syllable with the appropriate stress (force accent) also he must learn the intonation of those languages which are not strict tone languages. When the student knows what

* See for instance the phonetic readers of Cantonese Panyab and Suluana published by the University of London Press and Gardner's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* published by Heffer (Cambridge).

† See for instance Partington's *Transcriptions from Phonetic to Ordinary Spelling* (published by the International Phonetic Association).

to do in the matter of the sound attributes it is not as a rule difficult for him to carry out the instructions. His chief difficulty is rather to remember what to do to remember when to put the lengths and stresses and when to use the different kinds of intonation.

Two ways of learning these things are possible. In some languages the sound attributes are used in accordance with definite rules such rules can generally be easily learnt and applied. In other languages there are no such rules. In such cases the necessary instructions must be given by means of marks in the phonetic transcriptions.

5 *The student must acquire ability to categorize the sounds of the language.* In other words he must be able to join each sound on to the next in the sentence and to say off the sequences of foreign sounds rapidly and without stumbling. In ordinary talking sentences are generally said at a rate of not less than five syllables per second. This is then the rate to be aimed at.

Ability to categorize properly is attained by systematic repetition practice on the part of the student. Any groups of sounds which he finds difficult must be repeated over and over again until the necessary speed is attained. Thus it sometimes happens that an Indian can pronounce *v* and *w* by themselves but cannot keep them distinct when they occur close to each other in connected speech as for instance in the word *equivalent* (phonetically *ikwɪvələnt*). To master the pronunciation of this word he must begin by practising it very slowly if necessary stopping between the sounds. Then he must gradually work it up to the proper speed.

It is important to note that the continued repetition of words or phrases will not teach the student how to make the sounds in them. The function of repetition exercises is to enable him to use readily the sounds he knows. Repetition exercises are worse than useless if the student has not learnt how to make the individual sounds.

Having now explained shortly how pronunciation should be learnt it may be well in conclusion to say a word on the question where the necessary training in pronunciation should be done and in particular whether the student who is going to a foreign country should study

pronunciation at home or whether he should defer such study till he arrives in the foreign country.

The answer to this question is. He must learn the pronunciation wherever he can find a phonetically trained teacher capable of giving him the instruction he wants.

The ideal teacher is a person of the same nationality as the learner who has a practically perfect pronunciation of the language to be learned who knows phonetics and is familiar with the modern methods of teaching spoken languages. Finding him a phonetically trained native teacher is the best. With such teachers it is immaterial whether the instruction is given at home or in the foreign country, provided always that the instruction in the spoken language precedes instruction in the written language. If it is not possible to find any phonetically trained teacher who knows the language in question the student will have to make his own phonetic analysis of the language by observing the speech of a native teacher. This will in most cases have to be done in the foreign country. But in order to be able to analyse the pronunciation properly, it is essential that the student should have a preliminary training in general phonetics.

I hope the foregoing remarks have made it clear that phonetics is not an abstract science of purely academic interest. On the contrary the object of phonetics is strictly a practical one viz to help language learners to attain the best possible pronunciation in the shortest possible time.

The length of time that should be devoted to pronunciation will of course depend upon circumstances and particularly upon the learner's object in studying pronunciation and his natural aptitude for work of this kind.

His object may be simply to learn to pronounce properly a language such as English or Urdu or Arabic of which a complete or partial phonetic analysis has already been made. In such a case, if he can find a phonetically trained teacher, his task will be relatively an easy one. He will not have to learn much phonetic theory he will simply have to carry out the exercises prescribed by the teacher. If he has natural aptitude he should be able to acquire a thorough mastery of the

speech-sounds of the language in from ten to twenty lessons of one hour each. If he has only moderate aptitude, he may require thirty lessons or more.

On the other hand, his object may be to learn a language which has not been phonetically analysed, or to fit himself for writing down languages hitherto unwritten. In this case his task is necessarily more difficult. He will require to take a course of general preparation before he sets to work on the particular language in which he is interested. This course of preparation will probably entail twenty lessons or so, if he has natural aptitude for the work. A further ten to twenty hours' work should then be sufficient to get a mastery over the sounds of the particular language, unless it be one of special difficulty. Those who have no special linguistic gifts will require a proportionately longer course.*

* It must always be borne in mind that natural aptitude is a very variable factor. Thus in one case I was able in one lesson to teach a student to make all the Urdu dental and retroflex ('cerebral') consonants correctly, including the very difficult sound *r*, and including both aspirated and unaspirated forms of the plosive sounds. On the other hand, it once took me a whole hour to teach a student to make a properly 'voiced' *b*, a sound which many students can learn in a few minutes, if they are shown what to do. Again, I have fairly frequently come across

That it is in no way disproportionate to devote to pronunciation the amount of time above suggested may be judged from the fact, rightly insisted upon by Cummings in his *How to Learn a Language*,† that no learner is likely to attain any sort of fluency in the use of a foreign language without at least 750 hours' work (Cummings regards forty minutes a day for six months as a suitable amount of time to devote to pronunciation exercises).

It goes without saying that the student who is unable to attend a complete course of phonetics may nevertheless effect a considerable improvement in his pronunciation of foreign languages by going through a shorter course, or even by taking only a few lessons.

Further information as to the use of phonetics in practical language study will be found in Sweet's *Practical Study of Languages* (Dent) Chaps. II-VII, and in Jespersen's *How to Teach a Foreign Language* (Allen) Chap. X.

students who had to practise daily for many months in order to learn to make a properly rolled *r*. The phonetically trained teacher cannot turn an inapt pupil into an apt one, but he can show every pupil how to practise so as to master the pronunciation difficulties in the shortest possible time.

† New York, 1916

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

CREATIVE PSYCHICS by Fred Henkel. Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. 1917.

This little book is one more proof of the stirrings of spirituality among the most up-to-date products of Western civilisation, of which many signs are visible to-day. Religion was so long a cult of fear and superstition. We are of an age which wants to get free by all means. We have set our hearts on truth. All higher creativeness is occult and all demonstrate the fact of a separate psychic plane within the individual. Mind building through development of mind power, mental healing, personal magnetism, are only a few of the most prominent features of mystical creative activity. The evolution of the human mind cannot stop either on a subnormal nor on an intellectual plane. High art will likewise pass with the advance of psychic development to mystical art expression. It ought to be the leading and regenerating spirit of the times. It ought not only to

mirror the times but ought to lead it to a higher plane of culture and civilisation. Every age ought to produce a higher vision of the Unseen. Metapsychics, like higher mathematics, makes use of certain unknown quantities in order to understand and interpret the Unknown and Unseen. "The excessive accumulation of energy produced in our age must be directed aright through higher enlightenment on spiritual planes." Ours is an age of creative activity and not of æsthetic ecstasy and spiritism, for which mystics have a proneness. Christ revealed the Creative Force as Love. The emancipating principle of the East is created out of reaction against fear of nature, in the West out of reaction against the fear of man. The mystic of to-day is the artist with a positive philosophy of life engendered by a deep insight into life and nature, an insight of psychic nature, which by necessity demands a critical enlightening of the intellect as well. It is not to be denied that intellect has played an important role in man's development. The mystic accepts the entire endowment

of the intellect and starting from this base projects the tentacles of psyche, giving free rein to an intrepid inquisitiveness. He recognises in the awe inspiring an invitation to explore. It is only in co-partnership with and under the guidance of psychic insight that the intellect becomes efficient. Rousseau, Maurice Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, Oliver Lodge, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Thomas Edison are conspicuous exponents of mystical insight. Oracles clairvoyance, clair audience, clair sentence, telepathy and many other psychic phenomena all fall under the realms of mysticism and though invaded by chaffa-tanism, this need not deter anyone from developing his distinct psychic power. God, the World-Soul is Unity and Harmony. We stand at the threshold of that 'far off divine event' when at length the East and West shall meet."

These are some of the teachings of this suggestive booklet which is well worth perusal and is sure to strike a responsive chord in every Indian soul.

Q

BENGALI

FORK (Bolquet) *by Jatindra Mohan Sinha Mukherjee, Bosc and Co., Cornwallis Buildings Calcutta. Price annis eight 13 3*

In this little book the author has put together some of his lighter pieces. They are very interesting and instructive too. The ridiculousness of some of the aspects of modern kindergarten teaching in Bengali schools has been well exposed so also the weak side of the Bengali character both in orthodox and educated society. There are dissertations on the indigenous theatrical performances known as *Jatra* and on politics in relation to the masses which are well worth perusal. The book is well printed and bound and may well form our companion where we have an idle half hour to spend, and don't know how to spend it.

ANUPAMA (Social Story) *by Jatindra Mohan Sinha Ka-iranyan, Gurukul Chatterjee and Sons, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs 2 1325*

Babu Jatindra Mohan Sinha needs no introduction to the public. His is no pretence hand and his well known novel, the *Dhratistara*, is already in its fifth edition. His sketches of Orissa first established his fame as a powerful observer and delineator of society with a command of language which makes his pictures live in the memory. *Anupama* is a novel in which some of the burning social problems of the day e.g. the elevation of the depressed classes, the improvement of women, sanitation, the remarriage of widows &c., have been discussed. The author is con-

In his attitude but he is not against the education of the artisans in their ancestral callings and is strictly in favour of rural improvement and tries to support his position by familiar arguments. He however presents with a clearness which is his power of vigorous thinking. He does not fall into the common mistake of ignoring what is to be said on the other side, though naturally he is nearest in presenting his own side of the case. But it would be wrong to suppose that the novel before us is a social dissertation in disguise. There are witty characters and a mild touch of humour pervades the story. Some of the characters e.g. the village schoolmaster and his arguments consists in a variety of names. None can excel our author

in ease and gracefulness of diction and even his most commonplace passages are endowed with a charm of style which no one can withstand. Those who love to retain all that is best and noblest in Hindu society cannot do better than go to the author for inspiration. The book is nicely printed and beautifully bound.

G

HINDI

JAMASEDJI VASARANJI TATA KA JIVANCHARITKA *by Pandit Waman Dwivedi Gajjar and published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8.0 pp 55 Price—Rs 4*

This is a life of the founder of the Tata Company. It shows how from his small beginnings the hero of the life rose to a very great position in industry and trade, though his father had left him nothing to start with. The book is certainly reasonable. Its get up is excellent and it deserves encouragement.

SAMRAT ANAR, translated by Pandita from the Bengali of Babu Lankachandra Lahiri, B.L. and published by Messrs Haridas & Co., 201 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8.0 pp 504 Price—Rs 2-8-0

This again is a life of the great Muslim Emperor and a very well written life indeed. The method followed is an excellent one for writing lives. The author has made use of lots of books on the subject and his treatment is not merely historical—rather he has after Macaulay, made use of his imagination and given a graphic colour to what he has written. His descriptions are very nice and the book reads something like a novel. The great hero of the book has been described in all his aspects. In the book we find besides a very valuable reproduction of the contemporary life. It has distinct superiority over all other books on the subject, some of them published long ago. We remember of a book published by the Hindi Bangabasi Office on the same subject and a comparison of the two brings to light the distinct superiority of the book under review in almost all respects. A large number of blocks and pictures etc. adorn the book. We would put this book on a high pedestal of the Hindi literature and recommend to other writers of lives the method followed in it.

STRIJAN KA PARADHINTA, *by Paulit Shivanarayan Dwivedi published by Messrs Haridas and Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8.0 pp 296 Price—Rs 1 4*

This is a translation of John Stuart Mill's book on the same subject. The language of the translation is excellent and the author has made the terse original interesting. The comments are very much to be wished in which the author has rendered the original. There are a few notes attached to it here and there. The translation of such books from the English are very necessary for the development of the Hindi literature and the author deserves encouragement. The preface also would make a very interesting reading and there are besides notes thereto with reference to various English and Sanskrit books on the subject.

KAJA RAMMOHAN ROY, *by Pandit Shivanarayan Dwivedi published by Messrs Haridas and Co., 201, Harrison Road Calcutta. Crown 8.0 pp 202 Price—Rs 12*

The great founder of the Brahmo Samaj has been very graphically described by the same author in this

book I find that the publishers follow a distinct method in their lives and this is really an improvement upon the way in which lives were written formerly in Hindi. The author has made use of the best books on the subject in Bengali, English and even Gujarati. The fight of the hero through every stage and against very incongruous elements for the improvement of the country and social development in it has been nicely described, and the author of the book has given due praise to the hero for the same. A tri-coloured block of the author adorns the front piece. Nobody can deny the very great utility of the book.

MAHATMA SHREE SWAMI NITYANANDJI KA JIVANCHARITRA, published by Saith Ranchhoddas Bhaian, Member Arya pratinidhi Sabha, Bombay Demy 8vo pp 151.

This is a life of Swami Nityanandji who passed his life in public good, roaming about the country and making speeches. The life is exhaustive and it is shown in it how the Swami was given ovations everywhere he went. His speeches range over social and religious topics, substances of most of them are given and the way in which he was held in reverence by men of various grades is also shown from the letters and other publications about him.

PATNIRATA VIPULA by Mr. Prabhachandra Mukhopadhyay, M.A., LL.B. Vakil, High Court, Budaun Crown 8vo pp 194. Price—as 12

The author of this publication is a Bengalee gentleman. He has made every attempt to eliminate other than pure Sanskrit and Hindi words from the book. Where these words have been stiff, he has given their translations in brackets. The story of the novel, though not very interesting, is certainly instructive. Though describing morality of a very high standard it has some tinge of ancient times and has not much of modernity in it. In an attempt towards the latter, there has been some incongruous blendings. How a faithful and chaste wife can do anything and can bring to life even her dead husband is depicted in the book. The book deserves considerable encouragement at least as proceeding from a Bengalee author. Some of the descriptions are really good and very instructive indeed.

MAHATMA SHAIKH SADI by Shree Pravinchand and published by the Hindi Pustak-Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta Crown 8vo pp 88 Price—as 6

In this book the life of the great Persian poet has been very graphically dealt with. Almost all his best stories have been reproduced, the details of his life have been systematically reproduced and the attempt in the direction have involved some researches. His best lines have also been quoted. This is certainly an excellent critique on the poet's life and we give the publication a very hearty reception.

BHAGINI BHUSHAN by Mr. Gopalnarayan Sen Sinha, B.A., and published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, 36, La Touche Road, Lucknow Crown 8vo pp 24 Price—as 2

The book contains very small and simple stories meant for little girls. The stories depict domestic lives and are very instructive, their very simplicity will teach much. They are also interesting and, though short, read better than novels. We think

that the book is very useful and any praise given to it would not be much.

BRAHMA YOGA-VIDYA by Babu Brajmohtanlal, B.A., and published by Messrs. Haridas and Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta Crown 8vo pp 88. Price—as 6

In this publication the author has dealt in brief with almost all the aspects of Brahma Yoga, theoretical and practical. He has shown how the ancient people of India could work marvels with the Brahma Yoga and his description has the tinge of reality in it. There is much truth in the statement that the science of Yoga was a very important one in this country in ancient times and it actually worked wonders and that its discontinuance is to be lamented. This book contains several illustrations.

SEVAMARG by Pandita Shreekrishna Datta Paliwal and published by the Manager, Sahitya-Ratna-Karyalaya, Chouk, Agra Crown 8vo pp 174 Price—as 12

This is a translation of a very well known and well received book in Gujarati on the same subject. Very practical and faithful hints as to the way in which volunteers and students who are working for the progress of the country should proceed have been given in the book.

It is a product of considerable experience and the very great utility of the book cannot be gainsaid. All the important matters bearing on the point have been given in brief and whatever a young man bent upon doing some good to his country might want in the shape of instructions from his elders has been given in a very handy form. The book must have a very wide reception as it had in the Gujarati original.

SUKH TATHA SAPHALTA by Mr. Triloknath Bhargava, B.A., and published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, 36, La Touche Road, Lucknow Foolcap-16mo pp 37 Price—as 3

This is a translation of James Allen's "Foundation Stone to Happiness and Success". The rendering is certainly very nice and the style is chaste and pure. The book will be very useful and the way in which the author has done the translation will make it still more useful.

KHANJAHAN by Pandit Koonnarayan Panday and published by the Ganga Pustakmala office 36, La Touche Road, Lucknow Foolcap 16mo pp 205 Price—as 14

This is a drama which reproduces life in the days of Shah Jahan very graphically indeed. Some of its characters are really unique. The description of Sophia deserves special attention. It has some tinge of ancient Hindu characteristics of females with some accretions of Muslimanism. The translation of the book is from a Bengali original by Sree Kshirod Prosad Vidyaninod. The translator is a very well known author in Hindi. His preface in the beginning has made a new move in the Hindi publications on the drama after the way in which English dramas are introduced and it is certainly very well written. The drama itself is highly interesting. Khan Jahan has been depicted as a very bold and great Fathah. There are various characters in the book and there is considerable grandeur around them.

M S

GUJARATI.

GOPAL KANHANA GORHALE NAN VAKHYANO (गोपलकान्हा गोर्हाले नायवाक्यानां) Vol. I.

Mihalev Haribhai Desai, and published by the All India Home Rule League, Hornby Road Fort, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp 82 Price—As 10 (1918)

This is a translation of the speeches made by the late Mr Gokhale on Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta W C Bonerji, S K Ghosh, Sister Nivedita, Hume, Sir W Wedderburn, and Lord Northbrooke and Home Charges in different parts of India and England. It is embellished by fine portraits of some of these celebrities. The best part of the book is the short but most valuable introduction written by Mr Gandhi, replete with his unbounded admiration for and devotion to Gokhale. It traces the history of their acquaintance which ripened into friendship though Mr Gandhi always maintained that he looked upon Gokhale as his master and guide and sat at his feet as his pupil. The translation is very well done and will surely supply a want long felt in the language.

KAVITA KALAP (कविता कलाप) by *Champhsi Vithaldas Udeshi*, of 10 & 10-1/2 Lower Chulpur Road Calcutta, printed at the Bombay Fine Arts Printing Works, Amratala Lane, Calcutta Cloth bound pp 108 Price—As 14 (1918)

Champhsi Vithaldas Udeshi is long since known in this part of the country, though he resides in Calcutta, by the verse contributions he seems to have made a point of sending to several magazines, notably to the *Jnan Sudha*, the organ of the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj. Hardly a single issue of it is published without some verses or other, good, bad or indifferent, from Mr Champhsi. It must be said that his work is not of a high order, and in the volume under review, several liberties taken with the mechanical part of his work—e.g., rules of prosody—would be found. The dominating note in his verses is Devotion to God (सुप्रभक्ति), and in a subsidiary way, Patriotism. What we like most in the collection, rather most unremarkable, are the few lines on p 8 of his preface, where he sets out the function of poetry.

INDU KALA, (इन्दु कला) translated by the late *Nalankant Narasimha Dasia*, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad Cloth bound, pp 168 Price—As 10 (1918)

Professor Bain's *Stories* are two well known to mention. They deserve to be translated and every Indian vernacular. The present (now deceased) had already tried his writing Gujarati prose before he launched upon the venture of translating this story, which by the title, "A Digit of the Moon" has become a favorite of all English knowing readers. He certainly did well in thinking of introducing readers to this fine story, and he has

succeeded in his task, as we find that his work does not suffer in comparison with that of others who too had translated certain other of Prof Bain's *Stories*, and who were equipped with far better educational qualifications than he was who died young and without University education.

RAMAKRISHNA KATHAMRIT (रामकृष्ण कथामृत) Part I by *Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya*, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad Cloth bound, pp 587 Price—Rs 12-0 (1918)

Shriyut Mahendranath Gupta one of the most devoted followers of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, has written so much about the saint and his life as almost to amount to a literature in itself. This *Kathamrit* narrates various episodes and incidents in the saint's life, together with the sentiments and opinions expressed by him. They remind one of the precision assiduity and loyalty of Boswell. The translation is so happily done that it preserves all the spirit of the original with its unflagging interest. The very simplicity and directness of the narrative are so well brought out both by the author and the translator that even one who is moderately educated can follow the trend of it.

ADWAITA SIDDHI NUN GURJAR BHASHAMAN VIVARANA (अद्वैत सिद्धि नूनर् गुरजर भाषामां विवरण) SECTION I CHAPTERS I AND II by *Ratilal Chhotalal Desai*, printed at the Indian Printing Works, Bhavnagar. Paper cover. Pp 18 Un-priced (1918)

Pandit Madhusudan Saraswati has written in Sanskrit this great work on Vedant and till now it is considered, in spite of various subsequent works, unsurpassed, in the way in which it has treated of this difficult branch of Indian metaphysics. The very Gujarati reader over the whole ground covered by the Sanskrit work in several instalments, the first of which he has published for private circulation. The whole subject is taboo for the mass in the street. Unless a good deal of spadework has been done, or Guna, it is not possible to understand or follow such arcane subjects, so that it is only those who have made some progress in the path of Vedantic studies who can appreciate the *Vivaran*, to others it would appear to be Sanskrit words transposed into Gujarati. Added to that drawback we find that in some places, the specification could have been made more clear. However as we said, those who belong to the inner circle of Vedantins would find that they have got a work which they can profitably read.

K M. J

GLEANINGS

"Modern Civilisation."

The discovery of the West Indies, the exploration of Africa, the navigation of the Pacific Ocean opened vast territories to European avidity. The white man's hand was over the extermination of the

red, yellow and black races and for the space of four centuries gave themselves up madly to the pillaging styled modern civilisation—The White Stone, by M Anatole France, p 152

"The Two Great Civilisations"

"The Two Great Civilisations the yellow and the white, continued ignorant of each other until the day when the Portuguese, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, settled down to trade at Macao. Merchants and Christian missionaries established themselves in China and indulged in every kind of violence and rapine. The Chinese tolerated them, in the manner of men accustomed to works of patience, and marvellously capable of endurance; nevertheless, they could on occasion take life with all the refinements of cruelty. For nearly three whole centuries the Jesuits were, in the Middle Kingdom, a source of endless disturbances. In our own times, the Christian acquired the habit of sending jointly or separately into that vast Empire, whenever order was disturbed soldiers who restored it by means of theft, rape, pillage, murder, and incendiarism, and of proceeding at short intervals with the pacific penetration of the country with rifles and guns. The poorly armed Chinese either defend themselves badly or not at all, and so they are massacred with delightful facility. They are polite and ceremonious, but are reproached with cherishing feeble sentiments of affections for Europeans. The grievances we have against them are greatly of the order of those which Mr Du Chailu cherished towards his gorilla. Mr Du Chailu, while in a forest, brought down with his rifle the mother of a gorilla. In its death, the brute was still pressing its young to its bosom. He tore it from this embrace, and dragged it with him in a cage across Africa, for the purpose of selling it in Europe. Now, the young animal gave him just cause for complaint. It was unsocial, and actually starved itself to death. "I was powerless," says Mr Du Chailu, "to correct its evil nature." We complain of the Chinese with as great a show of reason as Mr Du Chailu of his gorilla.

"In 1901, order having been disturbed at Peking, the troops of the five Great Powers, under the command of a German Field Marshal, restored it by the customary means. Having in this fashion covered themselves with military glory, the five Powers signed one of the innumerable treaties by which they guarantee the integrity of the very China whose provinces they divide among themselves.

"Russia's share was Manchuria, and she closed Corea to Japanese trade. Japan, which in 1894 had beaten the Chinese on land and on sea, and had taken a part, in 1901, in the pacifying action of the Powers, saw with concentrated fury the advance of the voracious and slow footed sea bear. And, while the huge brute indolently stretched out its muzzle towards the Japanese beehive, the yellow bees, arming their wings and stings together, rushed it with burning punctures.

"It is a colonial war," was the expression used by a high-placed Russian official to my friend Georges Bourdon. Now, the fundamental principle of every colonial war is that the European should be more powerful than the peoples whom he is fighting; this is as clear as noonday. It is understood that in these kinds of wars the European is to attack with artillery, while the Asiatic or African is of course to defend himself with arrows, clubs, assegais and tomahawks. It is tolerated that he

should procure a few antiquated flintlocks and cartridge pouches this aids in rendering colonisation more glorious. But in no case is it permissible that he should be armed and instructed in European fashion. His fleet must consist of junks, canoes and "dug outs." Should he perchance purchase ships from European shipowners, such ships shall naturally be unfit for use. The Chinese who fill their arsenals with porcelain shells conform to the rules of colonial warfare.

"The Japanese have departed from these rules. They wage war in accordance with the principles taught in France by General Bonaparte. They greatly outweighed their adversaries in knowledge and intelligence. While fighting better than Europeans, they show no respect for consecrated usages, and act to a certain degree in a fashion contrary to the law of nations.

"'Tis in vain that serious individuals like Monsieur Edmond Thierry demonstrated to them that they were bound to be beaten, in the superior interest of the European market and in conformity with the most firmly established economic laws. Vainly did the proconsul of Indo-China, Monsieur Doumer himself, call upon them to suffer, and at short notice, decisive defeats on sea and on land. What a financial sadness would bow down our hearts," exclaimed this great man, "were Peczobrazoff and Alexieff not to extract another million out of the Korean forests. They are kings. Like them I was a king, our cause is a common one. Oh ye Japanese! Imitate in their gentleness the copper coloured folk over whom I reigned so gloriously under Melinae." In vain Dr Charles Richet's skeleton in hand, represent to them that being profligate and not having the muscles of their calves sufficiently developed, they were under the obligation of seeking fight in the trees when face to face with the Russians who are brachycephalous and as such eminently civilising, as was demonstrated when they drowned five thousand Chinese in the Amur. "Bear in mind that you are links between monkey and man," obligingly said to them my Lord Professor Richet, "as a consequence of which, if you should defeat the Russians or Finno Letto Ugro-Slavs, it would be exactly as if monkeys were to beat you. Is it not plain to you?" They heeded him not.

"At the present moment, the Russians are paying the penalty, in the waters of Japan and in the gorges of Manchuria, not only of their grasping and brutal policy in the East, but of the colonial policy of all Europe. They are now expiating, not merely their own crimes but those of the whole of military and commercial Christianity. When saying this, I do not mean to say that there is justice in the world. But we witness a strange whirligig of things, and brute force, up to now the sole judge of human actions, indulges occasionally in unexpected pranks. Its sudden starts aside destroy an equilibrium thought to be stable. And its pranks which are ever the work of some hidden rule, bring about interesting results. The Japanese cross the Yalu and defeat the Russians in good form. Their sailors annihilate art-

Dr. Edmond Thierry, journalist, on the staff of *Le Figaro*. Has been entrusted by the French Government with several politico-economic missions, author of several works in this connection.

Dr. Charles Richet, a noted physician, writer on physiology and the author of several on physiology and sociology.

* M. Georges Bourdon, journalist, on the staff of *Le Figaro*.

atically an European fleet immediately do we discern that a danger threatens us. If it indeed exists who created it? It was not the Japanese who sought out the Russians. It was not the yellow men who hunted up the whites. We there and then make the discovery of a Yellow Peril. For many long years have Asiatics been familiar with the White Peril. The looting of the Summer Palace, the massacres of Peking, the drownings of Blagovestchenko, the dismemberment of China—were these not enough to alarm the Chinese? As to the Japanese, could they feel secure under the guns of Port Arthur? We created the White Peril. The White Peril has engendered the Yellow Peril. We have here concatenations giving to the ancient Necessity which rules the world an appearance of *divine justice*, and must perforce admire the astonishing behaviour of that blind queen of men and gods when seeing Japan formerly so cruel to the Chinese and Koreans and the unpaid accessory to the crimes of Europeans in China become the avenger of China and the hope of the yellow race.

It does not however appear at first sight that the Yellow Peril at which European economists are terrified is to be compared to the White Peril suspended over Asia. The Chinese do not send to Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg missionaries to teach Christians the Fung Chui and sow disorder in European affairs. A Chinese expeditionary force did not land in Quiberon Bay to demand of the Government of the Republic *extra territoriality*—i.e. the right of trying by a tribunal of mandarins cases pending between Chinese and Europeans. Admiral Togo did not come and bombard Brest roads with a dozen battle-ships, for the purpose of improving Japanese trade in France. The flower of French nationalism, the elite of our Troublions did not besiege in their mansions in Avenue Hoche and Marceau the Legations of China and of Japan and Marshal Oyama did not, for the same reason, lead the combined armies of the Far East to the Boulevard de la Madeleine to demand the punishment of the foreigner-hating Troublions. He did not burn Versailles in the name of a higher civilisation. The armies of the Great Asiatic Powers did not carry away to Tokio and Peking the Louvre paintings and the silver service of the Flysse.

'No indeed! Monsieur Edmond. They himself admits that the yellow men are not sufficiently civilised to imitate the whites so faithfully. Nor does he foresee that they will ever rise to so high a moral culture. How could it be possible for them to possess our virtues? They are not Christians. But men entitled to speak consider that the Yellow Peril is none the less to be dreaded for all that it is economic. Japan and China ordered by Japan, threaten us in all the markets of Europe with competition frightful, monstrous, and deformed, the mere of which causes the hair of economists to stand on end. Is why Japanese and Chinese be exterminated. There can no doubt about the matter. But also be declared against United States to prevent it from using iron and steel at a lower price than our manufacturers well equipped in machinery.

Let us for once admit the truth and for a moment cease flattering ourselves. Old Europe and new Europe—for that is America's true name—have inaugurated economic war. Each and every nation is waging an industrial struggle against the others. Everywhere does production arm itself furiously against production. We are displaying bad grace when we complain that we are witnessing fresh competition and disturbing products invade the market of the world thus thrown into confusion. Of what use are our lamentations? That might be right is our God. If Tokio is the weaker, it shall be in the wrong and it shall be made to feel it, if it is the stronger, right will be on its side and we shall have no reproach to cast at it. Where is the nation in the world entitled to speak in the name of justice?—*The White Stone*, by M. Anatole France, pp. 157-65.

Japanese Caricature

It has frequently been stated that one of the chief differences between Japanese drawing and that of the west is that the former is idealistic. Its lines are an outcome of Buddhist influence, being copied from the early religious pictures. It is said thus to lack the essential elements of caricature, and few Japanese artists have ever attempted this kind of drawing. One of the earliest to show any predilection for it was the Abbot Toha, and consequently the Japanese Mr. Punch is known as *Toha's* Toha, whose real name was Kakuryu, had for his father Minamoto Takakuni the author or compiler of the *Konjaku Monogatari*, a collection of legends. He in turn was a disciple of the priest Kakuryu and in 1154 was made high priest, being head of the Tendai Sect of Buddhism with headquarters at the Enryakuji temple on Mount Hiei. Toha was as distinguished with his pencil and brush as he was in the priesthood, and indeed is now more famous for his art than his piety.

The style originated by Toha was so eccentric as to mark the beginning of caricature in Japanese art. Some of his art indeed startled the world of his time with its strange tendencies and designs. The most important works of Toha are to be seen in the Takayama temple at Toganowa near Kyoto. At present only four volumes of his drawings remain. The first two contain caricatures of monks, hares, foxes, frogs and so on, while the third volume is



Caricature of a Mochi maker by Hokusai



utilize what would be now regarded as available subjects for treatment though it cannot be said they are without true humour. He often takes for treatment such things as and felices but he was too fond of the bottle

to be much in a mood for caricature. His own conduct naturally furnished him with most of the occasions used for humorous treatment. Some of his drawings of druckards and other disabled members of the human race are witty and fantastic.

Among the modern caricaturists of Japan none is more distinguished than Kobayashi Kiyochika. He was a master of both native and foreign painting and the first to introduce the occidental style of caricature into Japanese art. Another artist of some distinction in this line is Kitezawa Rakuten who draws for the famous Tokyo daily the *Fuji Shimpō*. Okamoto Ippei of the *Asahi Shimbun* is another skilled artist in humour. Indeed the comic papers of Japan show that the number of would-be caricaturists is now legion and some of them are crude beyond words, not to say extremely vulgar. One of the more successful of these amateurs is Shimidzu Taigakubo of the *Yorozu Chōhō*. The most noted comic sheet of Tokyo is *Tokyo Puck* and there is an *Osaka Puck* also. The *Manga* and the *Kōkōkei* are also comic papers. At the beginning of the new Japan there was but one comic paper the *Marumaru Chimbun* and now there are a great many. The fact that most of the artists working for the comic papers are of the western school shows how occidental art lends itself more easily to caricature than does Japanese drawing. —*Japan Magazine*

The Toy Trade of Japan

No department of Japanese industry has made more progress since the outbreak of the European war than the toy trade. Four years ago the export of Japanese toys was limited to a few varieties, such as dolls, bamboo models and so on, the total export being quite insignificant. Now, however, a great change has taken place. Last year the total value of exports in toys from Japan amounted to as much as 8,400,000 yen and the total for the present year is expected to reach over 10,000,000 yen. Thus the country of dolls and flowers, as Japan has been facetiously called, has suddenly been transformed into a country making play things of almost every description used in foreign lands. Those who looked upon the tiny Japanese themselves as but dolls are now surprised to find that the country is really the largest source of dolls for western markets.

As labour and material for the making of toys are both plentiful and cheap in Japan, it might have been supposed that long ago Japan would have become the largest source of supply for the toy trade. But until the beginning of the present war when the demand for toys increased owing to cutting off of supplies from Germany and Europe generally the Japanese toy makers never attempted to enter foreign markets. The toy makers were very conservative and did not try to appeal to foreign markets. The present increase in export of toys is due wholly to the efforts put forth by the government authorities to find an opening for Japanese toys in foreign markets. The officials connected with the trade departments of the Government soon saw that in the toy business lay great possibilities for Japan, and they did their best to interest the toy makers, and with what success we have just seen. It was the Government that supplied the samples which the toy makers have so successfully imitated and in addition many toys peculiar to Japan have found favour abroad.

It is in the markets of England and the United States that Japanese made toys find their largest

sale, and the demand is scarcely less steady in the Orient. The toy market in these regions had been monopolized by the Germans before the war. Stimulated by the shortage after the cessation of supplies from Germany, the Japanese toy makers have risen to the emergency with remarkable facility and efficiency, meeting in a short time the special demands of the western markets. In addition to the common toys made of wood, earthenware and cotton, the Japanese now make toys of rubber, metal and celluloid, and are especially clever at making mechanical toys, though the Japanese mechanical toy is not so durable as that made in the West.

Naturally with the immense increase in the making and export of toys in Japan, imports of toys have correspondingly decreased. The following table shows the progress of exports of toys during the last five years:

1913	1 248 792
1914	2 591 715
1915	4 533 486
1916	7 610 020
1917	8 409 518

In 1897 the export of toys from Japan amounted in value to no more than 242 761 yen, and in 1907, it was only 789,819 yen, and now it is more than ten times what it was ten years ago. Exports of toys have thus grown thirty-two fold in twenty years.

The story of imports of toys is in reverse order. From a value of 108 813 yen in 1906 exports decreased to 42 091 yen in 1916 and the figures for the year 1917, though not yet available, are much less. It is safe to say that now Japan may regard herself as one of the leading toy countries of the world. And it is a trade that may be expected to continue. In various other lines Japan has also gained a leading place during the war, but whether this prosperity will continue when competition revives after the war, is another question. In toys, however, it is not likely that Japan will have any serious rivals. The toy trade has been created by the war for Japan, but it will not be destroyed by the cessation of the war. The reason is already suggested, is that material and labour are much cheaper in Japan than can be possible in any western country.

Most of the wooden toys in Japan are manufactured by hand in the mountain regions of the country, where wood is plentiful at low cost. Individuals or families make them in their houses for the market. The chief centers for toys made in factories are Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya and Kanagawa. Of course the great increase in freight rates caused by shortage of tonnage has had a bad effect on the trade in cheap goods like toys, and for this reason the Japanese toy makers have in some cases been unable to accept orders. But they are ready to

meet all demands where there is a willingness to pay for them. Exports of toys, though checked by freight conditions continue still to increase as the above returns tend to prove. It is probable that the export of Japanese toys to the United States this year will not be so extensive as last year, owing to the busy war conditions in that country. But considerable increase is expected in other directions, which will compensate for the falling off in exports to America, and after the war, when freight rates return to normal figures the export of toys from Japan will vastly increase.

Some complaints have been received as to the comparative frailty of Japanese made toys. Every attention has been paid to remedying this defect, and in future no such complaints may be justified. Toys are now being made in a more durable manner and of better materials, and great improvements have been made in designs and finishings. The value of exports in toys sent out by the various ports may be seen as follows:

Yokohama	Y 4 615 191
Kobe	2 699 172
Osaka	529 029
Nagasaki	2 343
Others	500 783
	<hr/> 8,409,518

Viewing the destination of exports of toys from Japan more in detail it may be said that the largest supplies have gone to the following countries: British India, Straits Settlements, China, Dutch East Indies, England, France, United States, Canada and the Argentine Republic. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have also taken considerable quantities of Japanese toys, but the largest export has been sent to the United States, amounting in value to 4 322 061 yen last year and England comes next, taking a total value of 1 318 924 yen in 1917. The value of exports to British India and the Straits Settlements is 934,971 yen and to Australia 895 328 yen.

It is remarkable how the tastes of countries differ as to the kinds of toys preferred. The Europeans like best to import such toys as bamboo flutes, dolls, earthenware fans, wooden toys, cotton birds and animals, while the Americans like Christmas toys, such as birds, baskets, celluloid and paper, toy chairs, furniture, and wooden dolls and so on. Australia likes flutes, leaf work, glass toys, rubber dolls, toy mirrors, musical instruments. Dutch India imports chiefly such toys as mechanical ornaments, paper and celluloid goods. India desires clay dolls, animal toys, and South America wants toy umbrellas, lanterns, bamboo models and dolls, while China prefers toy insects, rubber dolls, warships and electric cars.

—Japan Magazine

lance as the *Pakistan* and Afghanistan and on the west by Persia. At the tip of the horn that juts out on the north west stands Koh-i-Malik Siah (162 miles from Quetta) an otherwise unenviable desolation which enjoys the double distinction of being the most westerly point of all India and the meeting place of three



A Baluch Chief

great countries Afghanistan Persia and the Indian Empire. It claims high rank among the frontier provinces of India, for 620 miles it marches with Persia for 723 with Afghanistan and for 38 miles its another independent territory, and are 471 miles of coast line along the

Sea. It is a country of contrasts contradictions. The traveler who has the plains of India and entered the pass Baluchistan finds himself among

which are essentially an Indian general outlook resembles that of the Indian plateau and taken as a whole it is unattractive though its ties are not without a certain charm. It is



A Brahmin Chief.
Height 6 ft 3 in

barren sunburnt mountains rent by huge chasms and gorges alternate with arid deserts and stony plains the prevailing colour of which is a monotonous drab. But this is redeemed in places by fine level valleys of considerable size in which irrigation enables much cultivation to be carried on and rich crops of all kinds and various fruits are raised. Within the mountains the narrow glens whose rippling water-courses are fringed in early summer by the brilliant green of carefully terraced fields. Rows of willows with interlacing festoons of vines border the clear water while groups of ruddy children and comely Italian faced women in indigo blue or scar-



Baluch and Bokhara Camel

ceded districts were made, in 1897, into British Baluchistan, and the designation of the Agent to the Governor General for these districts was changed into that of Chief Commissioner.

AREA AND POPULATION

The total area of the Province is 1,34,638 miles and the total population is 8,34,707 or about 6 persons to the square mile. This population has, in the Census returns been divided into three groups —

Indigenous	7,52,394
Semi Indigenous	2,54,111
Aliens	56,898
The aliens include 4,210 Europeans 123 Anglo Indians & Trans Indus people 7,140, and residents of Cis Indus districts 45,425	

The principal indigenous races are —

Pathan	1,88,093
Baloch	1,69,190
Bráhmī	1,67,787
Lasi	27,779
Jatt	78,400
Sayyid	22,183
Other Musalmans	82,086
Hindus and Sikhs	17,784
Sl's number	1,000

Brief remarks about the principal indigenous races might be interesting. The original home of the Pathan is believed to be Takht-i-Suleman. According to the Afghan genealogies (Kais-i-Abdur

Rashid 37th in descent from Malik Talut (King Saul) had three sons Ghurghusht, Saraban and Baitan. Among the descendants of Ghurghusht we have in Baluchistan the Mandokhel, Babi, Kakar, and Pani. The Saraban division is represented by the Tarin, Sherani, Miani and Barech, and the descendants of Baitan can be identified in the Baitanis living across the Gomal pass. The most numerous and important indigenous Pathan tribes are Kakar 1,05,073 Pani 28,675 Tarin 37,411 (including 20,272 Achakzai) and Shirani 8,522. The Kakars are to be found in largest numbers in the Zhob, Quetta Pishin, and Loralai Districts. The Tarins have two main branches, the Spin Tarin and the Tor Tarin of whom the former live in the Loralai and the latter in the Quetta Pishin and Sibi Districts. The Panis are to be found in Zhob and Sibi, and the Bargha division of the Shiranis in Zhob.

The Baloch tradition indicates Aleppo as the country of their origin, and Mr M. L. Dames who has made a special study of the Baloch, comes to the conclusion that they are Iranians. Early in the 7th century they seem to have taken up a position in close proximity to Mekran and to this day many of their tribal names (such as Magassi, Dombki, Bugti) bear the impress of the localities

which they occupied in Persian Baluchistan. Hence they made their way eastward until in the 15th century we find them settled in Kachhi. They are now found in Mekran, Chagai, Mari Bugti Country, Nasirabad and Kachhi. The important tribes of the Baloch are —

Kind	31 267
Mari	22 233
Bugti	19 370
Magassi	17 777
Dombki	5 713

To which may be added the Khetran (14 153) whose nucleus is said to be Taria Pathan who have a considerable mixture of Jatts among them but who have gradually attained the status of Baloch whom they resemble in dress and whose customs they follow.

The origin of the Brahuis seems untraceable. Mr Bray has divided the Brahuis into —

Brahui nucleus	15 047
Sara ras	55 370
Jhallawan	94 708
Miscellaneous	2 662

and from the various traditions current among the tribes he concludes that the Brahuis of modern times regard the following and the following only among the many tribes as belonging to the Brahui stock: first the ruling family the Ahmadzai (25) and its collaterals the Itazai (106) then the Mirwari (2 654) and the Kambarai (3 093) (both closely connected with the ruling house though the Kambarai no longer bask in reflected glory) together with the Gurganai (2 001) the Sumalrai (3 739) the Kalandaranai (2 012) and the Rodunai (1 325). The rest of the tribes as now constituted are of a heterogeneous character and have a mixture of Baloch, Persian, Pathan, Jatt and others.

The Sayyi is though comparatively not so strong numerically (21 296) as other indigenous races are of considerable importance as they are held in much reverence by the tribesmen. The most important among them are the Bukhari (8 726) Husarai (1 287) Chisti ("96) and Gilani (400). They are scattered in all parts of the Agency but are found mostly in Quetta Pishin (9 716) Loralai (4 687) Sibi (1 719) and Kalat (3 419).

TRIBES

Pathan, Baloch and Brahui are all organized into tribes each having a

multitude of subdivisions, clans, sections and sub sections while in south western Baluchistan no tribal system exists. There is a distinction however between the constitution of the Pathan and that of the Brahui and Baloch. Among the former the feeling of kinship is a bond of union far stronger than among the latter with whom common blood feud forms the connecting link. Theoretically a Pathan tribe is constituted from a number of kindred groups of agnates, in a few cases only are small attached groups (*Ilash* or *humsaydh*) which are not descended from the common ancestor. On the other hand the Brahui and Baloch tribe is a political entity composed of units of separate origin clustering round a head group known as the Sardar, khel or the Chief's family. Among the Pathans the leader does not necessarily hold by heredity for the individual has great scope of asserting himself once however he has gained a position it is not difficult for him to maintain it provided he receives external support. While among the Baloch and Brahui the office of the chief descends from father to son and each clan section and even sub section has a headman or *under* as he is called.

CHARACTERISTICS

The Pathans are tall, robust, active and well formed. Their strongly marked features and heavy eyebrows give their faces a somewhat savage expression. The complexion is ruddy, the beard is usually worn short as also is the hair. Their general bearing is resolute almost proud. Courage is with them the first of virtues *but they are cruel, coarse and pitiless*. They generally do not appreciate kindness and consider it often a sign of weakness but they readily yield to pressure. Vengeance with them is a passion. Their cupidity and avarice are extreme.

The Baloch presents a strong contrast to his Pathan neighbour. His build is shorter and he is more spare and wiry. He has a bold bearing, frank manners and is fairly truthful. In the good old times when giving the hal or news a Pathan would tell you even if he had committed a murder, and if you made him swear by the beard of the Sardar you could get anything out of him. He is on the whole the highest virtue and hospitality as a sacred duty. He

expert rider His face is long and oval and the nose aquiline The hair is worn long, usually in oily curls and cleanliness is considered a mark of effeminacy A Baloch usually carries a sword, knife and shield He rides to the combat but fights on foot Unlike the Pathan, he is seldom a religious bigot The Brahui is of middle size, square build and sinewy, with a sharp face, high cheek bones and long narrow eyes His nose is thin and pointed His manner is frank and open Though active, hardy and roving, he is incomparable with the Baloch as a warrior, but he makes a good scout With few exceptions the Brahui is mean, parsimonious and avaricious and he is exceedingly idle He is predatory, but not a pilferer, vindictive but not treacherous, and generally free from religious bigotry His extreme ignorance is proverbial in the country side If you have never seen ignorant hobgoblins and mountain imps come and look at the Brahui

LANGUAGE

The indigenous languages prevailing in Baluchistan are Pashto Brahui and Balochi (eastern and western) Jatki or Siraki, Jatki Sindi and Lasi —

Pashto is spoken by	227 553
Balochi	2 32 987
Jatki, Siraki and Lasi	55 545
Jadgali	51,875
Brahui	1,45,299

Of these Pashto and Balochi are classed as Iranian, Jatki, etc., as Indian while the thorough enquiry made by Mr Bray seems to have established that Brahui is Dravidian akin to Tamil and Telugu spoken in the greater part of southern India

OCCUPATION

The occupation of the major portion of the indigenous tribes is agriculture combined in some cases with stock owning Most of the Pathan tribes and Jatts are engaged in agriculture while the Brahuis of Jhilla wan, the Baloch of the Mari Bugti country and those of Chagai and Khatan largely depend for their subsistence on the produce of their sheep and goats Camel breeding and transport still help some of the tribes, especially the Langvi among the Brahui and the Jat, to earn their livelihood There are no arts and manufactures worth the name, though in some parts women

name'ds carpets *khurjans* and *Kizhdi* blankets and various articles of dwarf plam leaves are made by the women for domestic use, and not for export Some fine needle work is done by the women of Nichara Barkhan carpets were well known at one time, but owing to the use of the aniline dyes their quality has deteriorated and there is not much demand for them now

RELIGION

The majority of the tribesmen are Muslims of the Sunni sect, with the exception of some of the Dombki Baloch who own to belong to the much detested Shiah sect, and there are 14 765 Zikris, who are found chiefly in Makran, in south western Jhallawan and the Las Bela State But the living beliefs of the tribesmen display a marked ignorance of even the fundamental doctrines of Islam As regards outward observances the Pathan stands no doubt on a fairly high level, for all his ignorance of the inner meaning of his faith and his weakness for ancestor worship he is usually as punctilious over his *roza* and *umaz* (fasts and prayers) (if not over pilgrimage and alms giving) as his more enlightened co religionists, what he lacks in doctrine he is quite capable of making up in fanatical zeal And most of the so called *Ghazis* attacks were in early days committed by Pathans Thanks to the salutary punishment of whipping which was provided for in the Murderous Outrages Regulation of 1901, we seldom hear of such dastardly attacks now In most of the Pathan villages and settlements there is a *masjid* and a *mulla* in charge of it These *mullas* come from no particular caste or class, the office being open even to the lowest of the low, who can qualify for it The Baloch lags far behind Though there are signs of religious revival, ancient custom still holds sway in the vital affairs of his life, to him religious precepts are little more than counsels of perfection, religious practices little more than the outward and awe inspiring marks of exceptional respectability And among the Brahuis a truly devout Muslim learned in doctrine and strict in practice, is rarer still, with the vulgar mass Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which have them in thrall

The ignorance of the masses might be judged from the answers given in some of the cases to the Census enumerators in 1911 'Put me down the same religion as the Chief' was perhaps the commonest answer of the lot, its absurdity becomes apparent when it takes the form, 'I used to follow the Mengal Chief, but I have shifted quarters and adopted the religion of the Bangulzai,' 'I am a Kakar by birth so I am Kakar by religion,' and so on. In the course of my extensive tours in various parts of the Agency, I have often tested the knowledge of the tribesmen, by just asking a question: Are you a Musliman or a Kakar, or a Musalman or a Brahui, and the answer immediately given in most cases was 'I am a Kakar or a Brahui,' which showed that the people knew more of their tribe than their religion. One of the religious ordinances which is universally respected and observed is that of circumcision, which among some tribes (Gharshin Sayyid, Khetran and Jat) is looked upon as essential for females as for males.

The everyday religion of the masses consists of ancestor worship, and worship of shrines dedicated to saints and others, and various superstitions. So well are Brahuis provided with saints and shrines that every household in the land has its patron saint who watches over its destinies, and its own peculiar shrine to which it resorts to pay his homage or to supplicate him for some boon. The childless women go to these shrines to be blessed with children, the offering to be made is generally a toy cradle, the sick visit and make sacrifices to be cured, and in all cases of danger and difficulty petition is to be made to these shrines. It was only the other day when I was travelling from Baladhak to Barkhan (in part of the Mari country) where I was shown a big boulder on the wayside. This is known as *sib takhi sing*, the stone which has the miraculous property of curing intermittent fever. The patient is taken to this stone, he bakes a cake and offers it to this miraculous stone, rolls under it, takes some dust and swallows it, which cures him. There are some shrines with quaint characteristics. Such are the shrine of Pir Chellan Shah, half a mile from Kalat, in the neighbourhood of which no hemp or tobacco may be grown, the shrine of Bibi Nek Nam at

Ziarat hard by, a shrine of such sanctity that no one may sleep on a charpay in the village, though it lies a mile or so away, the shrine of Mai Gondrani in Las Bela, where no one may stay more than two nights or he will be overwhelmed with a shower of stones from heaven. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that in the Kirtha hills in the Jhallawan country there is a shrine dedicated to a dog, to which the Brahuis resort, sacrifice sheep, and distribute the flesh in alms in the certain belief that whatsoever they seek, that they will surely find. There is another such shrine in the Kakar country close to the shrine of Husain Nika. This is dedicated to a faithful dog of the saint. The story goes that when any visitors came to the saint the dog would bark for every visitor a bark. On a certain day three visitors came, and the dog gave three barks, but the saint saw that there were four men and he was so incensed that he slew the dog. But he soon found that out of the four, three were faithful Musalmans, while the fourth was an unbelieving Hindu. The saint was full of remorse, he gave the dog a decent burial and ordered that he himself should be laid to rest close to the grave of his dog, and that whosoever should come to worship at his shrine, should first worship at the shrine of his dog. And so it is up to this day.

In the Pathan country the most famous shrines are those of Sanzar Nika, the progenitor of the Sanzar Khel Kakars, near Lakaband Pir Bukhari in Quetta, and Nana Sahib at Chotiali: the last named being occasionally visited by people from across the border. The patron saint of the Bogzais is Pir Solih whose shrine lies on a hill close to Sing Sela, and that of the Maris is the Bahawaln, the progenitor of the Chief's family. Sheikh Ghulam Haidar's shrine at Kahan so runs the tradition, has made Kahan and its neighbourhood immune from cholera, and *khurda* or dust from the shrine is taken as a charm against cholera, when a faithful Mari goes on a visit to the plains. So safe he finds himself in the hills and so safe he dreads the plains that before leaving from his hills he throws some stones and addresses a solemn warning to the plains not to affect his health. And we live in the country. *Malri* Sheikhs, who are believed to possess the power of

drive off locusts and *nungwalas* who cure snake bites and *lawal* is who cure diseases of cattle and sheep the *tukawalas* who perform inoculation against small pox and other specialists to whom fixed contributions in cash or kind are paid periodically by every family. Some shrines are especially useful to flock owners as the dust taken from them and sprinkled over a sheep or goat will cure any disease. Such is the shrine of a Sirangzai saint in Manra near Zirat.

ZIKRIS

Now a few words about the *Zikris*. The *Zikri* faith is a curious jumble of Islam. In form it is the negation of Mohammedanism. There is no God but God and the Mahdi is his prophet is the cardinal article of the faith. They accept the Koran but place their own interpretations on it. They go for pilgrimage to Koh-i-Murad in Kech (a few miles from Turbat) instead of Mecca and instead of *Zakat* or alms at one fortieth they preach the bestowal of one tenth of their worldly goods. They perform their prayers three times a day and they hold *Zikranas* at set times when praises of the Mahdi the founder of the faith are chanted. At these meetings at first all is reverential quiet and orderliness but the services soon degenerate into fanatical ecstasy and end in an uproar. The harrowing tales of promiscuity at the end of the service and of the despoiling of the brides by the priests seem to be fabrications of bigoted orthodoxy. Among other customs peculiar to this sect it may be mentioned that if the bridegroom be at a distance the *mulla* breathes the *nikah* (the marriage services) in a sheep skin which is inflated in the presence of the bride and the skin is sent to the bridegroom and opened by him. This is considered a sufficiently binding ceremony.

Such ignorance and such superstitions are pardonable when it is borne in mind that in every 10 000 indigenous Muslims there are but 47 who in the census of 1911 were classed as literate—that is those who could read a letter in some language and write a reply. There are very few who can be called educated and it is not the masses alone that are illiterate but there are only a few eyes among the *mullas* who can be called educated though in the Pathan country

they have enough influence to create mischief. As may be expected, the highest percentage (17 per 1 000) of literates occurs among Sayyids while the lowest (3 per 1 000) is among the Brahmins and 4 per 1 000 among the Baloch. But much has been done during the past few years in the way of public instruction in the British Administered areas much more still remains to be done. At the close of the year 1916 17 there were in the Province 115 schools of all classes with 4015 scholars including 41 Makhtabs with 161 pupils.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The majority of the people are poor and their food and dress are cheap and simple. In many parts of the country the nomads even now are content all the year round with a *kosri* (a woollen coat) a pair of cotton pyjamas and a cap and their food consists of crushed *juar* or *makai* boiled in water or in butter milk. The women have a long shift which is patched up as it gets worn and a *takrar* or head cloth and I have been shown some of these shifts which have been worn continually for a period of ten years and even then they are not thrown away. When they become too old and unfit to be worn the pieces are hung on to sticks stuck in fields to scare away birds. Many of them have no huts they do not know the use of bedsteads and do not need lamps of any sort. All that they need is a wooden triangle over which is thrown a blanket or a *parch* (mat) to serve as a shelter and hand mill to grind corn for daily use a few sheep and goat skins to keep drinking water milk and *ghu* a braking pan and a few wooden and earthen pots. The whole of the household furniture can be taken on a donkey when the family wants to move the bulk of the goods is carried by the women on their backs. But among the settled and the semi-settled inhabitants more especially in the area under the direct administration of the British Government there has been a marked improvement in the food and dress of the people.

As to domestic life the burden of the work in the household of the middle and lower classes falls on the women. A good housewife must sweep the house grind daily corn fetch water and fuel no matter what the distance be wash and sew clothes cool the food spin the wool,

and in case of agriculturists assist in reaping crops, carrying grain and *bhusa*, etc. There are no washermen nor barbers in the greater part of the country. The children are shaved by the male members of the family, who also shave each other. The woman must always be under protection,—in her childhood under her father or other male relative, when married, under that of her husband, and when a widow, under her sons. Among most of the tribes, more especially the Pathans, the woman is a chattel, she is given away in marriage, always for a consideration, or in exchange for another girl, without her consent, unmarried girls and sometimes unborn girls, are given away in payment of compensation for murder and other serious injuries, and among Baloch and Brahm and some of the Pathan tribes the usual penalty for infidelity on the part of a woman is death, her seducer is also killed, but if he manages to escape he may be able to compromise the offence by giving a girl in marriage to

the aggrieved husband or guardian, but the woman must always be killed. If she escapes, the only course left for her is either to hang herself or leave the country. Among some of the Baloch tribes the woman is given in marriage on condition that when she becomes a widow she would return to her parents who could again dispose of her just as they please. Among most of the tribes, a woman, though allowed a share by *shariat*, does not inherit, and all that she can claim from the property of her father, or, if married from that of her husband, is what is called *nas* and *posh* that is food and raiment. This must cease when she marries again, and among the Pathans the price to be paid for her on her second marriage must be paid to her son or other guardian, unless the husband selected is a brother of the deceased husband, who, by the tribal custom, has the first claim to her hand, in such marriages there is no question of heart.

A PAJABI

THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC

An address to Australian Christian Students

IF the Church is, in deed and truth, as Christians believe, the mystical Body of the Christ—that Body, whereby the fullness of His Humanity is to be made manifest through the ages, then, to Him, the future of the child races, which have for centuries inhabited the Pacific Islands, must be a matter of most tender and intimate concern. And this love of Christ, our Lord and Master, for these peoples cannot but appeal, with moving power, to all those who are called by His Name. For such races are like the children, whom Christ took in His arms and blessed. In their very simplicity, they are akin to those simple village folk, whom Christ welcomed with approval—while His message was rejected by the worldly wise and prudent.

In this same relation the sayings of Jesus about offences done to His little ones have a special warning for us, and the promise concerning the cup of

water given in His name to the youngest of His disciples has a peculiar force. Such acts, He tells us, are done unto Himself. And in that last great day of crisis, when Christ's final verdict on mankind shall be pronounced, those nations will assuredly not escape His condemnation who have offended these weaker members of His Body. The Son of Man shall declare in that day, "Depart from Me for I was an hungered and athirst, I was a stranger and naked, I was sick and in prison, I was much as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, My brethren, ye did it not to Me."

Thoughts and memories of Christ's words in the Gospels have haunted me, day and night, while I have been living among the islanders of the Pacific, joining with them in their simple faith and sharing with them in the one life of the world. The task in which I engaged was an enquiry into

of Indian indentured labour in Fiji. The moral evils connected with the migration of this labour had moved very deeply indeed the public conscience in India itself and I was asked to go out a second time in order to see what could be done to remedy these. While the enquiry was proceeding I found out more clearly every day, how closely this comparatively recent Indian immigration had affected these child races and how the reaction of the life of the coolie lines in Fiji had produced already among them the gravest results. The presence of the Indian population was altering the whole problem of the preservation of the indigenous races of the Pacific and was increasing a hundred fold the moral difficulties which the Church was called upon to face in her work of tender shepherding among them.

I found out also more clearly than before that the method by which the Indian labourers had been imported had involved a callousness with regard to the decencies of life on the part of the employers, a neglect of moral considerations and a disregard of what is due to womanhood and childhood which had ended in moral disaster.

Something had happened in Lugland to that which took place in Lugland under the conditions of the old factory system. In both cases the evil had fallen mainly upon the women and the children. In both cases Christ's words about the offence done to His little ones made the sin of careless heedless men startling in its tragic consequences—the crucifying of the Son of Man afresh and putting Him to open shame. And under the indenture system there had been things done which have been still more deeply degrading than even under the factory system. Legislation has been passed by responsible Governments which led inevitably to immoral results. The enactment of the Government of India first that 33 women and then later that 40 women should go out to live in the crowded coolie lines in Fiji with every hundred men was such a Government regulation. The Despatch of the Government of India October 24th 1915 recognised this and declared that there was the gravest reason to fear that the persons of Indian women are placed at the disposal of their fellow Indians and even of the subordinate managing staff. Even after this memorable declaration the

recruiting of women in Northern India went on until March, 1917, when at last strong public opinion intervened and the women of India approached the Viceroy in a deputation and he was empowered to put a stop to the evil.

With all these differences of circumstance the underlying analogy between the two systems holds. The poor factory girl in London sinking lower and lower under overwhelming temptation and at last openly flaunting her sin in finery in the Mile End Road has gone through the same hell as the Indian village girl who has sunk at last beneath the weight of temptation in the coolie lines of Fiji and now stares at the passer by with sullen face her whole person bedizened with ornaments which have been gained by hiring out her body as a harlot to the witless men.

The actual conditions of vice can hardly be drawn too darkly. An epidemic of moral disease has been introduced into the very heart of the Pacific more deadly than any cholera or bubonic plague—a fell disease which takes its toll of death through cruel murders of women in paroxysms of sexual passion through mutilations through suicides. Today the little children who have been born and bred and reared in the midst of this atmosphere of vice in the coolie lines are in contact with the same virus the young Indian children. The things that are being learnt are unspeakable. I write of what I have seen with my own eyes.

Surely Christ who took the little children in His arms and laid His hands on them and blessed them does not wish that these habitations of evil should go on for a day longer. His words have not lost their meaning—Whoso causeth one of these little ones to stumble, 'suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not.' 'Inasmuch as ye bid it not to one of the least of these My brethren ye did it not to Me.' To the young Indian Christian Church just emerging from the darkness of the past what a tragedy! After its early days of purification by martyrdom sacrifice and devotion thus to be suddenly confronted with the danger of sinking back into the mire.

The words of Christ concerning the choking effect of wealth and the deceitfulness of riches sound upon our ears with the gravest warning when brought into

such a context as this for it has been greed of gain, careless of moral cost, which has brought this danger so perilously near. In the past, I had sometimes read the words of Christ with wonder at their heightened language—the camel and the needle's eye, the millstone hanged about the neck, and the thirst agony of the rich man in his place of torment after death but I do not wonder now. For what torment could be worse than wealth obtained by the fouling of innocent children's lives? And if ever a comfortable, wealthy Church needed the word of Him whose eyes are as a flame of fire, "Repent" may there not be something to repent of here in Christian Australia, where the wealthiest company in the land is now grown rich and prosperous out of this very indentured labour, with all its terrible fruits of sexual murder, suicide, crime, and the ruin of child life?

The Indian Government has taken action at last, and acknowledged publicly the inherent moral evil of the old system. Indian indentured labour will no more be recruited. But the mischief in Fiji has already been done, and it would appear at first sight, as if nothing could undo the wrong. Palliatives there are no doubt, which the Indian and Fijian Governments will gradually bring into operation especially when the war is over, and ships can run direct once more between India and Fiji. But the tide of evil is sweeping forward, the actions of Governments are certain to be tardy, and their remedies will be more or less external after all. They can hardly touch the heart.

What is needed, is to begin once more the path of penitence from the beginning—from the point whence the evil started. What is required is to create a cleaner atmosphere within the Church itself with regard to the responsibility of the wealth, to carry out the truth to its ultimate conclusion that "where one member suffers, all the members suffer with it", to rise to the height of the passionate utterance of the apostle—"Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?"

Until we really feel in ourselves the wound dealt to the whole Body when Christ's little ones are made to stumble, until we really and truly suffer when Christ suffers in the wrongs inflicted on the weak and helpless, until we know

something at least of Christ's own sensitiveness to moral pain, we shall but deal superficially with this hydra-headed menace of commercial greed, whether manifested in the grasping employer or in the grasping labourer, who would each alike in turn grow rich at the expense of their fellow men. One bad system of selfishness will merely replace another. The house, empty, swept and garnished, will be taken possession of by some other evil spirits more wicked than those that went before.

But if, on the other hand, we can realise, even in some feeble measure, the suffering of Christ our Lord in His Body, and can widen our range of thought and vision to the members of that Body whose race is different from our own, then an outpouring of generous love and pity will surely flow forth to all those who like these Indians in Fiji have been exploited for monetary purposes by the rich and powerful.

These Indian peasants have come close to Australian shores. They have come out as strangers to a strange land. They have fallen—partly through their own fault but mainly through the neglect of others. They have taken up evil habits of life which were practically unknown to them in India itself. Now, in their weakness, Christ, the Lord and the Master, has placed them before us, saying, "I was a stranger and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed Me not, sick, and in prison, and ye visited Me not." Left by the wayside of life, lying there bruised and wounded and half dead, they need now the tender compassion of the good Samaritan, not the aggressive zeal that compasses sea and land to make one proselyte.

They know their own failure, and they will welcome with gratitude the hand that comes to heal their wound, but they will not welcome the Church which seeks to take advantage of their weakness by proselytising methods—I know how bitterly the thinking portion of them feel about missionary work of this latter type. From first to last, if they are to rise again, to be a blessing, not a curse to the Pacific, there must be in every act of those who go to help them the tenderness and the gentleness of the Christ—that Christ, who said, "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart", that Christ, who was so poor that He had not where to lay His head, that Christ, who would not break

bruised reed or quench the smoking flax, that Christ, who came and lived among us, in His poverty, as one that serveth, having compassion on the multitude, bidd

ing up the broken hearted, and releasing from captivity those that were bound

C. F. ANDREWS

DEATHLESS JOY

(A MEDITATION BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE)

"HE who manifests Himself in all forms of deathless joy "

In the heaven above and on the earth beneath, in the sky and lower air at sunrise and sunset those who are true of heart, sincere in mind, and serene in spirit, see God everywhere revealed as Supreme Blessedness and Joy

When, with the break of day, consciousness returns to man and beast, and all formless things of the dark take shape again in the light, then God's worshippers find the Desire of their hearts in the coming of the dawn and the glory of the sun

He who is the innermost Spirit, dwelling in the sun itself and in all created things and in our human lives unveils His hidden glory

Even as the world is unveiled before our eyes when the darkness of night is past, so God reveals Himself to man in the coming of the dawn

Alh wonder!

In the first beams of the newly risen sun we see the Light of lights

In the fresh beauty of the early dawn we see the Beautiful

We open our eyes and meet His gaze resting upon us everywhere present are His Goodness and His Glory

When we long for Him with eager longing and pray to Him with simple trust, when our soul's thirst can only be filled with His fulness, then on every side, whether near or far, within or without, His presence is made manifest

But if our wills and our hearts are dulled and blunted with impurity, if we do not keep open the door of our soul's temple, then whether we go to the forest or remain in the crowded city, whether we visit pilgrim shrine or sacred place, we shall not be able to see God

I ask from the sun "Where is He?" and the sun answers "He is here"

I ask the lonely trees of the forest "Where is He?" and the forest answers "He is here"

The scripture is made plain which says,—"He is below, He is above He is behind, He is before He is in the South He is in the North"

In the earth and sky alike His Glory is ever shining The immortal ever shows His presence in forms of deathless joy Only when we shut the door of the inner chamber of our hearts the Light of lights is unperceived

When the shades of evening lull the earth to rest and the moon rises in the heavens pouring its tender beams abroad, when the silent majesty of the stars keeps watch over a sleeping world, then we understand the scripture

"He whose dwelling is in the moon and stars, and yet remains apart He whom the moon and stars cannot comprehend He whose body is the moon and stars, but who yet controls them from within"

For it is He and none else who is revealed in the silent beauty of the night

But ere the dawn and the eventide and the deep night His only deathless revelation

No, our human hearts are also the very seat of His indwelling

The True, the Beautiful, the Good are made manifest in the glory of the sun and the beauty of the moon and stars, but much more clearly still are they to be seen in the love lighted human face filled with goodness, and in the pure human spirit shining through frank, clear eyes

God's true lovers, whose hearts serene overflow with the passion of love for the

One who is dearest—they are His revealers

In the vast mountains in the sea in the moon and stars and sun His presence is not so fully seen as in the faces of the good

How lovely are the thoughts of holy minds how austere the self discipline of the righteous how tender and calm are the spirits of noble men! They are a dwelling place dear to the immortal

Nowhere else can He be seen so clearly neither in the heavens nor in the earth nor in the sea

He manifests Himself in forms of deathless joy in the faces of good and holy men who are devoted to His service

Let us lay at His feet the flowers of our love offering and rejoice in the fullness of this rare gift of life

(Translated from the Bengali)

BENGAL WEAVERS AND THEIR INDUSTRY

THE geography of a region must have originally determined the work of its people and this work in its turn modified the place on the one hand and the people themselves on the other. Changes however brought on in the nature and extent of an industry must inevitably exert their corresponding influences on the folk and their country.

Some of the products of the handloom of Bengal are still among the finest in the world and the weavers form the bulk of her industrial population. Mill products have replaced all but those handloom products for which there is a permanent preferential demand on account of artistic and traditional requirements. The surviving industry is now seriously threatened by the existing war conditions. The present cloth famine in Bengal with its resulting suicides unknown in history records the present state of the weaving industry and the people in general and the capacity of the weavers in particular. The *Kabulis* who are now giving out cloths in some of the villages in Eastern Bengal on credit at 100 per cent interest depending on their individual prowess for the realisation of the price with interest by the end of the year recent and that not without some justification any disparagement of the beneficial service they are rendering to the rural population. This is yet another record and ought to engage the immediate attention of all concerned.

Such then are the existing conditions and a detailed survey of these is necessary for suggesting any effective scheme for relieving the growing distress of the weavers and their industry and to some

extent mitigate the present and provide against any such future cloth famine. In my temporary capacity as a touring representative of the Bengal Home Industries Association I had occasion to realise the existing condition of Bengal weavers. The Sub division of Ghatal Midnapore District is a big handloom weaving centre and the existing conditions there obtain in general throughout Bengal.

GHATAL

Forty years ago Ghatal with its unique situation—the navigable river near by and metalled roads radiating to the different parts of western Bengal, was a great centre of industry and commerce. Merchants had big depots large granaries and silk factories the products of which used to be exported to different parts of India and abroad. Its famous industries of bell metal weaving and silk contributed increasingly to the prosperity of the people and developed skill routine scientific and artistic alike to a high degree of perfection.

Every family irrespective of caste grew its own cotton for the women's spinning wheel which had its cultural effect in developing order and refinement in the household. One can understand why the spinning wheel was looked upon as a symbol of the Goddess *Lakshmi*—the deity of prosperity and beauty—when one sees the *Masipur* women merrily turning the wheel—where the old spirit still lingers.

Rearing of silk cocoons which was also another happy family occupation with its most exacting demands of personal cleanliness was very potent in maintaining a

high standard of cleanliness alike personal and civic

Of its past prosperity and splendour there remains the ruins of old factories deserted houses and mounds of forgotten cottages. The silk industry for which it was once famous is almost extinct except for a few scattered individual small concerns whose products are of very inferior quality. The spinning wheel once an essential household implement could hardly be seen in the district. The cultivation of cotton has been altogether abandoned. Malaria is rampant all over the district. The earnings of the workers have diminished to an irreducible minimum—the better skilled silk weavers working 8 hrs a day get 5 as 3 p a day and under most favourable weather and other conditions can earn only 6 annas a day. The earnings of other skilled weavers vary from 3 as 3 p to 4 as 6 p per day according to different systems of organisation. With this income they have to maintain a family supply its food and clothes to say nothing of the numerous other necessities which a household demands. The intense economic stress is devitalising the people and increasing their indebtedness to the *Mahajans*. This again makes them easy victims to malaria. We can get an idea as to the extent of depopulation from the Municipal report of Chandrakona.

Population in the year 1872	21 311
1911	8 121

In 39 years depopulation—13 190 i.e. 62%

To crown all the exploitations of the *Mahajans* are going on mercilessly and with increasing intensity. They are completely impervious to higher humane considerations and unable to understand even what is to their own permanent interest viz the welfare of the weavers. All the above circumstances jointly and separately have driven the weavers to helpless desperation from which they have neither the courage nor the strength to emerge and if something for their betterment be not done immediately these will lead the industry to the only logical conclusion of its ultimate ruin.

CAUSES

Of the causes the first—in order of magnitude, and permanency—comes mill competition which not only affected the weaving industry seriously but has completely

destroyed the spinning industry and with it the cultivation of cotton. Next comes the railway with its establishment Ghatal ceased to be a centre of trade and lost its prosperity. The insufficient provision against lack of drainage caused by the existing railway embankments contributed its share in making the place malarious. And further what is not generally recognised the very quick means of transit itself has gone against the people. In other countries time is money but here in Bengal time is plentiful but the corresponding money is not forthcoming. The rural population through lack of education and organisation have not been able to evolve sufficient occupation for their leisure. On the contrary their time saved has meant only an extra item in their already insufficient family budget owing to the psychological fact that leisure and opportunities create otherwise unnecessary habits. The inability of the people to cope with the disease of silk worms with its consequent deterioration of silk both in quantity and quality has led to the present condition of the silk industry. In addition to the numerous causes mentioned in Dr Bentley's Report on Malaria in Bengal it is further aggravated by their old system of house planning. Every house had its attached pond, which used to supply water to the industrial people and its yield of fish to the family through neglect these very ponds have now become the chief breeding places of malarial parasites.

For the immediate causes we have (1) the rise of prices all around and the exorbitant rise in the price of raw materials in particular brought on by war conditions, and (2) the *Mahajans*.

There are two classes of middlemen in Ghatal the *Mahajans* and the *Beparis*. The *Mahajans* have established firms which supply raw materials buy the finished products give *dadans* (advance money) and are inhabitants of the locality. They are export agents having depots in Calcutta and other places. The *Beparis* are small wandering middlemen with limited capital and carrying on cash transactions. They sell the finished products in the *hat* and sometimes to the big *Mahajans*.

The disappearance of the silk industry left the *Mahajans* only the cotton weaving industry to exploit from which to make

up their total earnings, and this, in the case of cotton weaving, not by improving the quality and increasing the quantity of production, but by the vicious process of buying at the cheapest rate and selling at the highest. This has caused the industry to deteriorate and has brought about the present alarming condition of the weavers. The unusual rise of price of raw materials has been a further disaster to the weavers by bringing them completely under the clutches of the *Mahajans* and diminishing their earning to one fourth the pre war income, which now varies from 0 3 3 annas to 0 4 3 per day.

In pre war days, to set a loom working, it required raw materials worth Rs 14-14 9, which the weavers could, somehow, manage to buy for cash, and thus demand a reasonable price for their labour. Now for the same purpose it requires Rs 41 1 0 worth of raw materials, which they cannot afford to buy for cash and are thus compelled to go to the *Mahajans* for raw materials. (The above figures were obtained in November 1917 and a further rise has taken place since.) Of the *Mahajan's* pre war profits I could not get any data. But their present profits, even on the spot, are never less than 50% on the finished products, leaving aside the consideration of their profit on the raw materials they supply to the weavers. To obtain an unprohibitive price for the article, all conceivable reductions are made on the remuneration given for the labour of the weavers.

When we come to think of the existing method of payment of the weavers by the *Mahajans* one is apt to lose patience and might reasonably ask for legislation to bring such transactions under the penal code. Of the hard earned wages of this most under paid skilled labour, amounting to 3 to 4 as, per diem only a part payment is made by the *Mahajans* on delivery of the finished products. The weavers must wait and wait, sometimes for months, before the *Mahajans* settle their accounts.

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There is none in record, except a solitary instance, and even in this particular case the *Mahajan* realised for 19 years an interest of Rs 12 per annum on his investment of Rs 25 besides Rs 6 of this investment! Thus we see that in the course of 19 years he realised an interest amounting to Rs 228 on his yet unrealised Rs 19!

For their first investment of *dadan* they have adequate security,—before any further advance is made, the first amount is generally realised through the interest, the terms of the *dadan* being, that the weaver will always get 4 as less for each 10 yds of cloth. Taking the minimum average production of each loom, which is 40 yds per month, we find *Mahajans* get Rs 13 a year from each loom as interest. On an average the *Dadan* on each loom is generally about Rs 25. Thus they realise their investment in the course of two years, besides having the advantage of the slavish obedience they secure and exact from the weavers.

The only redeeming feature in the influence of the big *Mahajans* has been that they have kept up the standard of the quality of the product, and this not from any noble consideration of patriotism or of art, but for their own profitable existence.

The small *Mahajans* and the *Beparis*, whose number is growing, are deteriorating the quality of the products very effectively and increasingly. Having neither permanency, nor established reputation as men of business, they are continually asking, and sometimes definitely instructing the weavers to manufacture cheap imitation articles, by using three different counts of yarn in the same fabric in its different parts!

SUGGESTIONS.

Of these causes the Mill competition and Railroads are established facts, which it is neither possible nor desirable to do away with. But their effects could be mitigated and ultimately, with education and evolution of proper occupation, they could be used to the best advantage for all concerned. The existing cloth famine has most poignantly and effectively brought home to the people what is to their permanent interest. And with proper initiative and requisite organisation and necessary informations the cultivation of cotton and rearing of silk.

high standard of cleanliness alike personal and civic

Of its past prosperity and splendour there remains the ruins of old factories, deserted houses and mounds of forgotten cottages. The silk industry for which it was once famous is almost extinct, except for a few scattered individual small concerns, whose products are of very inferior quality. The spinning wheel, once an essential household implement, could hardly be seen in the district. The cultivation of cotton has been altogether abandoned. Malaria is rampant all over the district. The earnings of the workers have diminished to an irreducible minimum—the better skilled silk weavers working 8 hrs a day get 5 as 3 p a day, and under most favourable weather and other conditions can earn only 6 annas a day. The earnings of other skilled weavers vary from 3 as 3 p to 4 as 6 p per day according to different systems of organisation. With this income they have to maintain a family, supply its food and clothes, to say nothing of the numerous other necessities which a household demands. The intense economic stress is devastating the people and increasing their indebtedness to the *Mahajans*. This again makes them easy victims to malaria. We can get an idea as to the extent of depopulation from the Municipal report of Chandrakona.

Population in the year 1872	21,311
" " " " 1911	8,121

In 39 years depopulation—13,190 i.e. 62%

To crown all, the exploitations of the *Mahajans* are going on mercilessly and with increasing intensity. They are completely impervious to higher humane considerations and unable to understand even what is to their own permanent interest, viz., the welfare of the weavers. All the above circumstances jointly and separately, have driven the weavers to helpless desperation, from which they have neither the courage nor the strength to emerge, and if something for their betterment be not done immediately, these will lead the industry to the only logical conclusion of its ultimate ruin.

CAUSES

Of the causes the first—in order, magnitude, and permanency—comes mill competition, which not only affected the weaving industry seriously, but has completely

destroyed the spinning industry and with it the cultivation of cotton. Next comes the railway, with its establishment Ghatal ceased to be a centre of trade and lost its prosperity. The insufficient provision against lack of drainage caused by the existing railway embankments contributed its share in making the place malarious. And further, what is not generally recognised, the very quick means of transit itself has gone against the people. In other countries time is money, but here in Bengal time is plentiful, but the corresponding money is not forthcoming. The rural population, through lack of education and organisation, have not been able to evolve sufficient occupation for their leisure. On the contrary, their time saved has meant only an extra item in their already insufficient family budget, owing to the psychological fact that leisure and opportunities create otherwise unnecessary habits. The inability of the people to cope with the disease of silk-worms with its consequent deterioration of silk both in quantity and quality, has led to the present condition of the silk industry. In addition to the numerous causes mentioned in Dr Bentley's "Report on Malaria in Bengal," it is further aggravated by their old system of house planning. Every house had its attached pond, which used to supply water to the industrial people and its yield of fish to the family, through neglect these very ponds have now become the chief breeding places of malarial parasites.

For the immediate causes we have (1) the rise of prices all around, and the exorbitant rise in the price of raw materials in particular, brought on by war conditions, and (2) the *Mahajans*.

There are two classes of middlemen in Ghatal, the *Mahajans* and the *Beparis*. The *Mahajans* have established firms which supply raw materials, buy the finished products, give *dadans* (advance money) and are inhabitants of the locality. They are export agents having depots in Calcutta and other places. The *Beparis* are small wandering middlemen, with limited capital and carrying on cash transactions. They sell the finished products in the *hat* and sometimes to the big *Mahajans*.

The disappearance of the silk industry left the *Mahajans* only the cotton weaving industry to exploit, from which to make

up their total earnings, and this, in the case of cotton weaving, not by improving the quality and increasing the quantity of production, but by the vicious process of buying at the cheapest rate and selling at the highest. This has caused the industry to deteriorate and has brought about the present alarming condition of the weavers. The unusual rise of price of raw materials has been a further disaster to the weavers by bringing them completely under the clutches of the *Mahajans* and diminishing their earning to one fourth the pre war income, which now varies from 0 3 3 annas to 0-4-3 per day.

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PLANTING TIME

The earth is busy, it is planting time
 Shine, sun, sing, dancing rain,
 Soon will the shrouded seed victorious climb
 To resurrection from the vanquished grave,
 And life's broad banners will unfurl and wave
 In summer's camps on shining hill and plain,
 Ripeness will chant its clear, perennial strain
 Beneath noon's dome and midnight's starry nave

The earth is warring, it is planting time
 Shine, tears, sing, pride and pain,
 I know not what seed hallowed and sublime
 Is being sown, with darkest sweat o'erstrewn,
 In fields of time enriched with costly ruin,
 But it will sprout, and the wild urge and strain
 Will wave its triumph, chant its golden gain
 Under some tranquil, full-orbed harvest moon

MAJCE SEYMOUR

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

A Common Script for Indian Languages

I have read with great interest the two articles of Mr Ganguli in the Modern Review on the adoption of a common script for all Indian languages. He thinks that the Devanagari script is unsuited to become the common script because of the great difficulty of writing speedily in that script and of the difficulty of transliterating the non phonetically written Indian languages like Bengali. He also shows that arguments in its favour are more sentimental than utilitarian, but though he thinks that the adoption of a modified Roman script for Bengali would be a step in the right direction, he seems to suggest that the matter should be suspended for the present, till the present chaos of the Roman script is set right, and also that this latter matter should be left to the European nations themselves. But owing to the numerous important problems that would face them in the near future, and the great disagreement amongst the various advocates of widely different systems of alphabet, we may be sure there is no hope of its being solved by them at present. But if we think this problem is also of importance and urgency to us, we must set ourselves to solve it on the lines suggested by Mr Ganguli.

The adoption of a common script for all Indian languages is not simply advantageous but of urgent necessity to all of us. It would also be easier and more useful to undertake. It immediately when the great majority of our people are not yet acquainted with any kind of script. It will save the great waste of energy by Indians in learning a new script almost every time they attempt to learn a new vernacular in the country they live in. Many of our provinces have a large number of scripts in use.

Besides the four chief Dravidian languages, Marathi and Hindustani are also recognised as vernaculars of this presidency (Madras), and all of these have their own scripts [of these only Marathi uses Devanagari script and its use is confined to a small corner of the presidency, all the remaining scripts

have some point or other of superiority to Devanagari]. Many other provinces are situated likewise. The adoption of a common script has never been more urgent in India than now.

From the point of view of a non Bengali Indian I believe the adoption of Roman script for Bengali will be of great benefit to the country. It would immensely facilitate the learning of the Bengali language and literature by non Bengalis, the chief obstacle in their ways at present being its script. Many of the forces that have been shaping the political, religious, social and literary destiny of the country are still kept and confined in the Bengali language, and are only very imperfectly let out into the rest of the country. A knowledge of Bengali is a great asset to all (non Bengali) Indians that can afford to learn it. This explains the wide desire to learn that language. The greater part of the country has still very vague conception of men like Ram Mohan Roy and Sir Rabindranath Tagore. To make up for this great want, the other Indian communities have been translating some of the best Bengali works into their respective languages but at best this arrangement is a very imperfect one, and owing to many causes these translations are often very poor success (some of them being made from English). The English translations that have so far appeared are more useful to Englishmen than to us and the high price of those works is also a hindrance to us. To provide every facility for learning Bengali and popularise its literature is a great necessity for us Indians. As a step in this direction, therefore, I urge that the Bengalis should come to a conclusion immediately about the adoption of Indo-Romanic script for their language. If this be effected, I believe, it would greatly help the expansion of the Bengali language over the rest of India. Its effects otherwise also are far reaching by the general adoption of a modified Romanic script the Bengalis will be making one more addition to their services for the uplift and unification of India. How much useful work would already have been

cocoons stand the best chance of revival along with these the spinning and weaving industries should be established amongst the agriculturists as a supplementary occupation in which as of old the whole family may take their respective parts specially the women for whom there is at present no fruitful occupation except domestic work and who cannot undertake any outside work.

But as immediate steps we must establish Co-operative Credit Societies to get the workers out of the clutches of the *Mahajans* and to improve the existing conditions of the industry and the workers and thus effect a reduction in the price of their products. Store Societies with the following definite objects should be organised

(1) To secure raw materials at the cheapest rate and supply the workers directly

(2) To supply and introduce such improved machinery and implements as can be now procured

(3) To introduce improved patterns and designs of varying sizes and qualities to suit modern demands alike Indian and foreign for useful and artistic products and thus secure a better market

(4) To buy finished products at a reasonable rate

(5) To establish weaving houses on contract labour system with improved machinery and methods of production which would be the best means for their introduction among the individual workers and further for providing work for those weavers to whom the Credit Societies cannot extend their help

All these should be done not only for the reasons given above but for the further vital consideration of stopping depopulation. Unless the existing economic stress be relieved by improved methods of production better marketing and spread of education mere improvement of sanitation cannot effectively cope with malaria which is at once one of the causes and effects of this deplorable state of Ghatal

STORE SOCIETY

Finance If a Joint Stock Company be first formed here in Calcutta and definite

work commenced, on such a scale as its subscribed funds would permit local funds will be forthcoming alike from the Zamindars middle class gentlemen and even the small shopkeepers. The Credit and Store Societies will mutually help each other. The Credit Society is necessary for the establishment of the Store Society which in its turn will ensure better security for the former

CONSTITUTION

Organisers and supervisors should not only be efficient and well informed capable of organising and materialising ideas but must possess real sympathy for the workers and their needs and respect for their tradition and culture and thus be able to humanise all they do. For energy without organisation is futile and organisation without humanity is fatal. Work shops should be in charge of an experienced and considerate local weaver. Every effort should be made by giving special facilities to recruit increasingly members from the workers themselves and thus secure their active interest in the organisation and its permanency. Further, attempts should be made to secure the co-operation of even the *Mahajans* whose knowledge of the existing local conditions would be most helpful. If these conditions are assured the Store Society will not be a losing concern. The caste system with all its limitations managed to keep up the industries on their traditional lines. The present freedom of occupation without the necessary education which would make people realise the *dignity of labour* is one of the causes of existing conditions. The existence of Store Societies will exert its educative influence in this direction and in organisation and co-operation

Its reasonable rate of profit will be a very efficient check on the *Mahajans*. Its workshops will not interfere with the independent weavers' artistic works. Its depots for raw materials and finished products will greatly increase the earning of the weavers and with their prosperity, industry will flourish, the place improve and finally creative art may revive

MATISWAR SEN

not merely propounders of new schools of thought but are canonised semidivine saints to question the truth of whose teachings would be little short of impiety."

It is difficult to imagine how a student of Hindu philosophy can get the idea that it is impious to question the truth of its teachings when he finds the advocates of each system freely criticizing the other systems. As a matter of fact the orthodox Pandits, both modern and ancient, generally adhere to a particular school of philosophy and consider the doctrines of the other systems as defective. We know that Chaitanya declared that Sankara's interpretation of Brahma Sutras is perverted and misleading and this view is still held by many of his 'followers' who are not considered as impious.

Nevertheless it is true that some of the propounders of Hindu philosophy are held in the highest regard by the Hindus. But what does it show? It shows that the Hindus regard the teachings of these philosophers as of the highest importance and therefore to be cherished most reverently. The Hindus fancy that in the intellectual achievements of these sages they recognize the direct working of the Divine Spirit whom they believe to be the ultimate source of all human activities. Should this be regarded as a justification for not teaching their philosophy to the Hindus? Should it not on the other hand be regarded as the very reason why the Hindus should be afforded every facility to study their ancient philosophy? The Christian regards the teachings of the Bible as divinely inspired. But we have never heard it suggested for this reason that the Christian should not be allowed to read the Bible as it is likely to make his vision prejudiced. The fact is that the greater the veneration with which a book is regarded the greater will be the benefit which a perusal of the book will afford, for with a spirit of veneration the mental faculties are on the alert and the teachings sink deeply into the mind.

Assuming however that the Hindu has an improper veneration for his own philosophy which it is necessary to remove from his mind, the best way of doing so is not to keep him in ignorance of the contents of his philosophy for in his ignorance he may exaggerate its real worth. Let him read both Indian and European philosophy and form an idea about their comparative value. The result of the present system of education in which most of our young men are kept in the dark about our philosophy is that there is one class of young men who have too great a veneration for the ancient system and there is another class of young men who have nothing but undisguised contempt. This is not a desirable state of affairs. Let our young men see what our philosophy really is. We plead for "more light." Let not the advocates of the progressive school oppose this plea.

As will appear from the following passage the writer makes a number of assertions for which sufficient justification does not exist—

"Will it be denied that Western philosophy has always laid more emphasis on the ethical side of human relations than Eastern? We do not forget that insistence on purity has always formed a prominent feature of our philosophy but has not that purity often been of a ceremonial and mechanical character? We know that the quest of the Brahman is introduced in the aphorism with a word denoting 'after this' (ततः) and this is made by the commentator to cover a prolonged course of spiritual training. But such questions of spiritual growth are lost in the immensity of its pantheistic abstractions, the result

of which is the total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad, as is everywhere the case in the Puranas.

We must begin by admitting that our philosophy does not lay proper emphasis on the ethical side of human relations. And this, though in most treatises on Hindu religion and philosophy it is laid down that in order to make spiritual progress possible we must control our passions (इन्द्रियनिग्रह), renounce all desire of enjoyment either in this world or in the world hereafter, be indifferent to pleasure and pain, and remain unmoved by joy or sorrow. Unfortunately personal cleanliness is also insisted upon, and so the entire course of training is condemned as 'ceremonial and mechanical.'

The fact that in one instance the preliminary course of spiritual training is not explicit in the aphorism but is given in detail by the commentator does not matter, for the commentary is a part of the system of philosophy and indicates its general trend of thought which is the subject of discussion. And surely it is not suggested that ethical questions are only taken up in the commentaries and so are nowhere to be found in texts and aphorisms. It is further stated that ethical questions are overlooked in pantheistic doctrines. The small but important difference between Vedantism and pantheism is lost sight of and the fact that the other systems of philosophy do not even make an approach to pantheism is ignored. And the whole thing is wound up by the startling assertion that "there is a total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad, everywhere in the Puranas." So there is not one instance in the entire Puranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. It sounds almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.

It seems that the writer suffers from some of the popular misconceptions about Hindu philosophy. One such misconception is that it favours a life of inaction,—a misconception which has been refuted in the Editorial notes of this number of the Magazine. The writer of the article says however, "In India it (Philosophy) has taught us to pin our faith to the fatalistic doctrine of karma and has taken away all incentive to action by promising reward in after life." In the first place the doctrine of karma is not fatalistic. Then it is not clear how the promise of reward in future life tends to promote a life of inaction. One would suppose that a belief in our actions being rewarded in future life is likely to be an incentive to good actions in this life. The teaching of Hindu philosophy is however to do what is good without any desire for the reward either in this life or in the next. The writer also ridicules another tendency of Hindu philosophy. It makes men eager to retire on the hills to meditate on their release. This love of retirement and meditation which the writer apparently looks upon with disfavour is, however, not peculiar to the Hindu sages. We find it in the lives of Buddha, Christ and Mahomet,—men who have revolutionised human progress. It may be urged that these latter were concerned not so much with their own release as with the release of their fellowmen. The distinction however is not material, for unless a man knows how to put an end to his own miseries, how can he teach his fellowmen?

The assertion of Dr Lindsay that the political dependence of Hindu nations is the reverse of the teachings of their philosophy should be regarded as an instance where two prominent facts are believed to be related as cause and effect merely by the reason

done if the Ekahpivistara Parishad of Calcutta had arrived at making Romanic script and not Devanagari the 'ekalipi.' I trust the other Indian communities will follow them closely behind also in this respect, as they are doing in so many of her useful reforms—political, religious, social, literary and artistic.

A MADRASEE

Should Our Young Students Study Our Ancient Philosophy.

In the April number of the Modern Review appeared an article on the Rector's convocation speech in which the writer opposed the suggestion of Lord Ronaldshay that Indian philosophy should be taught to our students when they first begin to study philosophy in the University. In the Editorial Notes of that number also some arguments were urged against the introduction of Indian philosophy in the undergraduate course. It is proposed in this article to examine briefly some of these arguments.

I

We shall first deal with the remarks in the Editorial Notes. It has been said

'Do British students learn philosophy to begin with as English philosophy or Angkhal philosophy or Christian philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales Pythagoras, etc neglecting modern philosophy?'

The difference between the case of a European and an Indian student of philosophy is that the former is familiar with all that is worth knowing in the particular schools of philosophy which were developed in his own country, but the latter has no idea of the remarkable achievements in philosophy in his own country unless he prosecutes his studies in philosophy beyond the B A degree. This is because what is called the General System of Philosophy is really the Western or European philosophy and though it takes proper account of the development of philosophy in the various countries of Europe it has very little concern with Indian philosophy. For this reason it is necessary to teach Indian philosophy to an Indian student in addition to what is called General Philosophy. And this should be done in the beginning for the first impressions on the mind are generally the strongest. Otherwise our students will have an idea that Western philosophy alone represents a systematized body of knowledge and is the only philosophy worth studying.

There are also other reasons why it is more important for the Indian student to study Indian philosophy than it is, say, for the Greek student to study ancient Greek philosophy. In the first place the development of philosophy in India was much more remarkable than in Greece, or in any other ancient country. In the next place Indian civilization has many special features of its own and if it is considered necessary that these special features should not be lost sight of in the system of education which we provide for our young men, then that system of education should include a course of Indian philosophy which through religion, literature and social institutions has so greatly influenced our civilization.

It has been considered inadvisable to allow students to read Indian philosophy before the 'critical faculty has somewhat matured.' Apparently the objection is that the student may accept the doctrines of Indian philosophy as true without

critical examination. This however is not likely to happen. The various systems of Hindu philosophy criticize each other freely. So a study of the various systems will develop the critical faculties of the student. Besides he will read European philosophy along with Indian philosophy and is sure to apply to Indian philosophy the methods of criticism with which he becomes familiar in the course of his study of European philosophy. And assuming that it will create a bias, is it not after all a lesser evil that some students acquire a bias in favour of Indian philosophy than that the greater number of students of philosophy is kept in ignorance about the nature and contents of Indian philosophy?

Another objection that the Calcutta University consists of both Hindu and Mahomedan students and it would not be "proper, prudent or expedient to make it (Hindu philosophy) an obligatory subject of study for Moslem students taking up philosophy." This objection could be urged equally against the inclusion of Hindu philosophy in the post graduate studies. It seems to us however that there should be no objection for Mahomedan students to read Hindu philosophy. Hindu philosophy attained remarkable developments in many important departments of human thought and there is no reason why Mahomedan students should not be acquainted with them. As India is the land of adoption of these Mahomedan students it is but fit that they should know the philosophy which flourished in this soil. If we remember right, it was the Hon Mr. Mazharul Haq who in his presidential address in the Behar Provincial Conference urged his co-religionists to study Hindu philosophy (which he had himself found highly edifying) and invited his Hindu countrymen to study the history of Islam. This, he said, is likely to promote mutual understanding and good will between the two great sister communities of India.

It has been said that it would not be easy to find competent teachers of Hindu philosophy "who have studied it in the original and who at the same time are capable, by their training and knowledge, to teach it critically, taking nothing on trust, putting everything to the test of reason and experience and accepting only that which can stand that test, and even then not resting on it as something final." We admit that it would be very difficult to find such ideal teachers especially in the beginning. But should the greater portion of students be deprived of a knowledge of the subject for this difficulty? What seems necessary is that the teachers should understand Hindu philosophy and should be able to explain it to the students. After all ideal teachers are rare in any branch of knowledge. It is not likely that the teacher of Hindu philosophy will impress upon the students that the doctrines of the various systems of philosophy are revealed and must not be questioned. Even if some teacher tries such a thing, he will not be readily accepted, for we ought to remember that he would be teaching students who have already had some training in the western system and some knowledge of western science.

II

We shall now examine some of the arguments in the article already referred to. The writer says

"India is so oppressed by the sense of perfection attained by her ancient sages that we approach their study not with an open mind but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought in us. Jainism and Kautilya and Samkhya * * are

not merely propounders of new schools of thought but are canonised semidivine saints to question the truth of whose teachings would be little short of impiety.

It is difficult to imagine how a student of Hindu philosophy can get the idea that it is impious to question the truth of its teachings when he finds the advocates of each system freely criticizing the other system. As a matter of fact the orthodox Pandits, both modern and ancient, generally adhere to a particular school of philosophy and consider the doctrines of the other systems as defective. We know that Chaitanya declared that Sankara's interpretation of Brahma Sutras is perverted and misleading and this view is still held by many of his followers who are not considered as impious.

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Assuming however that the Hindu has an improper veneration for his own philosophy which it is necessary to remove from his mind the best way of doing so is not to keep him in ignorance of the contents of his philosophy for in his ignorance he may exaggerate its real worth. Let him read both Indian and European philosophy and form an idea about their comparative value. The result of the present system of education in which most of our young men are kept in the dark about our philosophy is that there is one class of young men who have too great a veneration for the ancient system and there is another class of young men who have nothing but undisguised contempt. This is not a desirable state of affairs. Let our young men see what our philosophy really is. We plead for "more light." Let not the advocates of the progressive school oppose this plea.

As will appear from the following passage the writer makes a number of assertions for which sufficient justification does not exist.

"Will it be denied that Western philosophy has always laid more emphasis on the ethical side of human relations than Eastern? We do not forget that insistence on purity has always formed a prominent feature of our philosophy but has not that purity often been of a ceremonial and mechanical character? We know that the quest of the Brahman is introduced in the aphorism with a word denoting after this (एव) and this is made by the commentator to cover a prolonged course of spiritual training. But such questions of spiritual growth are lost in the immensity of its pantheistic abstractions, the result

of which is the total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad as is everywhere the case in the Puranas.

We must begin by admitting that our philosophy does not lay proper emphasis on the ethical side of human relations. And this, though in most treatises on Hindu religion and philosophy it is laid down that in order to make spiritual progress possible we must control our passions (इन्द्रियनिग्रह), renounce all desire of enjoyment either in this world or in the world hereafter, be indifferent to pleasure and pain, and remain unmoved by joy or sorrow. Unfortunately personal cleanliness is also insisted upon, and so the entire course of training is condemned as 'ceremonial and mechanical'.

The fact that in one instance the preliminary course of spiritual training is not explicit in the aphorism but is given in detail by the commentator does not matter, for the commentary is a part of the system of philosophy and indicates its general trend of thought which is the subject of discussion. And surely it is not suggested that ethical questions are only taken up in the commentaries and so are nowhere to be found in texts and aphorisms. It is further stated that ethical questions are overlooked in pantheistic doctrines. The small but important difference between Vedantism and pantheism is lost sight of and the fact that the other systems of philosophy do not even make an approach to pantheism is ignored. And the whole thing is wound up by the startling assertion that 'there is a total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad everywhere in the Puranas'. So there is not one instance in the entire Puranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. It sounds almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.

It seems that the writer suffers from some of the popular misconceptions about Hindu philosophy. One such misconception is that it favours a life of inaction, a misconception which has been refuted in the Editorial notes of this number of the Magazine. The writer of the article says however 'In India it (Philosophy) has taught us to pin our faith to the fatalistic doctrine of Karma and has taken away all incentive to action by promising reward in after life.' In the first place the doctrine of Karma is not fatalistic. Then it is not clear how the promise of reward in future life tends to promote a life of inaction. One would suppose that a belief in our actions being rewarded in future life is likely to be an incentive to good actions in this life. The teaching of Hindu philosophy is however to do what is good without any desire for the reward either in this life or in the next. The writer also ridicules another tendency of Hindu philosophy. It makes men eager to retire on the hills to meditate on their release. This love of retirement and meditation which the writer apparently looks upon with disfavour is however, not peculiar to the Hindu sages. We find it in the lives of Buddha, Christ and Mahomet,—men who have revolutionised human progress. It may be urged that these latter were concerned not so much with their own release as with the release of their fellow men. The distinction however is not material, for unless a man knows how to put an end to his own miseries, how can he teach his fellowmen?

The assertion of Dr Lindsay that the political dependence of Hindu nations is the nemesis of the teachings of their philosophy should be regarded as an instance where two prominent facts are believed to be related as cause and effect merely by the reason

relations with man and his highest well being Wordsworth exclaimed "what man has made of man" In the same vein one may ask—what science has made of man or man of science? "The motive of science was," says Emerson, "extension of man on all sides into nature till his hands should touch the stars, his eyes see through the earth, his ears understand the language of beast and bird and the sense of the wind, and, through his sympathy, heaven and earth should talk with him But that is not our science All our science lacks a human side" * puts humanity to the door ** wants the connection which is the test of genius ** science in England in America is jealous of theory, hates the name of love and moral purpose ** In the absence of the highest aims, of pure love of knowledge, and the surrender to nature, there is the suppression of the imagination, the priapism of the senses and the understanding we have the factitious instead of the natural, tasteless expense, arts of comfort and the rewarding as an illustrious inventor whoever will contrive one impediment more to interpose between man and his objects

The same author points out the revenge of this inhumanity of science as follows—'Man is a shrewd inventor and is ever taking the hint of a new machine from his own structure adapting some secret of his own anatomy in iron, wood and leather, to required function in the work of the world But it is found that the machine unmans the user What he gains in making cloth he loses in general power — * The robust rural Saxon degenerates in the mills to the Leicester stockinger to the lumbic Manchester spinner—far on the way to be spiders and needies ** The Machinery has proved, like the balloon, unmanageable, and flies away with the aeronaut The Mechanist has wrought and watched engineers and firemen without number have been sacrificed in learning to tame and guide the monster" †

† One scarcely requires to be told that the world

Now, to avoid aggravation of such disastrous consequences to humanity and minimise the existing evils it has already become incumbent upon the modern civilized man to clog betimes the reckless, ruinous career of this monster that science has come to be, by linking him in lawful wedlock to the fair-featured Damsel of Philosophy "The balanced soul" of Plato, as Emerson tells us who had the excellences of Asia and Europe in his brain, viz, the unity of the former and the detail of the latter, worked out such a needed Synthesis once, about 2500 years ago,—and the world is awaiting with bated breath the advent once more of such another or a greater Synthesiser

A beginning has already been made by our Philosopher Scientist, Sir Jagadishchandra Basu who has laid the foundation for the New School of humanising science by broadbasing it upon the solid rock of the unifying Idealism of Asia. And who knows but that another giant Soul may not arise out of that sacred soil of this ancient land to evolve and propound a New Philosophy of life, based upon a broader interpretation of the ever increasing facts that the progress of science is everyday bringing to light such as is yet beyond the highest reach of your Bergsons and Berrleys? The life's work and writings of Rammohan Ray, Vivekananda and Rabindranath, have cleared the way to a great extent But a far more general diffusion of the hidden riches of Indian philosophy not through the narrow street pipes of Anglicised Catechisms like those of Max Muller Paul Deussen, or Thibaut, but through deep diving into the perennial Spring itself, is *the sine qua non* for the dawning of that day of consummation

AN OLD ALUMNUS

wide orgies of the politico-military cannibalism of Germany have furnished the latest proof of the inhumanity of modern sciences, and of the inevitable revenge that follows it and seems to threaten all humanity with a speedy doom

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS*

THIS very valuable work is neatly printed on thick art paper The illustrations are clear and lithographed on good paper The port folios are beautiful

There are altogether 1381 Indian medicinal plants dealt with in this work We have first the botanical name of the plant, and then, where these are known the Sanskrit and vernacular names Then its habitat is given This is followed by a

scientific description of the leaves, flowers, fruits, etc The parts used for medicinal purposes are then indicated Last come the medicinal properties ascribed to them and their uses

In a learned introduction the Editor, Major R. D. Basu dwells, among other things, on the knowledge of medicinal plants which the ancient Hindu possessed at different periods of their history From the introduction it will also be clear that a work like the present one was a desideratum and it will be of great use to students of economic botany, medical men manufacturers of medicine, agricultural and forest officers and all who are interested in the development of the economic resources of India

As the Editor says the importance of studying the subject of Indian medicinal plants has been again and again insisted on by many writers, and it is too late in the day to discuss the necessity of such a study "The ease and cheapness with which

* "Indian Medicinal Plants"—By Lieutenant Colonel K. R. Kirtikar, F.L.S., I.M.S. (Retired), Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired), and an I.C.S. (Retired) Published by Sudhindranath Basu, M.D. Panini Office, Bhobaneswar Asrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad 1918 Cloth, gilt-lettered Letter press in two parts Pp 1st+1419+11 Four Portfolios containing 1033 Plates of Illustrations Price Rs. 250

these are procurable the marvellous powers that are attributed to them in the cure of different maladies by natives of India, should induce us to investigate their properties and settle once for all their claims on our attention. The indigenous drugs have not so far been carefully and systematically studied, although there are many works on the medicinal plants and drugs of different provinces of India. The present work will be a great help to such further study of medicinal plants as must be undertaken in the interests of science and humanity.

At present there is no pharmaceutical society or school of pharmacy in this country to carefully study and investigate the subjects of indigenous drugs. "The establishment of such an institution is highly desirable, so also farms of medicinal plants" in the May number of this Review, we have referred to what is being done at present in France and Holland to encourage the starting and maintenance of medicinal plant gardens and what a profitable trade there is in France in these plants. Regarding the growing of medicinal plants, Mr F A Miller writes in the journal "American Pharmaceutical Association III, pp 34-38" that the time has arrived to reduce the work of drug cultivation to an exact science and to determine the commercial possibilities of the most promising forms, in the same manner as has been done in agricultural and other economic farms.

During the present war, many drugs and medicines hitherto imported from the West, have either become very costly or quite unobtainable. Mr R P Craford, writing in *Scientific American Supplement* for September 8, 1917, on 'reducing drug plant cultivation to a science,' says "that drug plant cultivation is far from easy and the institution that works out these problems in connection with several score different plants has a difficult task ahead, but one which may pave the way toward American independence in drug science." The Editor of the present work says in the same spirit that "scientific cultivation of drug plants in this country will make India independent in drug science." Lieut. Col Sir Leonard Rogers is reported to have said before the Indian Industry Commission that "most of the drugs imported into India were absolute refuse, and considering that one-half of the drugs in the British pharmacopoeia are indigenous to India and that most of the rest could be cultivated, there is clearly an opportunity of developing an industry that has been almost neglected, and if India is to grow its own drugs it must take care that it gets them unadulterated." A Hakim wrote sometime ago to the *Bombay Chronicle* condemning the trade in indigenous drugs as based on ignorance and fraud. He said "Those who have the trade in their hands at present are inadequately qualified for the task. They do not know whence the drugs are brought, where they are cultivated, and whether the individual drug is the same as it is alleged to be. They do not know the age of the drugs they use, and whether they still retain any of the medicinal properties how they should be preserved and taken care of, and so forth. The result of this ignorance is that throughout the country quite useless old medicines are consumed." This means that large numbers of patients die who would have recovered if good drugs were available. The establishment of medicinal farms in well selected

localities will exercise scientific control over the cultivation of and trade in medicinal plants. Regarding the advantages of conducting a farm of this nature Messrs Furroughs Wellcome and Co., who have established such a one, write —

1. A drug may be treated or worked up immediately it has been collected.

2. Herbs may be dried, if necessary, directly they are cut, before fermentation and deteriorative changes have set in.

3. Freedom is ensured from capriciousness on the part of collectors, who, in gathering wild herbs, are very difficult to control in the matter of adulteration, both accidental and intentional.

4. Opportunity is provided to select and cultivate that particular strain of a plant which has been found by chemical and physiological tests to be the most active, and which gives the most satisfactory preparations.

There are many other considerations which make it imperative that drug plants should be cultivated scientifically. The trade in indigenous drugs is by no means small and negligible. Dr Kaikhosru K. Dadachany, late of the Indian Medical Service, said in the address which he delivered at the monthly meeting of the Bombay Medical Union on the 31st January this year, that, "The Indian consumers of medicines depend mostly on herbs growing wild in the forests. This inland trade is very large, in the Punjab alone amounting to half a crore of rupees."

There are many plants mentioned by Hindu medical authors which are not procurable now, e.g., Kakoli, Kshira kakoli, Medha, Maha medha, Jivaka, Risabha, &c. Either the plants have become very rare or extinct, or there are no means of identifying them. The botanical descriptions and illustrations in the present work ought to prevent our losing sight in future of any medicinal plants that are in use at present. Those which have become rare in the wild state ought to be scientifically cultivated.

By chemical analysis and physiological experiments the alleged medicinal properties of plants in use should be put to the test. This will help in introducing new drugs into the pharmacopoeia and in weeding out the worthless from the good.

The state ought to encourage and, where necessary, initiate new industries. Medicinal Plant Gardening is such an industry. Laboratories for analysing drug plants should also be established by the state. The Imperial and Provincial Agricultural and Forest Departments of British India should make use of the information brought together in this monumental work. The Native States are still the refuge of many a precious heritage of our past. There is undoubtedly a great deal that is valuable in our ancient system of medical treatment. But if it is to have a fair chance and to survive and be useful, it must be made progressive and the drugs prescribed by the Vaidas and Hakims must be fresh, genuine and unadulterated. Hence all Native States should have medicinal plant gardens and pharmaceutical laboratories, and their Agricultural and Forest Departments should be provided with copies of this work. Now that it has been published, the educated section of the public should insist that all indigenous physicians of repute and all the leading pharmaceutical factories should be able to scientifically identify the plants they use.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

National Education

In the course of a telling article contributed to the *Servant of India*, R. P. Paranjpye tries to show that the scheme of National Education recently formulated is based on wrong principles and is impracticable in details. Mr Paranjpye believes firmly that imparting education of every kind, is, in the main, the duty of Government, as the keeping up of the police and military forces is. No private body can adequately undertake it. Though we do not agree with all the views expressed in the article under review we have no hesitation in saying that there is a good deal of truth in the following observations of the writer which we commend to the careful consideration of all those who are interested in the spread of education in India.

The present system of education is said to have been invented for the single purpose of providing clerks for Government. Any good results that may have arisen out of it are said to have come in spite of the system. We are afraid that this is going too far. For a rational estimate we must take into account the good results as well as the evil, and every reasonable man will be constrained to say that the former vastly preponderate. Even this present feeling of nationality is the direct result of our present system of education. Did the Madrasi, the Bengali, the Marathi and the Sindhi even do lip service to the idea that they are all children of the same soil and their interests are mainly identical sixty years ago? The present system has its defects no doubt, and attempts should be made to improve it, but it would not be desirable to do away with it root and branch, even if it were possible.

National Education in England has always meant education of every child in the country and has generally been regarded as the duty of the Government. The late Mr Gokhale's advocacy of free and compulsory primary education was in this sense directed to secure national education in India. Such a system of universal education cannot be achieved by any private agency, however energetic, though we have a vast respect for the energy of Mrs Besant and her co-workers. It has got to be done through the agency of Government and Government alone. Private agencies can at the best be only supplementary to Government, stepping in to make new experiments, to fill in occasional gaps and to make Government realise its duties.

Perhaps National Education may denote that the educating agency should be Indian. Our object in asking for a predominantly Indian element is that it is only Indians who can be naturally expected to be

the proper teachers of Indians, that they will be cheaper, that they alone can thoroughly understand the social system of India, and that any preference shown to Europeans in the matter of education leaves in the minds of Indians feelings which are altogether alien to true educational ideals.

There is a third point on which this campaign insists and that is that the medium of education should be the vernaculars of India. The promoters of this campaign attribute all sorts of evils, real or imaginary, which India is suffering from, to the present system of higher education through English. Curiously enough on this subject extremes meet. The enemies of Indian progress are found bemoaning the day when English education was introduced into India and would, if they could, set back the hands of the Indian educational clock and fight again the battle so decisively won for English by the strong advocacy of Macaulay. We ought to take care that our advocacy of the vernaculars from our point of view does not play us into the hands of the Sydenham school.

Another point on which the promoters of the campaign lay so much stress is the subject of religious education. Whatever the merits of religious education may be, it has nothing in common with anything "national." Religion in the accepted popular sense of the term has been mainly an anti-national force in India. There is nothing so efficacious in rousing the most potent anti-national feelings as the introduction of the religious element. Nothing would please our enemies better than to see this propaganda attain the utmost success. Is it wise to play into their hands?

It is agreed on all hands that it is the duty of Government to educate its people, and very few will be disinclined to agree with the further position that a Government should not abdicate its proper function of regulating the education of its people. This does not mean that the educational system of a country should be moulded in cast-iron moulds. But there must be a general policy underlying the educational system, leaving private agencies to make new experiments and supplement the gaps that must necessarily remain in the case of such a vast machine as Government. To say that we are going to have a private educational system would be as ridiculous as to say that because there are occasionally hard cases of mismanagement in the administration of the irrigation works in the country we should straightway do away with a Government system of irrigation and start a complete private system of irrigation works in the country. If we have faults to find with the Government system we should agitate to get these removed.

Nobody recognises more than this writer the defects in the present constitutions of our Indian Universities. The Present writer has taken his part in getting our Bombay University at least to express a decided opinion, adverse to the first proposed draft

of the Patna University Bill, and we have congratulated ourselves on the fact that that Bill was modified almost out of recognition in its final shape. We would like the constitutions of our Universities radically altered and shall do all we can to get it done, and the Bombay University has already made recommendations to this effect. This we regard as the proper statesmanlike way of setting about the solution of the University problem in India. If we merely sulk and have nothing to do with the existing organisations, instead of improving them we shall only harm ourselves.

The question as to the class of students whom the National University will attract is another very difficult matter. At present our Universities are the only avenues to the various professions, Government services, etc. The average student who would join the National University will have to give up all idea of joining any of these professions or entering Government service. He must have either sufficient private means to live without a profession—and of this class there are very few in India—or he must join some business line or enter some industrial workshop. The history of the various National Education institutions in Bengal or the Samartha Vidyalaya at Talegaon will show that they languish for want of students and that the few that join them repent of their step. These last are poor, enthusiastic boys—though their enthusiasm is misled—while the children of the leaders themselves were never sent to these schools. The only real directions in which the leaders of the National Education movement can move with profit are technological institutes, perhaps commerce colleges and schools, possibly a medical school or college and, we must add, theological seminaries. If they start arts colleges, not many students will join them unless they are guaranteed some careers after they complete their course. Even private firms, with their managers bred up under the old system will probably prefer a man with a certificate of known value than make experiments with another with problematical attainments.

Democracy

Writing in the *Young Men of India* for June, P. N. F. Young admits that of all forms of Government prevalent at present democracy is the best, but perhaps it is an impossible ideal, says he. We read

The French Revolution began the history of modern democracy. More than anything else it was instrumental in changing the meaning of the word *demos*, "the people." From being a name of contempt it became a word of honour. Hence to-day, "democracy" is considered an honourable and not a corrupted form of government and perhaps the most accepted definition is "Government of the People, by the people, for the people."

The United States of America is probably the most democratic country in the world. Here, putting aside the essentials, the important facts are, first that those who make the laws and those who are chiefly responsible for their execution are all *elected*. This is true in local, state and federal governments. And

second that those who elect are substantially the whole male adult population. Neither birth nor wealth gives any man advantage over another as far as a voice in the government of the country is concerned. All men are equal. The principle of election has been carried so far in some of the component States that, as in Athens the judges themselves are elected. Thus, the President of the United States is elected by the whole people, and, though he appoints his own executive assistants, his appointments must be approved by the Senate, which is itself elected by the elected Legislatures of the States of the Union. And the Governors of these States, as well as the Legislatures, are also elected. Further though this may not be an essential of democracy, almost all officials change at every election, and there is, therefore, no permanent civil service as in the older constitutions of Europe, or as in this country.

It will be clear that the belief behind this kind of government is that government is not a matter of trained skill and exceptional talent, but that the ordinary man can be trusted. In the great controversy as to whether or not "the masses" are to be trusted to do what is right and do it well, the American people decided that they are to be trusted.

Nevertheless the truth of the matter is that in all human society, whatever the theory may be, power actually tends to be wielded by the few who are sufficiently vigorous and interested in public affairs to make use of the prevailing indolence and deference of the many. And this has taken place even in the United States whose citizens are pre-eminently free, vigorous, and enlightened.

This is not to condemn democracy. Tocqueville saw in the United States Government an unrivalled measure of freedom and a great and valuable stimulus to the faculties of the citizen. Such benefits, essentially democratic benefits, were possible because there was a basis of social equality, local self-government, and widely diffused education. And no doubt, these benefits are best achieved under the democratic form. The gravest disadvantages attendant on this form of government, as so far observed in history, are wide spread corruption and mismanagement, the excessive power of party organizations and the government used not for the common welfare but for party gain.

The following observations on

Why Men Fail

occur in an article contributed to that excellent monthly *The Mysore Economic Journal* by James M. Glover

To explain the problem of why men fail is almost as impossible as to point out the reason why other men succeed.

"Failure is arbitrary and comparative word. Failure is a mere matter of opinion.

A world full of "enormous successes," or their enormous successors would be hardly tolerable.

I have not the slightest doubt that in some future (improved) world when everybody nearly, has learned exactly how not to fail, there will be a peculiarly jolly life for the one "failure."

There is no royal road to failure, some achieve failure, some have it thrust upon them.

It must always be remembered that failure is not necessarily labelled, it wants discovering much in the same way as success. It may very well be that failure in a certain direction is merely meant to drive a man out of a wrong groove into one more fitted to his capabilities.

In very many cases "failure" is merely an explanation of being before one's time.

It is obvious that the reason why men fail is because they have omitted to think of the obvious. While wearisome sages are thinking on the question of perpetual motion, somebody else invents the "perfuming machine," whereby you can tear stamps, cheques, receipts, etc., apart, and by this simple device earns an ample reward. I forget the name of this gentleman, but I know he "did better than," shall we say, Archimedes.

Failure cannot be judged until the flight of time has proved the event.

In a general summary failure in most walks of life is due primarily to an absence of preconceived determination in one sense, and an absence of pluck in another.

Half the great successes in commercial life are achieved by men who use no greater note book than a half sheet of note paper on which they note down their daily routine. They make up their mind to carry out a certain day's work or week's work or year's work, and so know where they are all the time. Apply it how you may, the principle is the same. The routine must be applied to your daily work, your daily food, your daily finance.

The National Evolution of Poetry

The series of erudite articles from the pen of Aurobindo Ghose dealing with the scope and form of the future poetry still continues in *Arva*. In the May number the subject discussed is the national evolution of poetry. Says the writer:

The work of the poet depends not only on himself and his age but on the mentality of the nation to which he belongs and the spiritual, intellectual, aesthetic tradition and environment which it creates for him. It is not to be understood by this that he is or need be entirely limited by this condition or that he is to consider himself as only a voice of the national mind or bound by the past national tradition and debarred from striking out a road of his own. In nations which are returning under difficulties to a strong self-consciousness, like the Irish or the Indians at the present moment, this nationalism may be a living idea and a powerful motive. And in others which have had a vivid collective life exercising a common and intimate influence on all its individuals or in those which have cherished an acute sense of a great national culture and tradition, the more stable elements of that tradition may exert a very conscious influence on the mind of the poets, at once helping and limiting the weaker spirits but giving to genius an exceptional power for sustained beauty of form and a satisfying perfectness. But it is no essential condition for the birth of great poetry. "The poet, we

must always remember, creates out of himself and has the indefeasible right to follow freely the breath of the spirit within him, provided he satisfies in his work the law of poetic beauty. The external forms of his age and his nation only give him his starting point and some of his materials and determine to some extent the room he finds for the free play of his poetic spirit.

In poetry, as in everything else that aims at perfection, there are always two elements, the eternal and the time element. The first is what really and always matters, it is that which must determine our definitive appreciation, our absolute verdict, or rather our essential response to poetry. A soul expressing the eternal spirit of Truth and Beauty through some of the infinite variations of beauty, with the word for its instrument, that is after all, what the poet is, and it is to a similar soul in us seeking the same spirit and responding to it that he makes his appeal. It is when we can get this response at its purest and in its most direct and heightened awakening that our faculty of poetic appreciation becomes at once surest and most intense. It is, we may say, the impersonal enjoyer of creative beauty in us responding to the impersonal creator and interpreter of beauty in the poet, for it is the impersonal spirit of Truth and Beauty that is seeking to express itself through his personality, and it is that which finds its own word and seems itself to create in his highest moments of inspiration.

There is also the personality of the poet and the personality of the hearer, the one giving the pitch and the form of the success arrived at, while the other determines the characteristic intellectual and aesthetic judgment to which its appeal arrives. The correspondence or the dissonance between the two decides the relation between the poet and his reader, and out of that arises what is personal in our appreciation and judgment of his poetry. In this personal or time element there is always much that is merely accidental and often rather limits and deflects our judgment than helps usefully to form it. But apart from this there is always something essential to our present personality which has a right to be heard. For we are all of us souls developing in a constant endeavour to get into unity with the spirit in life through its many forms of manifestation and on many different lines. And as there is in Indian Yoga a principle of a *thakara*, something in the immediate power of a man's nature, that determines by its characteristics his right to that or that way of Yoga, or union, which, whatever its merits or its limitations, is his right way because it is most helpful to him personally, so in all our activities of life and mind there is this principle of *adhikara*. That which we can appreciate in poetry and still more the way in which we appreciate it, is that in it and us which is most helpful to us and therefore, for the time being at least, right for us in our attempt to get into union with the universal or the transcendent beauty through the revealing ideas and motives and revealing forms of poetic creation.

This is the individual aspect of the personal or time element. But there is also a larger movement to which we belong—both ourselves and the poet and his poetry. And this general movement we see working itself out in different forms, and on different lines through the souls of the nations and peoples who

have arrived at a strong self-expression by the things of the mind and thought and poetry. These things do not indeed form the whole of the movement even as they do not make up the whole of the life of the people, they rather represent its highest points,—or the highest with the exception of the spiritual. In the few nations that have powerfully developed the spiritual force within—and in them we best see the inner character and aim of that line of the movement.

Very often a nation in its self-expression is both helped and limited by what has been left behind from

the evolution of a past self which, being dead yet liveth.

The soul of the poet may be like a star and dwell apart, even, his work may seem not merely a variation from but a revolt against the limitations of the national mind. But still the roots of his personality are there in spirit and even his variation and revolt are an attempt to bring out something that is latent and suppressed or at least something which is trying to surge up from the secret all soul into the soul form of the nation.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and the West.

In the course of a very able, sober and appreciative article contributed to the *Hindusthan Student* Walter Eugene Clark sets forth the achievements of the Hindus in various branches of learning, and analyses, with no small amount of success, the points of difference between the Hindu and the Western outlook on life and method of thinking. Says he

The discovery of Sanskrit at the end of the eighteenth century meant the discovery of a new continent in our world consciousness. The first important effect of the discovery was not the development of Comparative Religion but that of Comparative Philology. Sanskrit proved to be a language closely related to the Iranian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, and the other Aryan languages and in many particulars preserved older linguistic forms than did any of the other Aryan languages. Further, from the scientific point of view the Sanskrit alphabet is a perfect one.

As early as 600 B.C. the Hindus had made a careful study of the way in which sounds are formed by the vocal organs, and had described the process so well that only within the last generation have we surpassed the Hindu study of phonetics. Only within the last century have we surpassed the analytic study of grammar as depicted in the grammatical master piece of Panini (ca. 400 B.C.).

The Hindu failed later in maintaining his positive sciences and in applying them to worldly objects not from any lack of ability, but because his acute mind turned to other things and lost interest in the progressive conquest of Nature. The sciences became scholastic. More effort was spent on dialectic on the composition of commentaries, super-commentaries, and super super commentaries than in further original production.

India at an early date devoted much attention to mathematics, and in particular developed algebra and geometry to a remarkable degree. The very figures we used to express our numbers were invented by the

Hindus. They were borrowed by the Arabs, and by them were taken to Europe as the Arabic numerals.

One of the Indian philosophical systems aims to systematize the processes of reasoning. Quite independently it worked out a syllogism of formal logic very similar to the Aristotelian syllogism on which our own logic is based.

Chess, the most intellectual of all games is of Indian origin. It was taken to Persia in the sixth century A.D., and brought from there to Europe by the Arabs.

Medicine, rhetoric and poetics, government (as described in the recently discovered Kautilya Artha-shastra) all show the same keenly-analytical faculty.

In India the dominant note is an inward, deeply religious one. India has never centered its thought on man and subordinated the universe to him. The mysterious powers of Nature, which are all on a grander scale and more overwhelming in India than in the West, are in the centre of thought. There is always in India a large cosmic outlook on life, a constant tendency to universalize, a subordination of practical values. The West emphasizes the reality and the importance of the material world and has a keen historical sense. In India the tendency is to minimize the importance of the material world to withdraw from it and its little struggles toward a universal which lies beyond. History plays a very small part in Sanskrit literature.

Life in India centres in thought and emotion, not in deed and act. Carlyle has well summed up the Western point of view in the sentence, "The end of human activity is a deed not a thought, though that thought be the noblest." We seek contentment through the attainment of our desires through possession. To the best Hindu thought this has always seemed fallacious, for desire succeeds desire in never ending succession. There is always something more, the attainment of which is sure to make us happy. Eastern ethics seeks contentment through the limitation of desire. To be sure the Eastern ideal has often been carried to an absurd extreme of asceticism; but have we not often carried our Western ideal to just as absurd an extreme of thoughtless activity and restless motion. Thought and feeling are deeper as

externals are simpler. Could we not desire in the West a little of the simplicity and quietness in the place of ostentation and turmoil?

To the Hindu all Nature is alive and animate, man is only an integral part of it, but beyond both are powers of ruthlessness and of inexhaustible fertility which human labor cannot control. Magic alone, like medieval alchemy, can put man in touch with the greater force of Nature by superhuman means or by asceticism. Over the world, beautiful as it may be, impends an uncontrollable, powerful something, like the Nemesis of Greek tragedy. In Indian art and literature you will find not so much an expression of the mystery of all embracing energy. The beauty is there, felt keenly and enjoyed keenly, but the beauty endures only a moment and then— It is the then rather than the now that troubles. The West is preoccupied with the now. The Hindu is like a man in an enchanted garden where things take place that he does not quite understand. He enjoys keenly, but soon a sense of unreality, of mystery, settles down upon him, his mirth and pleasure turn to be wilderment and uneasiness. In India it is the commonest thing in the world for a king or rich man to find that worldly pleasures pall to withdraw as a hermit into the forest to meditate.

Sanskrit has a literature greater in extent than that of Greece and Rome together, and many of the works are worthy of comparison with the works of any other literature in the world. In putting a value on upon any literary work we must look for three things: 1. The power of keen observation and feeling. 2. Keeness of thought in linking together these sense impressions into ideas. 3. The ability to communicate these feelings, thoughts, and ideas in artistic words and phrases. The third of these criteria reveals at once the great strength and the source of weakness of Indian literature. Nowhere in the world has there been developed a keener sense of the artistic use of words of virtuosity in the use of language, but in the later works this verbal technique became an end in itself, and tended to stifle observation, feeling and thought.

In India religion is a much more inclusive term than it is in the West. It includes many things which to us are purely social. Religion is the key note of the whole social structure. It enters into every act of daily life. There is no troublesome gap between sacred and profane. Hinduism can be defined only as the sum total of the acts and beliefs of two hundred and seventeen million of the three hundred and fifteen million people of India. It is not a religious organization, for it is as much social as it is religious. If any organization is to be found it must be sought on the social, not on the religious side. Hinduism is a complete reflection of the entire life of the whole people called Hindus.

In India even among the masses, there is a pervading sense of mystery of otherworldliness, of wonderment. The great difference between India and the West is that this mystical experience has tried to socialize itself in the West, while in India it has tended to withdraw from society, has become an end in itself.

In the West the general tendency is to make faith harmonize with the world of matter. In India the world of matter is made to harmonize with faith.

Unfortunately truth in India has remained too much in the intellect and has found too little place in actual practice. The best minds have withdrawn themselves from the common life and have lived an ideal life apart. Too rigid a line has been drawn between the enlightened and the unenlightened. In so many departments of Indian thought things have become stereotyped, have become mere forms, formulae, and symbols from which any living meaning has been lost. India became a slave not to things, to materialism, but to forms and ceremonies. In this respect India has been largely mediaeval.

I have no patience with those who blindly speak of the complete superiority of the East as do a few Hindus whose pride has justly been aroused by the unjust criticism of things Indian, or with those who just as blindly proclaim the complete superiority of the West. What we need is not blind enthusiasm and partisan spirit but understanding and judgment and persistent work. Not eloquent talks and long discussion of ideals. Abstract ideals alone are a weak foundation on which to build up a moral and a liveable world, but mere action without ideals is no better. If rationalism is destined to make way for internationalism, the East must play a considerable part in the new world regime.

The Beneficent Comparison.

The *Spectator* has an interesting article which essays to interpret the psychology of man which enables him to find consolation in his misery if he finds another more miserable. We read:

It is a common cause of thankfulness that there are people worse off than ourselves. In theory the point of view is an odious one, but in practice how could we get on without the help of the beneficent comparison? The inevitable conditions of life are rendered more acceptable by it. It is wretched to be getting older at such a price and so unceasingly. Now and then we are all greatly depressed by the thought, and probably we all find a certain relief in thinking of some particular friend who is older still. We wish him no harm. If there were any chance of his finding the secret of youth, we should not stand in his way. All the same, if he found it, one of the thoughts which console us in our advance towards decay would be gone. We do not want him to get old, we only want him to prove to us that we are still young. We compare ourselves with him and take comfort. Very much the same thing is true of health. Very much the same thing is true where poverty is concerned—so long only as it does not go too far. It is of no use to a man who has lost half his income to reflect that all things are a matter of comparison. But if his next door neighbour has lost three-quarters of his income, he does without the least ill nature, feel a little better able to bear up. Pity for his neighbour would overcome the thought of himself. As it is, if he is a decent man, he does not feel the slightest pleasure in another man's misfortune, but the sight of it instantly reduces the volume of his self-pity.

There is a form of conscious stupidity from which the sight of worse stupidity removes the sting. The

fact that he has "said the wrong thing," hurt some one's feelings, showed himself in a ridiculous or a contemptible light, will weigh upon a man (and still more upon a woman) for days. There is no denying that to see another person whom he realizes to be quite as clever, dignified or good hearted as himself do the same thing will cause him to forget his own vexation. It is mere superficial cynicism to say that he takes pleasure in the social smart his friend is swearing about. He is more sorry for him than he could be if he had not just been through the same discomfort himself. At the same time his self concentration is dissipated, and he goes home in better spirits and can laugh at both mishaps.

A few very good people can rejoice in a friend's success and work for it who at the same time feel personally discouraged by it when it is attained. This sort of discouragement even though they themselves may call it envy, is often connected with a root of humility in their hearts. They are not in the least inclined to detract from the other man's talent, but the fact that it is forced upon their notice increases the poor opinion that they have of their own. What we have called the beneficent comparison, however, has, we think, few practical ill effects. But, it may be said, surely a true independence should free us all both from envy and from all sense of relief in the contemplation of ill luck and shortcomings of others. The argument is unanswerable. We can only plead against it that such independence will never be common till we get rid of a fear which is as natural to man as the fear of death itself, and that is the fear of isolation. Both dreads are part and parcel of human nature, and can never be eradicated.

Romanticism and Pragmatism

The successful Occidental races of the nineteenth century used to characterize the life and thought of the Hindu thus: "The people of India are devoid of energy, indolent, and full of melodramatic enthusiasm. They have no practical common sense and are addicted to other-worldly sentiments. They are indifferent to the actualities of real life, and are governed by the pessimistic philosophy of despair."

Benoy Kumar Sarkar successfully refutes this idea in the course of an article contributed to the *Hindustanee Student*. Says he:

"The evidence of India's achievements in secular endeavour had been furnished by the Portuguese, French, Italian, and English tourists and traders who came to India during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They wholeheartedly admired the municipal arrangements, the general health and economic prosperity of the people in town and country, as also the vast river traffic and the excellent roads and canals. The city of Moorshidabad was brighter and more sanitary than the London of those days according to Clive. Paltazar Solovyns, the French observer, wrote even so late as 1811

that the Indian sailing vessels were more durable and elegant than those of the English and French."

It was these very Hindus who, on the other hand, wrote and annotated the 'Upanishads,' Geeta, 'Vedanta,' the Bhakti (devotion)-shastras, Yoga (meditation) philosophy, etc. It was these very Hindus, masters of the material arts who proclaimed the inferiority of a mere life in the flesh and of an existence contented with the here and the now.

The historical truth therefore is that the Hindus cast their eyes equally on both wings of human life,—they approached the problem of the universe with the same sympathy from both angles of vision. Hindu culture was as much the embodiment of the most intimate experience of the concrete, positive life, as the expression also of a thorough hair splitting analysis of the Beyond or the transcendental realities. It was in short a synthesis of the world's eternal polarities.

During the nineteenth century, however, the people of India were divorced perforce from the vitalizing interests and responsibilities in every field of work.

The Hindus of this period, entirely misunderstood the spirit of the Upanishads, Geeta, Vedanta and other philosophical bequests of their forefathers. The Hindus emasculated and demoralized as they had to be by pressure of circumstances popularized a false doctrine of 'maya' or "world as illusion" without understanding the sense or context of the original propounders. They thus helped to transform the country into an asylum of incapables, a land of vegetating animalcules, or of mere stocks and stones. The wonder is that this absence of vertebral vigour was even regarded by them as a point of glory.

Thus situated, the people of India became to the Far American observers the standing example of slothful passivity, pessimistic indifference, and submission tendencies. Arguing the past from the degenerate present, the scholars of Europe and America began to interpret the whole previous history and literature of the Hindus as a record of inertia, inactivity, subjectivism, other worldliness, etc. This misinterpretation has been perpetuated for the world in the writings however meritorious on other grounds, of Max Müller and the indologists who have followed in his wake. The mesmerized Hindus understood that probably the West was thus eulogizing the East. The scholars of India followed suit, and interpreted the achievements of their ancestors exclusively as marvellous exploits in pacifism, 'ahimsa,' i.e., non killing and non resistance, spirituality, and self realization.

Fortunately, new conditions have of late exercised this hypnotism and nightmare of mental thralldom. The young India of the twentieth century does not pride in the imbecility forced into the intellectual consciousness of the last three generations by adverse circumstances.

The young India of today is like its illustrious predecessors of mediaeval and ancient times, at once idealistic and practical. We are "romanticists" in so far as we have been cultivating our veneration for the past glory, proclaiming the visions of a mighty future, and instituting the Nature-cult of freedom and simplicity. *Pari passu*, we have been making the present, the here and the now, more lovely in a thousand and one ways. We have addressed ourselves to the pressing problems of every day public life. Rural construction, elevation of the laboring classes, social service for the welfare

of the masses, and spread of man making education are some of the principal planks in Young India's nationalist propaganda.

The energists of Young India have been organizing the centres of creative work here and there and every where throughout the land. These institutions are the ganglionic cells of positivism which pervade the entire body politic. Various movements have been thus set on foot to cope with the current concerns of life.

Besides, instances of ancient Hindu achievements in secular civilization, of India's contributions to the "exact" sciences, of Hindu successes in industry, politics and warfare are being unearthed by archaeologists. During the nineteenth century the people of India used to read in their history only the record of spiritual advance. The Young Life of the twentieth century finds in the same history the tradition of statesmanship, husbandry, humanism, materialism. The whole trend of national evolution is being presented in an altogether novel light. Hindu culture is being scientifically rescued from the focus of misrepresentation and misinterpretation.

The mentality and philosophical tendencies of this Young India are akin to what is being called 'pragmatism' in the Western world. The methodology and message of the pragmatists would thus suit the life and disposition of our countrymen. It is accordingly to pragmatic ideals that Young India has been moulding its future.

Young India's attitude is practical and creative. It is utilizing the world forces and examining the results achieved. It does not believe in the leadership of one individual in industry, politics, literature or art. It does not tolerate the authority of any one institution, or the monopoly of any one movement or the despotism of any one propaganda. It does not think of national energy in the singular number but in terms of many leaders, diverse ideals, multiple organizations, and varied consummations. The logic of this life in Young India would be found in the writings of William James, the American philosopher.

The Sway of Internationalism

The *Hindustanee Student* publishes the following pregnant lines from the speech delivered to Hindu students in Chicago by Dr Rowena M. Mann.

"The modern nation has incorporated family within its organization. But it has gone far beyond the blood tie in its various institutions and interests so that the state of today will be incorporated in an international organization. We to lay witness the inadequacy of the state as a final organization of the interests of man. For this state is an illogical position and out of harmony with the facts of the actual life of the people. For human experience passes beyond the frontiers of every nation. Life is international. Not only our great modern progress in art, philosophy, science, commerce, labor, morality, religion, are of international scope—none of these things being the exclusive possession of any one nation—but the purely human experiences—fatherhood, motherhood, grief, joy—tell us that we are made of one blood and that the spirit of man is one when held in the bond of peace.

"The present war registers the failure of statesmen to think internationally. The obscurest life in the

prairies of America may well be dependent on a professor of medicine in Vienna. Our lives are far more an international possession than a national one. This situation needs to be acknowledged and recognized.

'With what terrible intimacy politics stand to our personal life is shown by the sufferings and travail of the people of the world at present. With greatest respect and honor for the achievements of the intellect of man in history one appalling oversight among statesmen faces us. It is the truly staggering omission during the last forty years of the erection of the international organization to care for international problems. One fact with its tremendous significance has been overlooked in modern statesmanship. It is the fact of the growth of science and the particular achievement of communication. The significance of communication is the point here. The people of India and China are within the range of quick communication which will become easier, readier, cheaper with time. No exclusive hostile national boundaries can stand before this fact of the interchange of human thought. Culture will become more uniform. National boundaries will have less importance, the co-operation of nations will be found more fruitful than their tragically ridiculous hostilities.

The Etiology or otherwise of

Discontent

have been ably set forth by a writer in the *New Statesman*. We make a few extracts:

There has been too much praise of content. There has also been too much praise of discontent. Both of them have been treated as primary virtues. Content, it must be admitted, is nearer a virtue than the other, just as a good complexion is preferable to a bad one. The content that is preached by the rich man to the poor, however, or by the big Empire to the subject nation, is not a virtue at all, but a pretence. It is like a recommendation to paint the glow of health on one's face with a brush. There is no value in either content or discontent except in so far as they are symptoms of health or disease. To assume contentment when the circumstances do not warrant it, is like lying to oneself or to the doctor about an illness. There is no question that the people who do not pester us with their ailments are the most comfortable neighbours. We forgive them their play acting because we would rather be lied to than perturbed. Still if it is anyone in whose fate we are interested, we resent a rosy deception that may lead to fatal carelessness. For victims of the disease of poverty and ignorance to remain willing victims of such a disease, would be to consent to become the agents in spreading an infection. Hence we are inclined to be grateful for the innumerable discontents and unrests and rebellions of history. They were the growing pains of the race. At the same time, we cannot agree with those in whose philosophy discontent is the supremely holy thing. There is undoubtedly a 'divine unrest' which does make the spirit of man rise in rebellion against his surroundings. He finds the will of society or of the family or the church or the school seeking to impose a mechanical obedience on him. He finds himself asked to conform to

a pattern rather than to try to discover why he was born and to live accordingly. He is bid to accept the experience of older and wiser men than himself as a substitute for experiences of his own. He may even be asked to feed his pious on for experiences on some such empty abstinence as not breaking the Sabbath. We cannot find much fault with the instincts of a youth who feels that there is more in life than not breaking the Sabbath. His discontent is justified, because it is a revolt of the spirit against formalism.

Discontent is not a remedy but a symptom. Popular unrest in itself is no more to be rejoiced in than a rash. It is also true that it is no more to be neglected than a rash. The ruling classes have throughout history done their best to ignore it, or, when they could not ignore it, to punish it. They have merely driven the disease in. The discontent of the poor is for the most part a protest against the conduct of those who have appropriated to themselves so large a share of the opportunities for happiness. It may be that the State cannot make a man happy. The State cannot rise the dead nor can it endow a man with genius or beauty or humor. If he lacks these things, his quarrel is not political; it is with

destiny. There are other forms of happiness, however, which the State can insure to him. It can insure to him and his children opportunities of life of education, of travel, of dwelling in a roomy house surrounded by a garden of flowers, of reading whether for wisdom or for entertainment, of eating well and speaking well, of seeing pictures other than the cinema, of hearing music other than the steam organ, of learning how many colours there are in a jay's plumage, of release from work for a month at a time, of swimming in the sea, of leading, in fine the life of a gentleman, a poet and a scholar. It is folly to pretend that the discontent of the poor man who is at present shut out as by a doom from these delights either will or ought to come to an end until he has broken down the door that separates him from them. Contentment with the social order of our time would be a disgrace to rich and poor alike. Content is the ideal condition of society. The greatest social problem in the world—indeed the whole social problem—is how to construct a State in which it will be possible for a decent man to be content both with his own lot and the lot of his neighbours.

THE FIRST LOTUS

THE golden light of the early dawn had just touched the earth, when two figures appeared on the bank of a lotus pond. One was a girl, the other a small boy, who was clasping the fingers of his sister tightly. His innocent face bore a strong resemblance to this beautiful and pure dawn.

Suddenly the child turned round and asked eagerly, "Sissy, how were these pretty flowers made?"

The sister smilingly answered, "Oh, that's a long story; I shall tell you at bedtime."

The child had to be content, but all the day long he looked forward to that time. As soon as it was evening, the eldest sister was captured by her eager juniors and taken to the bedroom. She must tell them now how the beautiful white flower was made.

It was a large and bare room, the only furniture being a lamp holder of brass. The bed was spread on the floor. The children drew the eldest sister to the middle of the bed, and gathered round her in a close circle. The small boy put his head in her lap and looking up at her face with his large eyes, said, "Now tell us

about the flower." The sister patted his curly locks and began thus:

Long long ago, a wee little girl was born in the midst of a huge dark forest. Her beautiful face shone like the morning star in the black darkness. It was a bleak winter's morning and the sun had not yet been able to penetrate the thick curtain of grey mist which hung round the forest. The withered leaves were fast dropping down from the trees and the keen north wind went about shrieking like an angry sprite among their bare skeletons. All the world was shivering. Everything beautiful and green had hidden itself underground as if in fear of the terrible winter.

The mother covered her infant with her skirt, while the merciless winter wind blew over her own unprotected body and the mist clung to the wavy masses of her loose hair in large drops. The baby was quite warm and comfortable under the cover of her mother's sheltering skirt, but the mother's body grew gradually hard and rigid with cold. Her breathing grew difficult, still even when fighting for it, she constantly put back her skirt over her baby girl. But the cold became more more intense and at last leaving her

alone in that dark, desolate forest, she departed for an unknown land, where perpetual spring reigned. She forgot her sufferings and perhaps also her joys.

The little girl understood nothing of her bereavement, she put one of her little fingers, which looked like a flower bud, in her mouth and went on smiling as before. Wild beasts came to devour the body of her mother but the look in the baby's eyes turned their ferocity into pity and they went away. A herd of deer, passing by that spot found the baby whose eyes were just like their own. A hind had recently lost her fawn. She carried off the baby to her own home.

The winter passed off at last. The tender green leaves and the blades of fresh grass, who were hiding in fear, began to peep out and look about them to find out whether their dreaded enemy was still in sight. The wood nymphs received news from the blackbirds and cuckoos that the young god of spring was coming to pay them his annual visit. Throughout the winter these damsels had remained with their fair faces hidden under grey veils in anger against the old man Winter. The glad news made them at once throw off these disfiguring covers and step out into the fresh green woodlands in all the fiery of shimmering green dresses and ornaments made of bright gold. No sooner had their tender white feet touched the cracked dry earth than it became covered with a carpet grassy green, the winter fog was chased out of the world by the sunshine of their glorious smile and the forest filled with light and laughter. The sleeping birds woke up at the sound of their merry voices and carolled out a glad welcome to the advent of spring.

The little girl had now grown up into a beautiful maiden. In the days of long ago, people did not take so much time to grow up as they do now, they did it in quite a short time. At the time of her birth, deep darkness reigned everywhere, but the baby's face shone with light. So they called her Light. Her eyes were like those of her foster mother, the hind and her fair skin glimmered like the pearl, which has just been released from its mother's womb. Nobody had taught her to put her hair up, so her curly locks always played about her beautiful face. She had grown up among the fawns and had learnt from them their quick frightened

ways. At the slightest noise she used to dart into a sheltering bush or behind some large tree. While playing about among the wealth of spring blossoms, she looked like a veritable young wood nymph.

So the days wore on. Light had now become a superbly beautiful maiden. She had no need now to entreat the wild wood birds to pluck her favourite flowers for her, she could do it herself even from large trees. She loved flowers dearly. She had no ornaments of gold or jewels, so she used to deck her fair slim body with blossoms and tender green leaves. But when she played about among the fawns her green skirt streaming in the air with a wreath of fragrant jasmines crowning her dark head and chains of flowers round her beautiful arms and ankles, you would have agreed that jewels were no match for flowers.

The rainy season now approached. The sky became overcast with masses of deep purple clouds and showers fell incessantly. All the rivers and lakes became full to their brims, and the forest trembled every now and then with the deep roars of the angry thunder god. But strange to say, the deer who got frightened at the slightest sound, did not evince the least alarm at the deep rolls of thunder. They came out in herds and frisked and played about in great joy. They were of different colours, some golden, some dark blue and some pied like the daisy. Some had great branching antlers and some were completely without them. The herd contained great stags, who were swift as arrows and had eyes like sparks of fire, on the other hand there were the small fawns, with large frightened eyes and their bodies covered with thick golden down. Light was great friends with them all and all loved her dearly. The spring torrents of the mountains had become greatly swollen with rain water, they tumbled down the rocks like streams of molten silver, all white with foam, filling the woodland with deep booming noises. Light could not cross them now, so the big stags came and carried her across on their backs. On the other hand when the greedy little fawns tried in vain to tear up the fresh green grass with their weak teeth, Light drew them into her arms and fed them with handfuls of fresh grass.

One night it rained and rained. The

day broke, still it was cloudy and dark and the rain went on pattering on the forest leaves. The deer had come out and Light was with them. She played about for a time, but after a while growing tired of the sport, sat down under a large tree and busied herself weaving a garland with flowers and green ferns. A fawn of her foster mother, named Kajla, laid itself down by her side and from time to time rubbed its head against her. There was a slight sound and Light looked up instantly. A beautiful lady was standing before her. Light had seen herself reflected in the lakes many a time, so she knew at once that this stranger bore a close resemblance to her. Up to this time she had lived with animals alone, so she felt very glad at the sight of a creature somewhat like herself and asked "Who are you, please?" The lady smiled sweetly and answered, "You won't know me dear, even if I tell you, you have never seen me before. But I have come with the express purpose of paying you a visit."

Light asked eagerly, "Will you live with me?" "No," replied the lady, "you won't see me again with your eyes, but henceforth I will always remain near you."

Light's smile died out at once. If she was to go away so soon, why did she come at all? The lady looked at her disappointed face with a smile, then holding up two flowers in her two hands, she asked, "Dear, I am going to give you one, which one will you have?"

Light looked up. The beautiful lady had a large white flower in her right hand, its inside was rosy red like the heart of a conchshell. Its sweet perfume had attracted to it all the bees of the forest. The forest abounded with flowers but never had Light come across one so beautiful. The flower had a stalk, very long and green as the new leaves of spring.

The other flower, which the lady held in her left hand, was totally different. It was of a deep red colour, like fresh spilt blood, it made the eyes ache, if one looked at it for long. Its smell was sweet but overpowering and poignant. The flower glowed like a carbuncle in the midst of the dark forest, the pollen grains which its filaments were shedding glittered like sparks of fire. Light's eyes were riveted

on the red flower, she did not turn to the white one any more. The red flower had a stalk, thin and hard, which shone like burnished steel.

Light had not answered the lady, she was intently looking at the flower. The lady asked again, "Which one will you have, deer?" Light merely stretched out her hand and took up the red flower. The strange lady's countenance became sad all of a sudden, her eyes filled with tears as she said, "Light, I shall appear to you once again at the time when you will need me most." So saying she vanished at once among the dense mass of trees.

Light sat down with the flower in her hand. Its bitter sweet perfume frightened the fawn Kajla, who darted into a neighbouring thicket. Light did not notice it, she had eyes alone for her flower. Night came on, the deer returned to their woodland homes, but none approached Light, who still held the fire coloured flower in her hand.

From that day forward, Light lived on alone, none of her old comrades came near her now. None could endure the flower. But Light had no time to grieve over this, the red flower had completely usurped her attention. It seemed to be growing deeper in hue every day, as its petals opened out more and more. It showed not the faintest signs of fading. She walked about the forest all day long, with the flower in her hand. Wherever she stood, the place became full of a lurid glow and the air became heavy with an overpowering smell.

The rainy season gradually came to a close. One morning suddenly the sunshine tore a hole through the dark blue curtain of cloud and flooded the forest with its radiance. All the trees and creepers seemed to lurch out in joy and raised their heads to drink in deep draughts of the blessed light. Light was walking along a narrow forest path, suddenly a piece of golden sunlight struck the flower in her hand, which began to glow and sparkle like a cup full of liquid fire.

Light felt great pleasure at this novel sight. She thought, "What a marvellous flower I have got. It was superb even in the dark, I don't know what it will look like in full daylight."

All of a sudden a sweet strain of music came floating in the air. What was it? Light stood still to listen, a strain seemed to come from s

front she advanced in that direction. At last she arrived at the bank of a small river which owed its origin to a cataract which came swirling down the mountain side.

Thick bushes of mountain fir had grown on both sides of the river. Against this dark green background a youth was seen sitting. He was singing aloud in a sweet voice. "Light saw that he was more like herself than the animals of the forest. He was alike yet different. She could not find out where the difference came in but she liked him all the better for it. Whence had this beautiful creature come? He appeared to be of a similitude with Light. Where had this fair youth been hiding so long?"

The deer of the forest were standing round him in a close circle listening entranced to his melodious voice. Kajla was lying at his feet. For some unknown reason Light resented this she wanted the youth to herself alone.

She went and stood near him. But his singing stopped the very instant he caught sight of her and he remained staring at her with wondering eyes. The red flower was then hidden under her mantle, but the deer ran off at its poignant smell.

Light smiled and asked the youth, "Who are you? How did you come here?"

"I have been travelling about for a long time, and have arrived here in course of my journey. I don't know who I am, nobody has ever told me that."

Light was a little amazed as she asked again, "Why do you always travel about?"

"Oh, I am in search of a most beautiful flower. I have not found it yet, so I am constantly wandering about."

"It must be my red flower, that he is seeking," thought Light, "there can be no flower more beautiful than that. But how handsome he is, shall I show him my flower?"

She took out the flower from under her mantle and holding it up, said with a smile, "Now have a good look. Is this the flower you are seeking? If you promise to sing to me every day I shall let you see and touch it."

The youth looked up, then suddenly covered his face with his hands and cried out, "No, no, it is not the one I want."

Go away with your flower, I don't want to see it."

Light felt bewildered for a moment. Then she became angry. So her beautiful flower was not to the creature's taste! But somehow, she could not long remain angry with him, so she advanced a few steps more and said, "Now please, look carefully, it must be this one. Could any flower be more beautiful? See what a sweet smell it has got!"

But the youth's face became terrified, he moved away from her and cried out in an agonised voice, "Go away, oh, go away. I do not want to look at you, it is hurting my eyes. Please go." But as Light still stood there, he suddenly darted into the dense forest and was lost to sight. Tears began to flow down Light's cheeks. Why did the youth behave in that way? She took the way, along which he had flown. She went on and on, along wood land tracks, by the sides of large forest rivers, through smooth valleys and dense undergrowths, still she found no signs of him. Night came on with her starry mantle, Light stumbled in the dark, thorns pricked her feet and noises of wild animals frightened her, still she kept on her weary way. The desire to turn and fly back rose again and again in her mind, but the memory of the youth's fair face made her again go forward in the wild dark night.

The night wore on and at last a tinge of rosy red crept into the eastern sky. Light looked about and found the youth sleeping a few steps before her by the side of a great black rock, on a bed of green leaves and mosses. She went and stood by him. A shade of grief still lingered on his sleeping face. He had not found the flower yet.

The youth woke up at the sound of her footsteps and sat up. Light turned away in fear, lest he should again run off at the sight of the flower. But strange to say, he did nothing of the kind. He sat still neither did he speak or sing. Had he then got over his unmerited fright at the flower?

Throughout the night, Light had not even once glanced at the red flower, she had completely forgotten it. Now she looked at her own hand. Oh, how the flower had changed in so short a time! It had become black, its petals had withered and were crumbling. Its bitter sweet

fragrance had completely vanished. Light could not understand how this came about. She did not know that it was her own tears dropping on the flower all through that black night, which had caused this. She threw away the withered ugly flower. She did not now feel the slightest grief for it, so glad she was to see the youth again.

But still he did not speak to her. He remained sitting as before, with his eyes fixed on the forest. Light, too, could utter no word but stood there speechless, tears choking her voice.

After a while, with a sigh the youth stood up and began to move towards the forest. At this Light could no longer restrain herself but throwing herself in his way, she cried out, 'Why are you going away? I have thrown away that flower, so you need not fear.'

The youth said, 'What is the use of remaining here? I have still my flower to find.'

Light still barred his way as she said, 'Please don't go. Tell me what kind of a flower that is. I shall find it for you.'

"It is a large white flower," he said, 'but its heart is rosy red. Its stalk is slender and green. Its sweet smell causes it to be always surrounded by the honey loving bees.'

It was the very flower Light had seen in the right hand of that beautiful lady. Alas, alas, why did she choose the red flower? The quest of the youth would have ended at her side, if she had chosen the white one. Light threw herself down on the ground, sobbing at her own misfortune. The unknown stood there for a while, then slowly vanished into the forest.

How long she had been lying there, she had no idea. She did not know that the day was drawing to its close, dusky evening had come down and the moon was peeping from behind the dense foliage of the trees. Suddenly she heard a voice, 'Light, look up, I have come.'

Light sat up and saw that beautiful lady standing before her, but she had no thing in her hand now.

"Why did you not bring the white flower with you?" - Light wailed out in despair.

"I have not got that flower now," replied the lady, "you did not want it, so

I gave it away to another girl in a far away country."

"Then what am I to do?" asked Light, "where shall I get the flower?"

'You shall have to create it yourself, there is no other way.'

Light eagerly asked "Tell me how to do it. I don't know the way."

'I shall tell you, but will you be equal to the task? It is very hard.'

"However hard it might be, I shall certainly do it," replied Light firmly.

The lady drew Light to her and whispered something in her ear. Her fair face grew white as marble, her lips began to tremble, but still she said, "I will do it."

"Then come with me," said the lady and led the way through the forest. Light followed her unhesitatingly. Great boulders had been loosened by storms and had crashed down into the forest river thereby impeding its course and forming a small still lake at one place. Light and her companion came and stood on its bank. The lady said, "Light the time has come, now once again do you think you can do it?"

Light fell down on her knees by the waterside and shut her eyes. Her whole body trembled but still she said, "Yes, I will do it." She seemed to see even with her eyes shut the sad face of that fair youth.

The lady said, 'Open your eyes and look into the water.'

Light opened her eyes. The moonlight was flooding everything around with molten silver and her own beautiful face smiled up at her from the blue depth of the lake. Suddenly a cloud drew a veil over the moon's face and at that very instant Light lost all consciousness.

When she came back to her senses, it was on the verge of dawn. She was still lying by the side of the lake. She looked towards the lake. Oh what a wonderful sight! A large white flower on a tender green stalk had risen out of the water and was slowly nodding its head to and fro in the morning breeze. Its heart was as rosy as the cheeks of the blushing goddess of dawn. A swarm of black bees had already clustered round it.

Do you know whence that flower had sprung? Just from the very spot where Light's beautiful face had reflected itself. The blue water had kept that image treasured in her heart, and now it had bloomed out as a flower.

In the fast growing daylight Light looked down into the water again. Her face was beautiful no more, all her beauty had vanished, all had gone to create the flower. She rose from the water's edge and threw herself down under a large tree.

But suddenly the youth appeared on the river bank. He went into ecstasies at the sight of the flower and sprang at once into the water. He plucked off the flower and then rising out of the lake went away with it clasped to his heart and singing joyously. His face was shining like the morning sun.

But as soon as he had plucked off the flower, another just like it bloomed on the same stalk again. These flowers would never come to an end! They would bloom with the first break of day and close their petals as soon as light vanished from the earth. They would never smile without

light, because Light had brought them to this earth.

Light was gazing intently at the youth. Suddenly she heard a voice, "Light, are you content?"

Light could not see any one but she knew who it was. "Yes, I am content," she answered. The voice came again, "Even though another took the treasure you won by sacrificing your more than life?"

Light stood up and answered "Yes, it is because another took it that I am content."

The lamp was dying out as the children's mother came into the room and said "No more stories now, darlings. It is long past bed time." The curly headed boy hisped "Mamma we were listening to the Light flower's story."

SITA CHATTERJEE

NOTES

How the World Goes

It is very depressing to think that nine tenths of the population of the world are now at war. *The Indian Witness* quotes the following to show that such is really the case:

More than half the Government of the earth are engaged in the struggle to preserve civilization or have broken off relations with Germany and her co-partners. Little more than one third remain neutral, and most of these are the small States which are prevented by their position from engaging in the conflict or whose influence would be without effect.

Recapitulated on

At war 19 States	1 370 725 000
Relations broken—11 States	21 870 000
Anti German—30 States	1 392 095 000
Germanic Allies—4 States	156 572 000
Neutrals—19 States	143 961 000
World's population 53 States	1 692 678 000

Civilisation has not yet enabled men settle international disputes or keep the ally ambitious under restraint except by bloody warfare involving the death of millions and untold sufferings for more. But though all this is very sad, there is something that inspires hope too. Whatever motives may actuate diplomats and statesmen, there is no question that

large numbers of men are fighting for what they consider the cause of freedom and righteousness. When a better way than war dawns on the minds of such men for the safeguarding of freedom and civilization, they will surely be prepared to make still greater sacrifices if possible, than war involves. Therein lies the hope of humanity.

Idealists and Practical Men

We do not want to lay down the law for idealists and say that they must not try to be practical. What we expect is that they will not seek to be practical at the expense of their idealism. It is the practical man who must try to conform to the ideal. Idealists must be prepared to be ridiculed as impractical.

As regards war and peace statesmen may not at first be able to go beyond a greater recognition of the ideal than what is expressed in the following extract from a speech delivered by Marquis Okuma at a meeting of the Indo-Japanese Association:

Will it be peace or war that will dominate the world in future? Will it be power or will? No! A harmony between them will alone prevent a future

war and avert bloodshed. The sword and love must be well harmonized and we must rely upon religion for this adjustment which is I believe the final object of religion. The world is too full of evil-doers to allow us to abandon the sword altogether. Christ cried 'The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' but how much longer are we to wait for its coming? We have vainly waited for its coming and at present the Kaiser even makes use of God for his own convenience.

Just as police men are necessary, though they are sometimes engines of oppression, so armies are necessary though they are often used to conquer and oppress. All swords cannot just now be turned into ploughshares, though, increasingly, they should be beaten into ploughshares. The civil power must be supreme in order that the army may be kept in its place, other wise militarism would prevail, and that would spell ruin to civilisation, freedom and righteousness.

Why an Internec took Opium?

Most probably only a small fraction of the hardships and ill treatment to which many internees and state prisoners have been subjected has been published. But enough has appeared in the columns of newspapers and periodicals, particularly in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to justify a demand for an independent public commission of enquiry into the whole subject of the treatment of political suspects, in ternes and state prisoners. For it cannot be ignored that there have been, among detenus and state prisoners, cases of death from disease, suicide, attempted suicide, insanity, leaving of place of domicile without permission and infringement of rules which are impossible or very difficult to observe. These, like all other phenomena of the world, are not without cause. The duty of a commission of enquiry should be to find out the cause or causes and suggest the remedy. The letter printed below offers additional material for enquiry. We publish it to enable Government to ascertain the truth, as we are unable ourselves to find out whether it is wholly false, entirely true or partly true. It is printed as it has been received, without any omission or alteration except that in some sentences initials have been substituted for proper names.

'My internment I grew to be extremely intolerable and this led me to attempt (on the 24th April last) to do away with my life. There are various circumstances occurring in the day of my arrest up to this time and which made my life unbearable. I think the following facts will clear up everything.

Before my arrest I was a 4th year B.A. student of the Ripon College Calcutta and resided in a university licensed mess. In Nov. 1916 I was arrested from that mess under the Defence of India Act. After my arrest I was taken to the Kyd Street C.I.D. office and there confined in a solitary cell. Two days I passed there. During this period I was given no food except a few glasses of water when I cried out in thirst for water. These two days I was put to extreme inhuman brutal torture. I was whipped, kicked and blowed. I was compelled to undergo some peculiar and very difficult figures for torture. I was also kept standing all night with my hands tied up to an iron rod overhead. One A.B. a C.I.D. officer tortured me in the above ways. He also used some very abusive languages upon me. He said 'You sala confess everything or I shall kill you.' When in extreme torture I cried out 'I die I die' he said in return 'Sala die the sooner you die the better, if you die then the Government is relieved of an enemy. Well it is the other day that we killed a man like you by torture what has the Government done to us? We have permission from the Government to torture you all for confession. After this I was removed to the Presidency Jail and there confined in a solitary cell for 30 days. In two occasions I was taken by a Police officer to the C.I.D. office in the Mussam Row and presented before Mr. T. and others. Mr. T. told me to confess and when I answered that I know nothing about the present movement he rebuked me angrily and threatened that unless I answered everything affirmatively to his question I should put under Reg. III of 1818.

After a stay of 30 days in the Presidency Jail I got a Government order of home domicile at the village Chandura P.S. Brahmanbaria Tippera. One of the directions in the order was that I should see the officer in charge of the P.S. Brahmanbaria once a day. The P.S. is about 15 miles off from my home, consequently I had to go to the Thana and come back again completing a journey of 30 miles a day. The journey took me the whole day and also a part of the night. For this I could not take properly my meals and also overtired every day. The journey was really a terror to me. Not to speak of reading and writing I could not even enjoy sound sleep. It can be easily conceived what terrible days I passed in my home internment. I saw others shedding tears for me. In that state also I had desperate thought about my life. I filed a petition to the Secretary, Government of Bengal to this effect. In reply I got a Government order that instead of going to the Thana daily I might go there twice a week. But immediately after this order I received a Government order directing me to proceed to Chittagong and then to Kutubdia under P. escort.

At Chittagong I saw S.P. daily. He gave a written order directing me to stay in the Police Club until he gave me the second order. I was in the club for about 3 weeks. There I was given only two meals daily and no tithe. I made a petition to S.P. to the effect that my health was breaking down gradually and I required some allowance for my other necessary expenditure such as tithe &c. But I got a negative answer, the S.P. also made a cynical remark. Government is not your parents that they should spend money right and left for comforts and luxury. This reply surprised and silenced me and created a great annoyance in my mind. After 3 weeks stay in the Police Club I was directed by the S.P. to go to Kutubdia. At Kutubdia I was allowed to live only 2 weeks, thence I was transferred to

Mahezkhal The S P personally served me the order of transfer to Mahezkhal. While serving the order the S P greatly offended and insulted me by his peculiarly bad behaviour. It was this —The S P called me by a constable to see him in the Thana. When I entered the office I found the S P talking with S I, and he did not notice me. I remained standing for a minute or two and finding an extra vacant bedstead in a corner I took my seat on it. After a few minutes the S P looked at me and said roughly, Well, why have you taken your seat without my permission? I replied that it was unnecessary to ask for permission. This is a petty incident but I took it to my heart.

At Mahezkhal I have been living for more than a year. As a detenu at Mahezkhal I have undergone various disadvantages and troubles which told upon my peace of mind. There are scarcely any Bhadrakos here. Almost all of them are illiterate and therefore they are afraid to mix with the detenus. Moreover the guard constables are objects of terror to them who prevent them foolishly and unnecessarily from mixing with the detenus. Instances are not rare that some innocent villagers and shopkeepers are harassed uselessly for mixing with the detenus.

The late S I of this place forwarded a prosecution report against me for association with two other detenus. I was accordingly sent for trial but the absurdity of the case being proved it was withdrawn. After passing more than a month in the Hazat I came back to Mahezkhal. After this prosecution my suffering went on increasing rapidly. The S P pays his visit here at an interval of one or two months and on no occasion did he fail to give me warning to the effect that my case was not yet withdrawn and I might be prosecuted in any day. He also often threatened me and used objectionable insulting words on me. There is another incident which disturbed my mind greatly. About three weeks ago one M B who tortured me in the Kyd Street came here to take the statement of a detenu. The very moment he saw me in the Police Station he addressed me thus: O Jogesh, have you changed your mind by this time, or require some more beating. The present insult from the very man who tortured me touched me to the quick. In the very time the A B Patrika which I subscribed was also stopped by the order of the Government.

Thus I lost my peace of mind and was greatly disturbed and I began to think within myself. I recalled to my mind the happy days of my student life and the bright prospect before it which has been blighted. I also remembered how my happy promising life has been marred by my arrest and subsequent internments. I remember also the extreme torture and insult upon me by the C I D officers and ill behaviour of the P officers. Ultimately after much continuous thought I came to the belief that I should get no redress from the Government. And meditation after meditation confirmed me that death is preferable to such a terrible state of existence. Then being driven to despair I one day purchased one tola of opium from the market and one evening after candle light I took it to do away with my life.

For this act of my attempted suicide I hold no blame none but my internments and ill treatment of the Police officers.

Jogesh Chandra Ray
Detenu at Mahezkhal,
17 6 1918

N B

About a week ago S P gave me an order to go to

Police Hospital Chittagong on the understanding that the poison which I took has still some effect upon me and I require medical treatment. So I went to Chittagong Government Civil Surgeon there examined me and gave me a certificate that I am in perfect health. After that I wrote to the S P that I might be removed from the Hospital. In reply the S P said, "You must remain in the hospital and obey my order." Thereupon I asked for permission to see the Magistrate. Getting no reply and waiting for a considerable time I started to see the Magistrate, and asked the escorts to follow me. When I left the Hospital composed the escorts with their havildar detained me forcibly. They telephoned to S P. In return the S P ordered them to iron me and take me to the Hospital by force. The S P let them understand that I am insane and I must be dealt with like the insane. They did the same and confined me in a room of the Hospital with hand cuffs. After the confinement for two days I have then been sent to Mahezkhal."

Political Prisoners in the Andamans

The Bengalee reminds the public that some five years ago it wrote a series of articles on the subject of the treatment of political prisoners in the Andamans, with the result that the then Home Member, Sir Reginald Craddock, paid a visit to that penal settlement and held a personal enquiry, and the situation for a time improved. But now, says our contemporary, "it has lapsed back into the old ways and the old complaints are renewed with additional circumstances of hardship and horrors." The number of political prisoners in the Andamans is at present 85. This is how, according to the Bengalee, they are treated.

About the end of the year 1915, the Lahore Conspiracy Case men began to pour in and troubles arose. Mr Barry is the Overseer. His behaviour causes continuous friction and bitterness which have never been allayed by any act of impartial justice by the higher authorities and when Bhai Sohan Singh, an old man of over fifty, who is universally respected by all the Sikhs, was abused by the Superintendent himself for shortness of his daily task, they despaired of getting their grievances redressed by the higher authorities and struck work. They were punished with bar-fetters and separate confinement and invalid diet for six months. After the expiry of their term, they resumed work. This strike had a cooling effect upon the authorities and everything seemed well at least for the time being. But very soon another event happened that inflamed the minds of all. Ashu tosh Lalhry, a graduate of the Calcutta University, did the hardest possible labour for a very long time. He worked in the husking machine and then at cold pounding for eight months. The Superintendent told him that he would be put to light labour after six months. But, though nearly eight months passed away and though he complained to the Superintendent several times he was refused light labour. At last, he refused to do hard work. But Mr Murray, the Superintendent, was obstinate and repeatedly punished him for his refusal. He was finally awarded

fifteen stripes, bar fetters, and separate confinement for six months and he was flogged though he had done the hardest work for eight months and had simply wanted light labour. However, after six months were over, Mr Murray gave him again the same task and threatened him with enhancement of sentence, in case he would refuse again. This threat compelled him to do the task. This case was followed by another. The men were ordered to pluck grass and clear the yard on a Sunday. But as Sunday is a holiday they refused to do it. So seven men were punished—two with three months separate confinement and five with six months bar fetters and separate confinement and invalid diet. The effect of the punishment may be understood by reference to the records. Invalid diet is a very spare diet which does not satisfy the hunger of an average man not to speak of the stout Sikh. To live in continuous hunger for six months under close separate confinement causes terrible enfeeblement of body and mind, that is further helped by the climate. Mr Barry was determined that all the men should live in separate confinement and he left no stone unturned to achieve his object. He provoked and insulted the men and got them punished for being insulted in return. Sometimes he would give unjust orders for doing extra work and if they refused they were punished with separate confinement.

In a second article the *Bengalee* gives additional information.

We have referred to the case of Bhai Bhan Singh a political prisoner, convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy case. Bhai Bhan Singh was abused by a European warder, and he paid him back in the same coin. He was caged for insolent conduct and was punished with six months bar fetters separate confinement and invalid diet. Frequently Mr Barry used to see him in his cell. One day, he abused him and was abused in return. He gave orders to the convict officers to teach him a lesson. At eight in the morning three or four men entered his cell and severely beat him. But Mr Barry again came at ten accompanied by a dozen bodyguard of European warders, free Indian warders, Jamadars and Tindals etc., removed Bhai Bhan Singh to the cage-cell and there he was beaten. Bhai Bhan Singh, it is alleged, grew desperate under the increasing pressure of the treatment that he received. He was punished again with bar fetters till further orders and was to remain in a cage-cell. According to our information the treatment told upon his health and he had to be removed to hospital. The harsh treatment accorded to him roused the indignation of other political prisoners. Some of them struck work and even started a hunger strike. Bhai Bhan Singh's condition is said to be going from bad to worse. He is in hospital and his fellow-prisoners are said to be awaiting his fate with "uneasy expectancy." Observe the hardships and inconveniences to which political prisoners are subjected. In every block some ten or twelve political prisoners live and work together but they are not allowed to talk to each other. Is it humanly possible for ten or twelve friends to live together and yet not to talk with each other? This is what the authorities would enforce with a severe punishment for its infringement. Recently some of the men were punished with bar fetters, separate confinement and invalid diet simply for the use of mutual exchange of greetings. The men are even punished for reading books. All political prisoners are allowed books, they had the audacity

to continue reading books when Mr Barry came into the block. The last case, that of Bhai Radhan Singh, occurred only a month and a half ago. Mr Barry came into the block at a time when he was not expected, and found him reading his book at a distance. He was caged and punished with six months bar fetters, separate confinement and invalid diet. What a terrible punishment for a trifling offence, if it be an offence at all! While a man is in separate confinement he is not allowed his bedding within the cell nor can he have his blanket coat. Now is it possible for any man to live in the cold season which continue for eight months in the year in a naked cell with an almost naked body? Some of the men refused to part with their blanket coat but it was forcibly taken away. Bhai Rulla Singh when he got fever was exposed to the cold for three days for he could not get his blanket-coat in his cell. As a result of continued exposure he got pain in the breast and lungs with high fever which has finally developed into phthisis. So serious is his health now that he has been transferred to the Bamboolat Hospital where phthisis patients are kept. There have been many other cases in which continued separate confinement, hard work and the neglect of the authorities have resulted in dangerous diseases. Many have become short sighted. One man Bhai Bhola Singh, is dead. Two men, Bhai Bhan Singh and Bhai Bhola Singh are suffering from phthisis. Bhai Nand Singh and Ram Saran have got scrofula. Pandit Jagat Ram has got neurasthenia and several others have been reduced to such straits that they have become the victims of perpetual disease. All this is due to solitary separate confinement.

The first thing that Government should do and do immediately is to hold an open and searching enquiry. The results of this enquiry should be published without any avoidable delay, and, if any officers are found guilty they should be removed and otherwise punished. But these would be only palliatives. A root and branch remedy is required. There is at present no civilised government which maintains a penal settlement like the Andamans. They are distant alike from the seat of the Government of India and from the high ways of the world. Working far from the public gaze and without the wholesome restraint exercised by the visits of non-official visitors, the jail authorities in the Andamans naturally become guilty of wrong doing. The penal settlement in the Andamans must, therefore, be abolished, and life convicts and long term convicts should be kept in some other less objectionable place of confinement.

•Heroism and Cowardice.

When people bully the weak and play the braggart in their midst but are conciliatory when they have to deal with the strong, they are really cowards though they give themselves the airs of

And the weak even know that these men are not heroes

Is India Directly Represented?

In his interview with Reuter's representative in London the Maharaja of Patiala is reported to have said that "India was pleased that since last year she was at length directly represented by delegates of the ruling princes and people at the great council of the Empire." It is, no doubt, not without significance that India has not been entirely forgotten or ignored. But neither last year nor this year were the ruling princes and people of India asked to choose their delegates. The Maharaja of Patiala, like his predecessor the Maharaja of Bikanir, is only a nominee of the Government of India, and Sir S. P. Sinha is also a Government nominee, besides being a Government servant. As natives of India in their private capacity have a representative character like any other Indians when they try conscientiously to give expression to the better mind of India. But apart from this fact, they cannot claim any representative character. They are not our delegates, India is not directly represented by them, and we are in no way bound by what they may say or leave unsaid, though we are free to support any right and just opinion which they may give expression to. But that must depend on the merits of these opinions, not on the assumed representative character of the Government nominees.

Afraid of Speeches!

British soldiers and generals are not afraid of the latest weapons of offence invented by the Germans, but some British bureaucrats in India are mightily afraid of speeches! The latest symptoms of speechophobia have been reported from Delhi. The Chief Commissioner of that place has ordered Mr. Asaf Ali and Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, two public spirited gentlemen of the Imperial city, to refrain from addressing public meetings. How brave and statesmanlike some of our bureaucrats are! What makes them so timid? Conscience? Or self interest?

Pagodas and Europeans' Shoes

The Burma Government have taken definite action regarding the recent agitation of the Buddhist Conference held at

the Rangoon Jubilee Hall at which were passed a number of resolutions condemning the wearing by Europeans of boots and shoes within the precincts of Pagodas. In communicating the orders of the Government to the Commissioner of Police, Rangoon, the Chief Secretary says, *inter alia*

As the further continuance of the controversy may lead to breaches of the peace I am now to send you the following expression of the Local Government's views on the subject. It has always been the policy of the British Government to adopt a neutral attitude to a religious controversy unless its intervention has become necessary in order to secure the maintenance of the peace. It is also, in the opinion of the Local Government, incumbent on classes or a community to pay the same respect to religious edifices of other creeds and denominations as they would pay to those of their own. In the present instance however the Lieutenant Governor is quite unable to accept the view which was put forward by some of the speakers at the meeting that the question under discussion was a purely religious one and that the resolutions passed were based solely on religious grounds. Such view is entirely inconsistent with the facts that throughout the whole period since Lower Burma became part of the British Empire the Burmese Buddhist community as a whole has never taken exception to the practice of Europeans wearing boots and shoes when visiting the precincts of pagodas and that no protest against this practice has on religious grounds been raised during all that period by any authoritative member of the Buddhist hierarchy in any part of Burma. In these circumstances the resolutions of the meeting represent an innovation which is contrary to practice, sanctioned by long usage. The attempt to introduce an innovation of this kind at the present time is singularly inopportune and unfortunate and the fact that the question has been raised when it is of urgent importance that nothing should be done which will tend to arouse racial feeling and disturb the harmony which has hitherto been so admirable a characteristic of this province must throw doubt on the claim that the convenors and members of the meeting were actuated solely by religious zeal. It is understood that no body of pagoda trustees or member of such body was party to the resolution and the local Government has received information that the development of this controversy has been accompanied by attempts to intimidate responsible trustees of pagodas and to compel them by threats of serious consequences to themselves to take action which they have felt under no religious obligation to take. A breach in the harmonious relations which have hitherto prevailed would be deplorable at any time. In the present time of war nothing likely to effect such a breach can be tolerated.

The Burma Government's letter concludes thus —

For these reasons the Government cannot countenance any attempt to carry into practice resolutions that were passed at the meeting and will proceed against any person who in the desire to give effect to these resolutions should be guilty of unlawful acts of force or intimidation. The Lieutenant Governor is not so much concerned with the motives

and intentions of the various individuals who convened and addressed the meeting as with the probable effects of the action recommended. The letter finally concludes by assuring the trustees of pagodas of the necessary support from local civil authorities and enjoins the Commissioner of police to give the trustees of the great Shwedagon pagoda any protection or assistance required for the preservation of order in the pagoda precincts.

"The present time of war" must do duty here, too. The Burma Government professes to be anxious to prevent "breaches of the peace." That object could have been gained by that Government advising Europeans not to enter pagodas or pagoda grounds with their boots or shoes on, and the Europeans following that advice. But no restrictions must be imposed on the movements of "the superior race" in a conquered country. It is not indispensably necessary for the salvation, physical well being, material prosperity, intellectual progress, moral welfare, and earthly happiness of Europeans in Burma that they should be able to wear boots and shoes within the precincts of pagodas. Why then this insistence on the practice as if it were a great political privilege, or moral or legal right? No doubt, perverted and morbid ideas of prestige require that "the superior race" should in conquered countries be able to satisfy even their whims and caprices however these may clash with the notions of other people. But it is not the business of Government to lend countenance to these perverted and morbid notions and seek to penalise the objections of those who do not belong to the favoured race.

It is asserted that "throughout the whole period since Lower Burma became part of the British Empire the Burmese Buddhist community as a whole has never taken exception to the practice of Europeans wearing boots and shoes within the precincts of pagodas and that no protest against the practice has on religious grounds been raised during all that period by any authoritative members of the Buddhist hierarchy in any part of Burma." In the first place, this is the bureaucratic version of a period of the history of the country, which may not be correct, we must have the people's version, too. In the second place, any member of the Buddhist hierarchy recognised by the bureaucracy as "authoritative" may not have protested, but did no member, unauthoritative it may be, ever protest?

Or, may it not be that those who may have protested have been, *ipso facto*, considered unauthoritative? But let us suppose the facts are exactly as stated in the official letter. May it not be that hitherto the Burmese people have been so afraid of the white man that they have not protested, and now that there has been a racial and national awakening throughout the world, particularly in view of the declaration of the Allies that they are fighting for the rights of small nations, the Burmese people have mustered courage for the first time since their loss of independence to give utterance to the religious scruple which was in their heart? If it be a fact, of which we are not sure, "that no body of pagoda trustees or member of such body was party to the resolution that was quite natural. For nowhere in the East have the priests or people like them been among the first to feel the promptings of national self respect reborn. It may be objected that there ought not to be any connection between the re birth of national feeling and religion, but that is an unreasonable objection. For the growth of national consciousness makes everything national dear to the people,—religion, art, literature, dress, customs, style of living, &c.

But supposing that the resolutions of the meeting do represent an innovation, are not the people of a country entitled to make an innovation as regards their religious notions or scruples,—particularly when the innovation does not encroach on any political, legal, commercial, educational, intellectual, religious or moral right of any foreign people? The Lieutenant Governor of Burma is playing the strong man quite unnecessarily and unwisely. It is ridiculous to suggest that in order to maintain harmony between whites and non whites, the whites must have their own way even in what is non essential to them and the non whites are to yield even in matters which they consider, it may be mistakenly, of vital importance to them.

As regards wearing shoes or boots within the precincts of Burmese pagodas one may ask to know what the Burmese themselves do? Do they take off their boots or shoes or other foot wear when entering pagodas or pagoda grounds, or do they not? If they do, there can be no question of what they really feel in the

matter. As Europeans are human beings like them and as European boots and shoes are not holy objects any more than Burmese foot-wear, all real ladies and gentlemen among Europeans who know the Burmese practice should either spontaneously and readily conform to it or refrain from visiting pagodas. If however, the Burmese have their foot wear on in pagodas, they ought not to expect others to do what they themselves do not do.

Bargaining and Having a Motive

Indian Home Rulers have insisted that the people should be enfranchised or given a definite promise of enfranchisement so that that may act as a motive for their enthusiastically enlisting in the army or helping otherwise in the war. This has been characterised by official and non-official Anglo-Indians as bargaining or wishing to have terms. These European sojourners expect motiveless or *nishkam* action from the people of India. How reasonable such an expectation is will appear from the following extract from *Capital* May 31, regarding Ireland which is far more free than India.

The discovery of the S. and P. plot was immediately succeeded by the practical abandonment of conscription in Ireland and the adoption in its place of extraordinary inducements to voluntary enlistment. Mr. Lloyd George is hopeful that the response will be worthy of the best and highest traditions of Ireland but he will be doomed to disappointment if he fails to keep his pledges to the Irish Nationalists. Many London papers are urging him to do so without delay and one wonders if he will be strong enough. The position of the Irish Nationalists is summed up in a letter sent to the Press by Mr. Walter Dalton of Tipperary who was once a strong Unionist. The text is worth quoting in the interests of a replay of which commodity Ireland gets a title in this country —

The Civil War of America offers an instructive parallel to the present situation in Ireland. In that war the black men were invited to join the ranks of both armies. In every case the principle of freedom before fighting, was recognised without question. This is very clearly stated by President Lincoln addressing the people of Illinois in 1863 in the course of the greatest pronouncement of all Lincoln's career —

I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers for us was worth the loss for the Union. But negroes like other people, are upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them. If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive — even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made must be kept.

May we not commend these trenchant remarks to our British rulers? Each one of them is as old and as deep as human life. Motive there must be if people aren't fools. Something is never given for nothing. Life the greatest possession is not staked except for freedom and that of all a promise once

made must be kept. Of course from an experience that seems strange to the rest of the world but not to us. We Irishmen know that England denies all these principles and especially the last. We invite her to carry her denials to President Wilson and to tell him that Abraham Lincoln the idol of Americans was all wrong or alternatively that what is true and commendable in regard to the noble negro cannot possibly apply to mere Irishmen.

In the passage printed above in very small type substitute Indians for negroes and the British Empire for the Union. In the remaining portion of the extract substitute India for Ireland, Indians for Irish men and Indian for Irish.

If bureaucrats in India want a merely mercenary army, they should make tempting offers of pay, allowances, prospects of promotion, pension and jagirs. If they want also an enthusiastic army of citizens they must confer citizen's rights on the people or at least make a definite promise of such rights and make the Indian citizen soldier a status equal to that of the white citizen soldier. It is absurd and useless to expect what is practically motiveless action.

Why America is Fighting

Action proceed from motives, and these may be altruistic self-regarding or selfish. It must be conceded that no nation is fighting only from altruistic motives. It is admitted on all hands that America's motives are more altruistic than those of other belligerent countries. But even her motives are not entirely altruistic, though she does not wish to add to her territory. The following passage is taken from an article in the *North American Review* —

But as we have said over and over again what we are fighting for is not to make the world safe for Democracy but to make the world safe for us. Forced into war by Germany who violated our rights ruthlessly as she did those of Belgium we are fighting a war of self defence. We are today in peril. To avert that peril we have taken up arms. We are fighting to defend our wives and children from the deadly hand of the German. We are fighting to protect our homes from a brute who knows no mercy, a brute whose lust is destruction. We are fighting to preserve the institutions we love the liberty we cherish the freedom dear to us. We are fighting in France because it is there we can strike the enemy but if we are defeated in France we shall be conquered in America no longer shall we be freemen but the slaves of the most merciless and brutal task master the world has known. Our danger is great and only our courage and determination can avert it.

That is not the only American opinion which declares that with America it is a

defensive war. *Munsey's Magazine* is one of the foremost and most widely circulated American monthlies. Its editor says in the April number :

Americans are naturally a peace loving people, and the horrors of the present battle fields in Europe have aroused a dread of war greater than ever existed before. When American wives and mothers and sisters read the casualty lists of the Allies, with losses of more than thirty thousand in a single week, they tremble for their loved ones and are prompted to ask whether it is all worth what it costs in the sacrifice of life and limb.

If they will only reflect a little, they will realize that we have no choice but to fight if we would remain free.

No fact has been more clearly ascertained concerning the plans of the imperial autocracy that governs Germany than the intention to dominate this country after defeating France and England. If the British fleet were out of the way, German naval guns would be thundering off the entrance to New York harbor in less than a fortnight, and the United States would be compelled to pay a large portion of the expense incurred by Germany in enslaving the world.

It is as certain as sunrise that if the Teutonic autocracy is not held within the territorial boundaries of Germany by the compulsion of the Allies exercised on European soil and in European waters, the German land and naval forces will ultimately bring the war to America, and we shall have to fight them standing in the doors of our own homes. However one may deprecate war, it is preferable to subjection and it is the part of wisdom to carry on war in France and Flanders rather than in our own land, where our women and children would be exposed to such atrocities as have befallen the French and Belgians.

We are waging what is really for us a defensive warfare under conditions most beneficial to the common cause, because most helpful to our Allies, and at the same time least injurious to our own people, because our women and children are not imperiled.

Every American soldier in the trenches in France is defending the United States against imperialistic aggression just as truly as he would be if serving one of the great guns in the batteries at Sandy Hook and firing at a German fleet in the offing. We are fighting in Europe to prevent German imperialism from overcoming us in America.

If Anglo-Indian bureaucrats say that Indians ought to fight to preserve their present state of dependence on Britain because it is better than dependence on Germany, we may ask, What becomes of the declaration that the present war is a war for the freedom of the world (minus India?), for democracy and for establishing the right of self-determination of nations? And why is not Ireland content to fight to preserve her present status which is far superior to that of India? Why is she striving to win Home Rule? Is human nature different in India from what it is in Ireland?

Future of Poles, Czecho Slavs and Yugo-Slavs.

A Reuter's telegram dated London, June 5 reads :

The Press Bureau announces that the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy at a meeting at Versailles agreed to the following declarations.—

Firstly, that the creation of a united independent Polish State with free access to the sea constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and the rule of right in Europe.

Secondly, that Great Britain, France and Italy associate themselves with America in the expression of earnest sympathy for nationalistic aspirations towards the freedom of the Czecho-slav and Yugo-slav peoples.

Needless to say the Poles, the Czecho-Slavs and the Yugo-Slavs in whose future the prime ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy are so sympathetically interested are not, never were and are never likely to be the "property" of Britain, France and Italy.

Probably the prime ministers of Germany, Austria and Turkey are expressing similar concern for the future of India, Anam and Tripoli. It is a comfortable occupation,—to dispose of—other peoples' property.

The British people would do well to consider what others think of them, e.g., the following passage taken from *India* (London).

In an interview granted to Mr. Arthur Ransome, the "Daily News" correspondent at Petrograd, Mr. Trotsky, before leaving for Brest-Litovsk, said, laughing—

If we were really logical we would declare war on England now for the sake of India, Egypt and Ireland. You have read our peace declaration.

Mr. Ransome protested that "we made nothing out of India." Mr. Trotsky replied,—

Then give up being so stupid. You English are the most Chauvinist nation on earth without knowing it.

We have no positive reasons for doubting the sincerity of the Allied prime ministers' concern for the future of Poles, Czecho-Slavs and Yugo-Slavs. But if these statesmen are thoroughly liberty-loving, why should they seek to liberate only the subjects of enemy countries and not those of their own countries, too? With regard to India, we have heard it said that it is so very difficult to give India a little internal autonomy that statesmen must pause and pause and pause before "taking a leap in the dark," and probably end by pausing. As for countries or peoples held in subjection by enemy nations, why, it is the easiest thing in the world to make them

immediately independent This presupposes that races dependent on enemy nations have had a better training in self government during their period of subjection, making them fit for immediate independence, than Indians have had under British rule for the purposes of a little internal autonomy,—which fact has kept us unfit for taking the first steps in self government. Should it be contended that the European peoples who are now sought to be made independent required no training in self government, having been always fit for independence, the question would arise how they lost it, for, according to the civilized predatory political ideas hitherto current and which have not yet begun to be considered barbarous, fitness for independence includes the power to preserve independence against the attacks of powerful robber nations.

It may be observed in passing that these predatory political ideas, if applied to private life, would amount to this that any man of genius, poet, scientist, artist, saint, scholar, inventor, economist, captain of industry, etc., who was unable to defend his hearth and home and property against robbers, would be considered unfit to remain a free man and his enslavement by the robbers would be considered perfectly justifiable.

The Bombay War Conference Incident

By calling in question the sincerity of some Home Rule leaders or of the entire Home Rule League party (it does not much matter who exactly were meant) and casting other aspersions on them in his opening speech at the Bombay War Conference, Lord Willingdon did not display either gentlemanliness, tact or statesmanship. To invite people and then to take them to task is not good manners, according to any code of etiquette, western or eastern. It does not indicate the possession of an elementary knowledge of human nature to think that the best way to secure the co operation of fearless patriots is to take them to task, though timid *jo hukums* may in that way be made to "co operate." Therefore, what the Governor of Bombay did was obviously unstatesmanlike. His remarks on some Home Rule Leaguers or all Home Rule Leaguers were entirely unnecessary, too, for the purposes of the conference, and, therefore, irrelevant and superfluous.

It may be that he did not and does not want the co operation of Home Rule Leaguers. If so, why did he invite their leaders? If the invitation was sincere, he did want their co operation, and, therefore, ought not, if only as a matter of policy, to have insulted them, if the invitation was not wholehearted, he ought to have been the last person to call in question the sincerity of others.

His Excellency said with regard to the Home Rule Leaguers "I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support, until I have come to a clear understanding with them and I have frankly expressed to them all that is in mind." The best way to come to a clear understanding with any men is to hold with them a small private conference, where both parties can and should have a full opportunity of frankly expressing all that is in their minds. The worst way is to call a public conference and frankly express what is in your mind and at the same time to prevent the other party from having their say. Lord Willingdon's conduct appears all the more reprehensible owing to the fact that "dear Mr Kelkar" had been assured that there would be "open discussion" at the Conference and that "any criticism or suggestions which speakers may make in the course of discussion will receive careful consideration of Government."

It has been said that Mr Tilak and his friends, instead of leaving the meeting, might have stayed on and spoken to the second resolution as Mr Jinna was allowed to do and did with great effect. But it is quite certain that Lord Willingdon's somewhat changed attitude towards Mr Jinna was not due to Mr Tilak and his friends leaving the meeting at an earlier stage?

Lord Willingdon stopped Messrs Tilak and Kelkar on the ground that they had begun to talk politics. But he had himself set the bad example of talking politics, and allowed the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Mr Setalvad and Sir Dinshaw M Petit to talk politics. But we forget *pro bureaucrat politics is not politics*.

In the eyes of his lordship the great offence of the Home Rule Leaguers is that they wish to have terms. This their leaders deny. They say that they wish to have definite assurance of citizenship in order that citizenlike enthusiasm for the

Empire may be aroused in the country and in consequence there may be an adequate response to the appeal for recruits. We are frankly of the opinion that if anybody has a desire "to have terms", he need not feel abashed, as it is perfectly natural and justifiable. All belligerents are fighting for something or other, we do not and need not pretend to be so super human or sub human as to be ready to risk our lives for nothing. But as in previous numbers and this number we have said much on the cant of "bargaining," we need not say more.

Lord Willingdon thinks or pretends to believe that the essence of partnership lies in being called upon to make sacrifices, not also in sharing the advantages, for he said

I have always felt and urged that India should be trusted should be treated as a partner and should be asked to give to the full her great resources of men and material to the help of the Allied cause

How hollow, absurd and ludicrous! Every one knows that India is not trusted. And his lordship coolly takes it for granted that partnership consists solely in being asked to give all that one has! We suppose when British capitalists enter into partnership with others, they are "proud" only to supply the capital, and not only do they not exercise any control over the business and demand any dividends but they actually despise these things as sordid "bargaining".

Some years ago, on different occasions, Prof Gilbert Murray and Lord Carmichael appealed to the youth of India to consider not only India but the whole British Empire as their Motherland, and we commented on these appeals.

Following perhaps unconsciously the same line of thought Lord Willingdon observed that "the appeal has now come from the mother country." It is his mother country, no doubt, but not of us Indians. And that not merely anthropologically. We have not derived or borrowed our religions, languages, litera-

tures, national civilisation, culture and arts from England.

Lord Willingdon's remarks and conduct have been keenly and rightly resented all over India and there have been numerous meetings of indignant protest.

From Australian Women to the Women of India

In our last month's note on Australia and Fiji we promised to print in this issue the letters addressed to the women of India by the Women's Service Guild and the Women's Christian Temperance Association. They are given below.

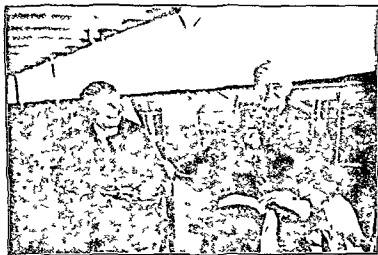
From

The Women's Service Guild

Western Australia.

To Our Sister Women in India

The Women's Service Guild of Perth Western Australia send greetings and wish to convey their appreciation of the splendid stand taken in defence of the honor of the Indian women in Fiji. This matter has been brought before many women's organisations in Australia and for the first time we have realised what our sister women now in Fiji were being subjected to. We are about two thousand miles away from Sydney where a large deputation representing most of the women's organisations



MISS DIXON

MISS PRIEST

in Australia including our own, waited on the Colonial Sugar Refining Company asking for certain reforms in connection with the conditions under which Indian people are working on that Company's plantations in Fiji. We are hopeful that some good will result from this deputation and we do not intend to let this matter drop. Two of our members have volunteered to go to Fiji to help the Indian people and we hope they will keep us in touch with what is going on there.

through some American friends. As the letter was not in furtherance of any conspiracy, as it was addressed to the head of an Allied government, and as, if sent by Mail, it would have been stopped by the censor, there was no impropriety or disgrace in sending it in the way it was done.

It has next to be considered whether "the position of the writer" of the letter makes its "impropriety" "all the more inexcusable." If by the position of the writer is meant his being a title holder and a pensioner, we do not think it is improper or disgraceful for a title holder or pensioner to seek freedom for his country. Title holders and pensioners are not bond slaves. If by position reference was made to the high judicial position the writer had held and the eminent position of public leadership which he now holds, these also would not make an otherwise proper and honorable letter improper, inexcusable or disgraceful. Of course, if any letter were really improper and disgraceful, it would certainly be all the more inexcusable if the writer of it were a man of the intellectual calibre and position in public life of Mr S Subramania Aiyer.

As regards the contents of the letter, Mr Montagu's opinion was "The assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to require or receive notice from the responsible authority." We have read the letter thrice, and we can say that no statement made in it is entirely baseless or devoid of truth. Some are entirely and literally true, some are substantially true though not literally true, and none are without the kernel of truth. But, taking it for granted that the letter is "wild", British and Irish politicians and public men write and say far wilder things without being called to account for the same. The letter is courageous and patriotic and was very timely. But we must also say that we feel that it would have been better and more effective and useful if Mr Aiyer had written it, not in the style of an orator or a rhetorician but in that of a judge and a statistician combined. If while writing it he had felt that the British bureaucracy were on their trial that he was the judge, and that his letter was the judgment against which there would be an appeal to informed public opinion all over the civilised world, he, we are sure, could have produced a document

entirely unexceptionable and incontrovertible. We also think that he was rather optimistic in his estimate of the number of recruits which the immediate promise of Home Rule would bring in three and six months. Promises have been broken ere now. Our opinion is that that would have made recruitment somewhat brisker, but it is the actual enjoyment of liberty for some appreciable period of time which make men participate in a fight for liberty, such as the present war has been declared to be.

When Mr Montagu proceeded to say, "No action has as yet been taken regarding the matter and I am communicating with the Viceroy," did his memory play him false, making him forget the stormy interview which Mr Aiyer had with him and the Viceroy, when the latter rebuked Mr Aiyer in his presence or does he not know that the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government wrote the following letter to Mr Aiyer in February last?

Fort St. George
Madras, 8.2.1918

D O

Dear Sir—His Excellency the Governor in Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917 and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr and Mrs Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date) on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee if sent by Mail. It has been intimated to His Excellency in Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency in Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson
Acting Chief Secretary

Dr did Mr Montagu play the ingenious diplomat in his answer to Mr Joyson Hicks in order to placate a certain party?

Action has already been taken in that Mr Aiyer was rebuked by the Viceroy in Mr Montagu's presence and in that "His Excellency in Council [of Madras] has decided to take no further action." If, however, to satisfy any anti Indian party, the question be reopened, Mr Aiyer is prepared to suffer, and he adds in his on the whole spirited and dignified reply to Mr Montagu

I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the

of State's answer on the 3rd instant I waive all opposition to such future action if any I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demand of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause all that is mine—my name, my liberty and everything else—must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or extermination, deportation and the like have no terror for me and at this time of my life with no earthly expectations to realise I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining home Rule for India than to become an object of official tyranny.

Renouncement of Titles

The renouncement of his titles by Mr S Subramania Aiyer has roused our unqualified admiration and respect. After the insults heaped on him by the head of the Government of India in London he could not with any self respect continue to "enjoy" any honors proceeding from that authority.

Indian Education During the War

In a special supplement to the *Commonweal* it is said—

The daily newspapers recently reprinted a statement of Mr Pindlay Shirras to the effect that after the strain of the last few years there has been no tendency to slacken the rate of progress. A study of the statistics does not indicate any evidence in support of that view. In fact the graphs with which he has prefaced his descriptive account prove that he was totally mistaken in making so definite a statement. Here are the figures supplied by himself and let us see what they reveal.

	in lakhs of rupees			
	1911	12	1913	14 1916-17
Expenditure				
1 from public funds	406	552	615	
2 from private sources	382	453	514	
3 from all sources	788	1005	1128	
Thus the increase in expenditure from public funds during				

the two years before the War 146 lakhs
the three years after the War 63 lakhs

In other words while before the War the Government gave for education 146 lakhs in two years or 73 lakhs in one year they failed to grant even that much in the three years after the War began. Has Mr Pindlay Shirras considered what this means?

Anglo Indian journalists have often said that our children get education like orphans almost entirely at the expense of the state. We have ere now exposed the falsehood of such statements and have said that even if our children's education were entirely free and at the expense of the State, that would not be anything to be ashamed of, for the money in the State treasury is Indian money, not money brought from England, and boys and girls

in rich countries like America have all grades of education provided for them free. On this subject the *Commonweal* says:

Apologists of the Bureaucracy are generally accustomed to remark that in India the public give practically no assistance in furthering the cause of education. Let us see to what extent that accusation is borne out by facts. When the War began, the contribution from private funds was actually 81 per cent of the Government grants. Three years after the War, it was actually 84 per cent, which shows that the response from the public to the demand for education has improved in spite of the financial stringency created by the War. Here is more conclusive evidence. The following figures give the cost of educating an Indian child on an average from all sources in rupees.

	1914	15	1915	16	1916-17
From provincial revenue	3-4	6	3	5	6
From funds of local bodies	2-4	6	2	8	6
From private sources	5-0	4	5	3	2
Total from all sources	10	11	2	11	6

It will be seen that the contribution from private sources has always been nearly half the total cost.

Our contemporary proceeds to observe—

What is more noteworthy is the relative increase. During the three years the cost of education per pupil in the country has gone up by eleven annas and this increase is made up as follows: Government 3 annas, local bodies 2 annas, and the public 6 annas. Thus the brunt of the increased cost of education has been borne by the people from the private funds.

Mrs Besant's weekly exposes another curious misrepresentation now prevalent in the country, viz, that the Government have given a great impetus to primary education, greater than to secondary or collegiate education.

This is a pure myth. Here are the figures showing direct expenditure in lakhs incurred by Government under various heads:

	1911	12	1916-17	percentage of increase
Collegiate	48	71	47	
Secondary	208	310	53	
Primary	207	293	41	
Total including others	540	792	47	

The increase under primary education is thus the lowest and below the average. The comparison yields a worse percentage if we take into account the figures for only the War years. During the triennium following 1913-14 the general rise in educational expenditure was 19 per cent, whereas that under the primary head was only 14 per cent. Yet there has been no limit to the extent of talk in bureaucratic circles on the necessity for encouraging primary education. The Government seem to have decided to universalise elementary education by reducing the proportion of additional grants given to that department.

Educational Developments in Warring Europe

The war has affected the belligerent countries of Europe more closely than India but education has received greater

attention there during the war than before the war, whereas in India before the war education received niggardly treatment by the State, and the grants have diminished during the war. We learn from the April *American Review of Reviews* that a remarkable chapter of the current Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, prepared by Mr W S Jesien, of the Division of Foreign Education, deals with the recent history and present condition of the schools of the belligerent countries of Europe as affected by the war. The gist of the chapter is to the effect that, in spite of material losses and temporary disturbances, education has, on the whole, received a striking impetus and has undergone important developments that might have been long deferred if the war has not happened. We can give here only brief fragments of this interesting article (Chapter IV of the first volume of the report for 1917), the whole of which is commended to the attention of persons who are in quest of data to support the thesis that the war is by no means an unmitigated calamity.

The American Review of Reviews quotes from the Report

A world-wide movement to perfect the whole scheme of public education is resulting from the war. The fact that this movement is being carried forward even while the nations are engaged in the exhausting conflict shows the changed conception of the social worth of education. The time is past when education could be considered a national luxury; it is now regarded as a primary necessity of national life and the most striking illustrations of this new conception are offered by the events that have taken place during the present war.

France and England are engaged in a simultaneous reorganisation of their respective systems of public education and the continuation school projects now pending in the parliaments at Paris and London are essentially identical. They both introduce universal compulsory continuation schooling of general and vocational character. The English bill provides in addition for an extension and perfection of elementary school compulsion.

About compulsory education in England it is said

Mr Herbert Fisher's education bill introduced in the British House of Commons on August 10 1917 provides among other things for universal compulsory continued education from the completion of the elementary school course to the age of eighteen. Mr Jesien records this as a momentous event, since few nations have hitherto extended school compulsion beyond the elementary school.

As regards France—

In France compulsory continuation education is provided in a pending bill for boys to the age of

twenty and for girls to the age of eighteen the classes to be held on working days and preferably outside of working hours. Physical training is to be given on Sundays. During a part of the continuation course the instruction will occupy 300 hours a year and during the remainder 200 hours. The requirements do not apply to youths who are pursuing studies of a higher grade than those in the continuation schools.

Germany, Russia and Poland have not been idle

In Germany the Einheitschule movement aiming at a democratization of the school system of that country has made most important progress during the war. In Russia new schools are being organized everywhere. In Italy the elementary system is undergoing extension, and provision has been made for instruction of illiterate adults.

Of special interest in this connection are the events that have taken place in Poland since its evacuation by the old Russian bureaucratic machine. The first use the Poles made of their temporary freedom was to introduce compulsory elementary school attendance non-existent under the old regime. New schools were established with such zeal that in one year (1915-16) the number of schools increased by 47 per cent. In Warsaw alone 400 new elementary schools and forty seven industrial continuation schools were established in that year.

In addition to the present activities extensive plans for educational reconstruction and reforms after the war are under consideration in all the warring countries. In these plans several features appear with striking similarity in the different countries. It is for example the consensus of educational opinion that improvement must be sought in technical and vocational education in modern languages and commercial subjects in physical and character training.

The belligerent countries have not been content simply with hating one another during the war. They continue to learn one another's languages to facilitate intercourse after the war. In Great Britain the Modern Language Association says

It is not possible to give any exact forecast of the commercial relations of England and Germany after the war but whatever form they may assume there is no doubt that a knowledge of German and German conditions will be required for commercial purposes. In the future it will be even more necessary than in the past that there shall be in responsible quarters people possessing an adequate knowledge of German and all that the study of German in the widest sense should imply. The study of German has inevitably suffered during the war but we are of opinion that to allow any further diminution to take place or even to accept the present reduced scale as permanent would be to the national disadvantage.

The German attitude in this matter is said to be represented by the following quotation from the *Mannheim Gazette*

The modern languages occupy a prominent position in our real schools and higher real schools (Oberrealschulen). No narrow minds will demand their curtailment because of our urgent experience with the French and

contrary the knowledge of these languages is absolutely necessary to us especially that of English. Ignorance of a foreign language or of a foreign nation is not an element of strength, but of weakness. Besides Germany has no intention of isolating herself from the rest of the world when the war is over. She does not want to wage war after the war. She strives more than ever to penetrate into the world. The modern languages ought to be given more not less time than heretofore.

The study of Russian has made marked progress in Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany.

Can India show a Qualified Electorate?

It has been objected that Home Rule cannot be given to India because there cannot immediately be a sufficiently large and qualified electorate. We have met this objection in *Towards Home Rule*, Part I (2nd edition), pp. 45-50. We will in this note support our contention by citing the example of Japan. *The Japan Magazine* writes—

Under the influence of similar movements abroad there is a growing agitation in Japan for extension of the right of franchise. Out of a population of some 60,000,000 in Japan not more than 1,600,000 enjoy the right to vote and it is now felt by an increasing number of Japanese citizens that Japan should fall into line with the more advanced countries and extend the vote to all the more intelligent of her subjects. In connection with a meeting held for the furtherance of this object in Tokyo some time ago four men were arrested by the police for advocating universal suffrage on the ground that such theories savor of Socialist propaganda. The *Hochi Shimbun* while not going so far as to propose universal suffrage strongly advocates an extension of the franchise. So long as no more than 2 per cent of the Japanese population have any voice in the Government of the nation the *Hochi* thinks it impossible that Japan can enjoy representative government. It is to the interest of the country that the franchise shall be given to as many intelligent citizens as possible. This is the view of British statesmen and even in Germany it is beginning to find advocates. Is Japan going to remain behind these countries? The *Kenseikai* Party has formulated a bill for the extension of the franchise and presented it to the Imperial Diet and the *Hochi* hopes that all parties will sink their differences and support the bill. The *Hochi* accuses the increasing and widespread corruption in Japanese politics to the very limited number of voters and the facilities afforded election canvassers for bribery. If the nation is to expect any development of Political morality the growth of constitutional ideas and the purification of electorates the franchise must be extended.

So in Japan out of a total population of 60 millions, only 1,600,000 or 2.6 per cent are voters. In countries where popular government prevails, there is either universal manhood suffrage, or the franchise is enjoyed according to educa-

tional or property qualifications or both. In the case of India, taking only the test of literacy, we find that there are in British India 10,500,268 literate males of 20 and over. They form 8.6 per cent of the total male population and 4.3 per cent of the total male and female population. Thus the literacy test alone will give an electorate to India of 4.3 per cent of the total population, against the present Japanese electorate consisting of 2.6 per cent of the total Japanese population. It cannot be pretended either that the Japanese are more intelligent than the Indians, or that representative government was more prevalent in Japan than in India before the late Emperor Meiji gave the Japanese a constitution some fifty years ago.

War work of India and the Dominions

What India has done during the war is well known, and she has done it at her own expense. In addition she has made a 'free gift' of one hundred millions sterling to the British Government, in Great Britain. The Dominions are also doing their part, but their mother country has according to Mr. Bonar Law speaking in the House of Commons on June 18 on the new vote of credit of 500 millions sterling, lent them two hundred and six millions sterling.

End of Kaira Struggle

The struggle of the people of Kaira has ended in their gaining their object. The vow which they took meant that as there had been a failure of crops Government should suspend collection of the revenue from the poor, and in that case the well-to-do would pay the assessment due by them. To this Government would not at first agree. But early last month Government passed orders on the lines asked for by the passive resisters.

Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel say in their manifesto to the people of Kaira:

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in it. It very much looks as if the orders have been passed with the greatest reluctance.

All honour to the women and men of Kaira for their fearless and peaceful struggle. All honour to their leaders.

Mr Gandhi's Gospel of Fearlessness

In the course of the Kaira struggle Mr Gandhi has made many speeches which deserve to be rescued from the ephemeral columns of newspapers. In a previous issue we published select passages from them. The following is from a speech which he made in a village named Khan dhal.

He said that the first thing to do in any struggle of Satyagraha is to stick to truth. If we make a very subtle definition of truth it includes many things. But because our definition of truth is rather narrow we are compelled to add a little to it. In this struggle we are not to oppose anybody, we are not to abuse anybody. If the opponent abuses us we have to tolerate it. If he gives a blow to us with a stick we have to bear it without giving a blow in return.

ALWAYS STICK TO TRUTH

Secondly a Satyagrahi has to be fearless. He has only to perform his duty. You know that so long as we stick to truth we remain absolutely free from fear. You will always get protection if your dealings will be straightforward. When we are in the wrong we feel very nervous about us.

Also the following

Real bravery lies in receiving rather than in giving blows. Yesterday I was reading my Gita. Therein I saw that one of the characteristics of a *Kshatriya* was *Apalavanam*. It means that in face of danger a *Kshatriya* does not fall back but on the contrary sticks to his post. If our Government will not fight with the Germans as it does now if our soldiers go and stand before them weaponless and will not use explosives and say 'We will die of your blows' then I am sure our Government will win the war at once. But such an act on our part requires *sanskar* and India possesses most of it. The vegetables that grow in India will not grow properly in England. The seeds of *sanskar* will flourish in India. Pure bravery lies in the power of endurance. It is real Satyagraha. It is mean to run away in face of danger.

Cloth famine in Bengal

A gentleman writes to us from a town in the Central Provinces

'The cloth famine in Bengal has become a real menace. Everyday one reads something or other about the *grow ag distress* in the country—bazaars are looted, wayfarers are robbed, women are stripped naked of their clothes—these and similar items of news are indicative of the distress of the people. The worst has also happened: men and women have committed suicide to avert the shame of nudity. Government has shown commendable quickness in suppressing crime but have done nothing else. They have acted like an empiric in trying to suppress the external symptoms of the evil without attempting to reach the root of the evil itself. Hence every week some bazaar is looted, though the men are sent to jail the next week with rigorous imprisonment. Public men and journalists have suggested various remedies but they have fallen on deaf ears. Natural if people ask has Lancashire anything to do with the trouble?

There is another aspect of the trouble which has evaded the notice of the government and people of Bengal.

Why is it that one hears most about the cloth famine in Bengal? Is it that Bengal is economically worse off than other parts of India, or is it that Bengal is more dependent on foreign cloth than other parts of India? In the Central Provinces which is undoubtedly one of the poorest parts of India the distress of the people is not so acute because the poorer classes and specially the women folk are still accustomed to wear home-spun cloth. It is a pity that Bengal with her large population of weavers should fail to make the most of it.

The duty of the government however is clear in the present situation. Something of the nature of a cloth controller should be improvised for the situation who should take stock of the available cotton fabrics in the market and prevent cornering by unscrupulous tradesmen or capitalists. The stress on the market can also be relieved to some extent by the richer classes going in for the comparatively dearer stuff made in the country allowing the poorer people to purchase the cheaper foreign varieties. Meanwhile relief centres should be opened without delay as suggested in this review last month.

Since we wrote last on the subject, more cases of suicide due to cloth famine, of stripping and robbing of women, of theft and robbery of cloth, of poor school boys absenting themselves from school owing to want of proper clothing, have been reported in the newspapers of Bengal, and brought together in the pages of the *Ashārī* number of the *Prabasi*.

Pre occupation with the War

London June 9

In the House of Commons replying to Mr Whitehouse Mr Bonar Law stated that the Government was considering the question of the position of women with respect to election to the House of Commons—*Reuter*.

This is an example of entire pre occupation with the War. Another example is furnished by the following

A DEMOBILISATION SCHEME Industrial Reconstruction

London May 29

The military authorities and the Labour Ministry are engaged in perfecting a demobilisation scheme. It has far reaching ramifications including eighteen dispersal depots in England, Scotland and Wales. The basis of the scheme is industrial reconstruction, not military convenience. It is understood that soldiers without occupations will have the option of remaining in the army a little longer than those who have. Many may desire to remain with the colours and with those it may be necessary to garrison India replacing men there who are anxious to get home—*Reuter*.

Indians have no reason to feel proud of the use of the phrase "to garrison India." To garrison means to station soldiers for the purpose of holding in bondage a subject population. Indians are ever to be

partners in the Empire, but the idea of keeping them under as a subject population appears to be the idea still most prevalent in the minds of the British people or, at any rate, the British governing classes. Another meaning of "to garrison" is to station soldiers for defence. Cannot Indians be trained, equipped and trusted to defend their country even after the war?

A third example of utter preoccupation with the war is furnished by a pretty long Reuter's telegram dated London, June 20, of which the opening sentence is "The report is published of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of shipping and ship building industries after the war."

A fourth example is furnished by another longish Reuter's telegram announcing that "Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee has presented a further report on trade after the war."

Other examples are to be found in the following —

**AFTER THE WAR
No Unemployment**

London May 29

Mr Hayes Fisher, President of the Local Government Board speaking at an industrial Council did not anticipate any unemployment trouble for many years after the war. He aimed at building at least three hundred workmen's dwellings within a year of the declaration of peace — Reuter

*** IMPERIAL VS DOMESTIC
Separation Urged**

London May 29

The annual meeting of the Colonial Institute passed a resolution on the motion of Earl Brassey, urging the separation of the control of Imperial matters from the domestic affairs of the Motherland and that a settlement of the future constitution of the United Kingdom is essential preliminary to the discussion of the future Government of the Empire at the Special Imperial Conference to be summoned after the war.

These are in addition to other examples noticed in previous issues of this Review, such as the publication of the report of the committee appointed to consider the reform or reconstitution of the House of Lords, the attempt to reform the Anglican church, &c.

A most significant proof of the fact that the British people and therefore, British statesmen are thinking of many other things besides the war is that Dr Fisher's very progressive, comprehensive and almost revolutionary Education Bill has been re-drafted and is being discussed in the British Press clause by clause. In Scotland, we read in the *Times Educational*

Supplement, April 4, "Despite the war, the average of educational activity is being fully maintained, alike by universities, teachers, and local authorities." In Wales, we learn from the same paper, the report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider Welsh educational problems was published on the eve of the college vacations.

**Limit of Admission in College classes
in Allahabad University.**

In a circular which the Registrar of the Allahabad University has sent to its constituent colleges, it is said that "while the number of students in a class should not exceed 60 in any circumstance, preferably it should not be over 45." It is said that this has been done in pursuance of a syndicate resolution. For years past in no province has there been a louder outcry against want of accommodation in Colleges than in the U P. And yet here, not only have no new Colleges been opened, but the classes are going to be made smaller. In lecturing to classes, 45 is as good or as bad as 60, and as for paying individual attention to students, it is as impracticable in a class of 45 as it is in one of 60. Moreover with its smaller classes, can it be said that graduates or undergraduates of the Allahabad University are mentally better equipped than their fellows in the other Indian Universities where the classes are not so small?

Of U P Colleges which have the smallest classes, Queen's College at Benares, a State College, is one. According to the theory that the smaller the College class the better the teaching, this College ought to show good results. Of course, the percentage of success in examinations is not an ideal test of efficiency for a College, but it is the only tangible one. Now, in this year's Allahabad B A Examination, the percentage of success for the whole University was as low as 31. But Queen's College shows even a lower percentage of success, viz, 27. Some other small colleges which showed bad results are Christian College, Lucknow, 24; Jaswant College, Jodhpur, 10. On the other hand some large colleges with full classes also showed bad results. Agra College, 30, M. A O College, Aligarh, 30. Though no conclusions can be drawn from one year's results, the above figures at least show that students can be badly

taught both in small classes as well as in large classes. Its opposite, namely, that students can be taught well in small as well as in big colleges, finds support from the results of colleges which passed a higher percentage than the University average, which was 31. Take some large colleges: Muir Central College, 47; Canning College, 45. Take some smaller colleges: Isabella Thoburn College 60, St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, 50. These figures are taken from the *Leader*.

The U. P. leaders have not yet succeeded in inducing Government or the University to raise the limit of admission in college classes. They should earnestly try to establish more colleges. This is being done in provinces like the Punjab, Bengal and Bombay. Classes in Cambridge University number from 10 to 300. At Harvard some classes are very large and some very small. Professor Taussig's class in economics there numbers in some years as many as 500 students. No doubt, at these universities there are tutors in charge of small groups of students to look after their individual needs. Tutors may be appointed in India, too. Why expect professors to pay attention to the requirements of each student individually, when this is impracticable unless their classes consist of, say, 10 or 15 students each?

What Soldiers are Paid in India and Abroad

Before the acceptance by the Viceroy at the Delhi Conference of the suggestion that the Indian soldier's pay should be increased, the very idea was scouted by Tory Anglo-Indian journalists. Whenever our papers raised the question, they said that they were trying to get the highest price for "loyalty," or some such equally stupid thing. But see how British and Irish and American soldiers are treated. A message to the "Daily Express" from Dublin says that recruiting in Ireland will be carried out on the lines of the General Election with extensive distribution of leaflets dealing with the pay of soldiers, allowances to dependents and provision of land. In speaking on the Irish situation in the House of Lords Lord Curzon said the promise of land grants to Irish recruits was exactly the same policy as pursued in England for the last two or three years relating to soldiers' small holdings. So British and Irish soldiers

are to get small *agars*. Their pay also has been increased during the war, and for soldiers and sailors the income tax has been specially reduced. The opening paragraphs of an article on "The Government and the Soldiers' Family" in the *American Review of Reviews* for April by S. M. Lindsay, Professor of Social Legislation in Columbia University, runs thus:

Every patriotic man, woman or child who wants sincerely to do his bit to help win this war must expect to make some sacrifice to do without many things which would be considered ordinarily necessary and proper aid to suffer many hardships. If however you know anyone who has already made the great sacrifice of giving up a father, husband, son, brother, or near relative to the extra hazardous active service of the military and naval forces of the country and is at the same time suffering want or distress (lack of food or shelter which money can buy in his neighbourhood, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department at Washington wants to hear from you or from such person direct.

A just and generous Government through the action of a patriotic Congress has planned to prevent and alleviate such suffering not as a matter of charity but of right, not years afterward through the political favoritism of pensions but at once by a new scientific application of the principles of social justice.

The Government expects every enlisted man to do his duty not only to his country but also to his family and those dependent upon him for support. Congress enacted in the soldiers and sailors insurance law of October 6, 1917—enlarging the activities of the Government bureau of war risk insurance in the Treasury Department—the most generous and far-sighted piece of social legislation that any country has yet put forth. It contains three great divisions: (1) A provision for both compulsory and voluntary allotments of pay, and family allowances to be granted and paid by the Government to the families and dependents of all enlisted men (including women) in the military and naval forces; (2) payment by the Government of compensation and indemnities for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty and not due to wilful misconduct by any commissioned officer or any enlisted man or member of the Nurse Corps (female); (3) a provision for cheap insurance which commissioned officers, enlisted men or members of the Nurse Corps (female) may take voluntarily as added protection.

In America "on March 15, over 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval forces were insured for over twelve billion dollars (\$12,000,000,000) and for an average of over \$8000 per man." "Many of the largest units of the military forces are more than 90 per cent insured." We are further informed that "Congress laid the right foundation for this [soldiers' and sailors' insurance] law by raising the pay of the enlisted men in the army navy, making the minimum "

annually. On account of the war the Jute Companies got huge orders for bags &c., and thus made enormous profits. So but for the war the profits would have been 4 millions in four years. Hence £12,288,000 represents the excess profits. In England and other belligerent countries excess profits, during the war, have been taxed from 50 to 100 per cent. To be precise, let us quote the scales of the Excess Profits Duty from the *Daily Mail Year Book* for 1918:

This duty is levied on the amount by which profits made in businesses between the outbreak of the war and August 1st 1918 exceeded by more than £200 the standard of profits made before the war. If the business was started after the war began 50 per cent of the excess in the period ending August 4th 1915 is payable. This rate rises to 60 per cent for the period ending after August 4th 1915 and before January 1st 1917. In other cases 50 per cent is charged as duty on the excess for the year from the beginning of the first accounting period and 60 per cent on the excess earned in the period beginning at the expiration of that year and ending on or before December 31st 1916. And 80 per cent on any excess profits earned after December 31st, 1916.

If the Jute Mills had been taxed only 50 per cent of their excess profits Government could have got in 4 years £6,144,000. The Cotton Mills and many other concerns also have made huge extra profits during the war. Why did not Sir William Meyer, or rather the Government of India have the courage and the fairness to tax the rich owners of these concerns, instead of taxing the poor man's salt, raising the customs duties, and increasing railway fares and freights?

Advisory Committees

Advisory Committees to consider the cases of detenus and state prisoners have been appointed in Bengal, U P and the Punjab, and perhaps in some other provinces, too. We have already expressed our opinion on the degree of usefulness of these Committees. We shall be glad if in consequence of their labours, any political suspects regain their liberty. No judge, however capable and impartial, can, generally speaking, arrive at the truth by considering merely *ex parte* and untested evidence placed before him by the police. No lawyers are to be allowed to appear, and there will be no examination and cross examination of witnesses. From the fact that no public notice or notice to the persons concerned has been given of

the sittings or mode of procedure of the Bengal committee, we do not think that the detenus will have the opportunity of producing rebutting evidence. Their memorials will, no doubt, be considered. But if they are not told definitely on what grounds they have been deprived of their liberty, about or against what are they to submit memorials?

The committees are merely advisory, their findings will not be binding on the Government.

Under all these circumstances it will not be just to conclude that those who may remain under restraint after the committees have done their work, were really guilty of any offence.

As for the impartiality or the freedom from bias or prejudice of the Government servants or pensioners who are on the committees, we do not like to say anything regarding them individually. Speaking generally, we would ask our readers to draw their conclusions from what took place during the debate in the House of Commons, on May 9 which followed the publication of General Maurice's letter on some statements made by Mr Lloyd George about the army. Mr Asquith said:

The Government had admitted that there was a case for enquiry. He regarded the proposal that two judges of experience should hold such an enquiry in such circumstances as unsatisfactory. Such a tribunal would be impotent unless it had statutory powers, and he suggested a non party committee of five members of the House of Commons who could probably reach a decision which would be respected by the House and the country in two or three days.

He proceeded

Any Government statement of facts would be *ex parte* and made in the absence of those who had impugned the accuracy of previous statements. Mr Asquith urged that it was in the honour and interest of the Government the House, the Army the nation and the Allies and the unhampered prosecution of the war to establish a tribunal of enquiry which from its constitution and powers would be able to give a prompt decisive and authoritative judgment. He hoped regarding some of these matters that there had been honest misunderstanding but the clearer the case the Ministers had for proving the accuracy of the impugned statements the more cogent was the argument in favour of an enquiry under conditions which nobody could suspect of partiality or prejudice. (Laughter, in which Mr Bonar Law joined.)

Mr Asquith, turning to Mr Bonar Law, asked whether Mr Bonar Law thought that a Select Committee of the House was not an unsuspected tribunal.

Mr Bonar Law replied that every member of the House of Commons was either friendly or to the Government, and therefore pro-

Mr Asquith retorted, 'I am very sorry to hear the leader of the House suggest that there cannot be five members of the House of Commons who are not so steeped in party prejudice that they can not be trusted to judge a pure issue of fact. I leave it there.'

The reader is to bear in mind that here the freedom from prejudice of Englishmen who were either His Majesty's Judges or Members of Parliament was the subject under consideration, and some of the men who were pronouncing opinion on it were men of Cabinet rank.

It may also be pointed out that when the Sinn Féin leaders recently arrested and interned were asked whether they would agree to have their cases not tried but simply investigated by two High Court Judges, their answers were in the negative.

Reported Suicide of a Detenu

A report has reached us that a detenu or state prisoner named Rasik Lal Sarkar who was confined in Rajshahi jail has committed suicide by soaking his clothes in Kerosene oil and setting fire to them. We earnestly request the Government to enquire into the matter and make known the true facts.

Rigorous Imprisonment for Kutubdia Detenus.

The 17 Kutubdia detenus who openly left that place, after apprising the local police of that fact beforehand, to lay their grievances before the Magistrate, have been tried and sentenced by a special tribunal to two months' rigorous imprisonment each. This is an excessive punishment for a merely technical offence. That the detenus had real grievances and that the Superintendent of Police did not forward many of their telegraphic and epistolary complaints to Government cannot be denied by any one who has read the report of the trial in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The tribunal says that they were over sensitive. Ideas differ. They were not convicts (and even convicts have good water supplied to them in jail) and for them not to have good drinking water (to take only one grievance) was a real source of inconvenience and possibly ill health, it does not require any extra sensitiveness to think it so. The tribunal disbelieved the allegations of torture in Dullunda House, on what grounds we do not know.

Fresh Disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

Writing to some Bombay papers, Mr M K Gandhi draws attention to fresh disabilities imposed on Indians by the Union Government in South Africa by the recent introduction of railway travelling restrictions. He says, Indians would have been content if the existing colour prejudice was left to work itself but instead of the Union Government feeding the prejudice by giving legal recognition to a anti colour campaign Mr Gandhi urges that the pendency of the war cannot be used as an effective shield to cover fresh wrongs and insults. He appeals to Englishmen in India along with Indians to lend their valuable support to the movement to redress the wrongs. He further points out that the Attorney General has obtained a ruling from the Natal Supreme Court to the effect that the subjects of Native States are aliens and not British subjects and are not entitled to protection so far as appeals under a peculiar section of the Immigrants Restriction Act are concerned. Thus if the local court's ruling is correct, a quarter of Indian settlers in South Africa who are subjects of Indian States will be deprived of the security of residence there for which they fought for eight years and which they thought they had won.

The news is very serious indeed. In a letter to the *Statesman*, Mr. C. F. Andrews writes—

Mr Ahmed Muhammad Cachalia the leader of the Indian community, has cabled (and the cable has passed the censor) that new statutory regulations have been passed imposing a colour bar against Indians which never existed before in the eyes of the law and that these regulations (which have been promulgated in war time) have broken right across the settlement reached by General Smuts just before the war began in June 1914.

I know Mr Cachalia the Indian leader personally. He is a modest and retiring man who was of the greatest help in bringing about the settlement itself by his reasonable views. He has learnt in a very hard school of suffering what a tragedy it would be if Indians were obliged to take up the whole struggle once more. He would never do so except as a last resort. Yet it is he who has cabled, Parses and Christians—are unanimous in their decision that this is the only honourable course left open if these new restrictions are not removed.

Prish Chandra Vasu.

It is with deep personal sorrow that we

put on record the passing away from this world of that large hearted scholar Babu Srish Chandra Vasu B.A. Vidyarnava Rai Bahadur retired District and sessions Judge on Sunday the 23rd June last at his residence in Allahabad. He was like an elder brother to us. May his great soul ever have the congenial work and the union with the Supreme Spirit for which he longed.

"A Moral Equivalent of War"

Professor William James has said that the great need of our day is a moral equivalent of war. This is true in many senses. Those who by establishing a League of Nations or other means are seeking to put an end to war have to find out this moral equivalent of war. Men have thought it just to wage war to win freedom and independence to maintain freedom and independence to defend hearth and home to abolish slavery of all sorts to help those who fight for any of the above causes and to baffie the evil designs of the greedy and the wickedly ambitious. The leaders of humanity have to find out a moral equivalent of war which will suffice to achieve all these objects. Further this moral equivalent must be able to develop those qualities of character which are associated with heroism. Peace must not lead to effeminacy. Means must be found to make the world's workers as hardy and indefatigable as war makes soldiers. The high qualities of courage of devotion and of readiness for the utmost sacrifice at a moment's notice or no notice at all are too precious to be lost. As in war so in peace they must be made to endure.

It is a high and difficult task to find a moral equivalent of war which will suffice for all these ends. But men and women live for high tasks not for slothful ease.

Brahmananda Sinha

In Babu Brahmananda Sinha was the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have lost an unostentatious and public spirited worker who took pains to keep himself well informed about everything that he set his hands to. He was for some years principal of the Pampur State High School and an educationist edited and published an educational monthly. As a journalist he edited for some years the

Indian Union at Allahabad. He was a careful and talented writer to whom the *Leader* says the *Leader* among other papers was indebted. He was for some years the secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mills Ltd Lucknow and subsequently assistant secretary of the Hindu University Society. He was chosen president of the provincial industrial conference held at Meerut in 1914 and as such delivered a very able address. This he was able to do because of his special study of industrial subjects. He was noted for his excellent character and mild and affable disposition.

Percentage of Success at University Examinations

It is said that this year 50 per cent of the candidates for the Calcutta Matriculation have been successful. This result is worse than that of some previous years. But the results of some examinations at Madras and Allahabad have been far worse. In fact these latter Universities have been for years past famous for the large proportion of failures in their examinations. Neither high percentages of failures nor of successes can be accepted as proofs of the imparting of good education. But this can be said without injustice to anybody that those who are teachers and examiners alike and control both teaching and examination are either bad teachers or bad examiners or both if the alumni of their University largely fail to pass its examinations. For Indian boys are not dullards. That in the Calcutta University even after the Curzonian new regulations there has not hitherto been any narrowing of opportunities for high education or any abnormal increase of failures has been greatly due to Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's influence.

The Reform Scheme in England

Though the Montagu Chelmsford reform scheme has not yet (June 29) been published in India many persons must have come to know its details in England. For Mr Ramsay MacDonald and others have already pronounced their opinions on it. Various forecasts have been published here. The Curtis scheme is being made in England. Many articles on I forms have been published. Humites and others are quite

(2) A certain number of King's Commissions conferring Honorary Rank in the Indian army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present war and who owing to age or lack of educational qualifications are not eligible for substantive King's Commissions. Such Honorary Commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's Commissions in the Indian army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. Those selected from civil life will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local governments and political administrations concerned. They must be between the ages of 19 and 25 and will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war. Those selected from the army must also be between the age of 19 and 25 and will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the general officers in whose commands they are serving. In making selections preference will be shown to officers or non-commissioned officers who have displayed special aptitude as leaders and instructors.

On the termination of the war temporary officers appointed under this scheme who have proved themselves efficient in every respect and who desire to make the army their profession will be considered for permanent commissions. The remainder will be retired on a gratuity with permission to wear the uniform of the rank held at the time of retirement.

"Those selected from civil life will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local governments and political administrations concerned. They will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war. Everyone can understand the inner meaning of these words. It is not thus that British, Colonial and American young men are chosen for commissions. It is not in this way that British college students are admitted to the Officers' Training Corps in the Universities. The arts which enable men to win the good graces of the bureaucracy in India are not the best school for developing those qualities of manhood and leadership which make for success in war. Government may and ought to reward service with honors, jagirs or money grants, but it is a pernicious idea that any posts, civil or military, should be given, not solely or mainly for fitness for the same, but as a reward for so it is other kind of service. A successful recruiter would not necessarily

make a successful officer. What similarity is there between the art of recruiting and that of leading men in battle? Is it recognised to be the right principle in any civilised country that professors, judges, engineers, &c., are to be drawn only from families which have rendered good service to government? Why then are military officers to be drawn only from such families? Government will not get the best men from such a narrow field of choice. Should the men thus chosen fail to give satisfaction, it would not be just for Government to say in future, "Indians cannot make good officers."

We recognise that Government has made a beginning and duly appreciate the value of the beginning that has been made, but we cannot say that it is a good beginning or that it is one which is full of promise.

The Calcutta University Commission.

When the Calcutta University Commission was appointed and the names of its members were announced, we frankly criticised its unsatisfactory constitution and pointed out its defects. We particularly pointed out that there ought to have been in the Commission some Indian member or members acquainted with the working of the Calcutta University but not belonging to the party of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji or dependent on him for any kind of patronage or favour. For the evils, the eradication of which was undoubtedly one of the objects of the Commission, were to a great extent the outcome of the Tammany Hall methods introduced during his long term of Vice-Chancellorship and continued during his successor's regime because of the overwhelming numbers of his creatures and followers in the University. For the eradication of these evils, the Commission required firsthand information proceeding from a source other than Sir Ashutosh or his party. But there is no one in the Commission who can supply such information. The president and members of the Commission have to depend for all detailed information on Sir Ashutosh. There is no one to correct or contradict him. Even as regards what the people of Bengal want or do not want, he is the only authority in the Commission. We have never denied that he has done much for collegiate and university.

tion. But his work has been of a very mixed quality in which perhaps the evil has preponderated. In any case he is neither infallible nor unbiassed. Some corrective was needed but was not provided.

This state of things could have been partly remedied if independent witnesses had been called to give evidence before the Commission. But truth has been sought to be shut out from the Commission in various ways. The defective constitution already referred to was one such means. Next the questions framed by the Commission were such as diverted attention from the crying evils of the present system and method of administration and dissipated attention over a large expanse of other details. Then the questions were sent to carefully selected persons to the exclusion of certain other persons. To give an example. The editor of this Review which has published more Notes and articles on education and higher education than all the English newspapers and periodicals in Bengal combined did not at first get the questions. In fact he never got the questions from the secretary of the Commission. He got them later than those who got them direct from the secretary from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division whose personal assistant was a friend of a friend of the editor who besides being a journalist has had about a quarter of a century's educational experience as a professor. We do not know in what other ways unwelcome evidence was tried to be excluded and evidence was sought to be picked.

After receiving the questions we criticised them in this Review and in *Prabasi*. We also gave a summary of the charges brought against the University. We sent marked copies of all the numbers of the *Modern Review* published in recent years which contained any criticism of the University, the Educational services, the present University Commission etc. to the president, the secretary and each member of the commission. These copies were sent by registered post and the president, the secretary and some of the members acknowledged their receipt. We also sent answers to the questions and in due course got a proof for correction. Our answers contained some of the charges against the university and criticism of university methods which had appeared in

our review. So the Commission cannot plead ignorance of what is said against the university. We do not know whether the Commission at all paid any attention to these things or whether they took these charges and criticisms seriously. If they did did they find them true? If on the other hand they dismissed them as frivolous we do not know on what information they did so nor why in that case they did not ask the editor of this Review to appear before them as a witness to substantiate at least those allegations which he had made in his journal and in his answers on his own authority. We do not know definitely whether the Commission orally examined any witnesses at all if they did who are they? The present writer is not the only person who might have been but was not called for examination. More distinguished persons can be named but we refrain.

The Public Services Commission examined a host of witnesses. The main questions appeared in the papers and the summaries of the evidence of the principal witnesses also appeared from day to day. Education—University Commission is we suppose not a trifling thing. The public services are recruited from the ranks of educated men. There would be no public life and public spirit without education. It is the educated young men and women of the country who are to become our future leaders and exemplars. Such being the case it is surprising that the Calcutta Indian dailies have not attached any importance to the University Commission. Babu Motilal Ghose and Surendranath Banerjee are and pose as leaders of opposing parties in Bengal. We ask them to say what they have done in this matter in their papers. We charge them with grave dereliction of public duty. Not only have they not themselves done what they ought to have done they have not even patronised the present writer by reproaching or commenting on anything on University affairs which has appeared in the *Modern Review*. Once indeed when a grave charge was brought against the University office in this review an editorial paragraph in the *Bengalee* threatened the present writer with criminal prosecution (at whose command let the reader guess) if he did not withdraw the charge. He did not withdraw the charge but no prosecution followed. Babu Surendranath

Banerjee has a college That may have demoralised him as the various means of patronage and injury at the disposal of Sir Ashutosh has demoralised considerable numbers of 'educated' men But what is the matter with Babu Motilal Ghose ?

No the public press of Bengal has not helped the Commission as it ought to have done So if the labours of the Commission and all the public money spent for it do not bear much good fruit or if the evil consequences outweigh the good the public of Bengal and their leaders must bear no small share of the blame After all a people get what they deserve We shall get what we have deserved There are those who support and even admire what we have written all along but few there are who have boldly lent public support to a man who cannot show even a bullock cart in token of his position and respectability

Besides formal means and channels of information available to the Commission there was also the channel of social intercourse Dr Sadler the president has not neglected this channel altogether It is but seldom that men like him and some of his colleagues come out to India It would have been of much advantage to India not merely for the purposes of this Commission but in other ways too if at least he could have mixed more than he has found opportunities of doing with Indian men of independent and non partisan views This was more possible in a small place like Darjeeling than in a big city like Calcutta But unfortunately we hear in Darjeeling where he spent several months it so happened or it was so arranged that among his human surroundings the Indian element had a uniformity or monotony of a certain university type which remained unvaried from day to day and was the same even in the Governor's garden party

Waste of Paper

It is said Government intend taking steps to check the waste of paper Let them begin with their own offices In the next place let the extravagant waste of exercise books in schools be put a stop to The number of such books which poor parents have to buy for their sons and daughters is a great and unnecessary hardship For most of the work done in class by pupils slates are quite as good as and

far more economical than paper In our school days and long thereafter, slates were used for working out sums in mathematics for dictation exercises and for various other purposes, including even the improvement of handwriting The students of those days were not worse educated than their present-day successors

The late Professor Homersham Cox

We are sorry to record the death of Professor Homersham Cox at Vizagapatam He belonged to a family of mathematicians and was a high Cambridge wrangler He was professor of mathematics in Muir Central College, Allahabad He was a very good writer of English and was one of our most valued contributors He had studied philosophy to good purpose Arabic literature and theology were among his subjects of study and though he was not a Christian he had extensive knowledge of biblical criticisms and exegesis He was a man of liberal sympathies and liked to encourage patriotism among young Indians and old In Allahabad he was known as a kind hearted friend of the poor and maintained a free school for poor boys at his own expense English was taught here according to the direct method His views regarding education and the manning and control of the Education Department coincided largely with those held by cultured and well informed Indians

Ancient Indian Shipping

The attention of the readers of the *Modern Review* interested in Ancient Indian Shipping is drawn to a Brahmi inscription and a diagram over a cave at Duwe Gula in the Tamankaduwa district in Ceylon published by Mr H C P Bell C C S (Retired) late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Library Register* Volume III Part III (p 204 plate XX Duwe Gula No 1) I reproduce what he writes—

Above the brow of cave No 1 The spat loma or reversed writing record of 11 aksharas is inscribed in that older form of B C. Cave character in which the ra is wavy and the palatal sa stroke bent over and drawn down level with the foot of the letter Le of lena is the only letter not from right to left

The quadrilateral diagram (1 ft. 10

7 n Carved to right of the record depicts a barque, high of prow and stern with mast yard shrouds and a pronged device at the mast head. It seems to illustrate the epithet *Barata* and to connect the Buddhist emblem with the content of India.

TEXT

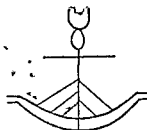
Ba ra ta Sa ga Ra k ta ya le ge

TRANSLATION

Cave of Sangha Rakkhita of Bharata (India)

Mr Bell adds in a note *Barata* Not uncommon in cave inscriptions Mr Parker translates royal messenger here the ship design may well imply that the monk came from India (*Barata-Bharata*)

A tracing of the outline diagram is given below



RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

LOVE

What is all worldly welfare without love ?
 High places power dignity respect,
 All these fall short of the one crowning joy
 Of love. It is this blessed gift alone
 Brings perfect peace into our yearning heart
 We may pursue ambition's perilous path
 With restless eagerness and swelling pride
 But all is vanity it has no joy
 To satisfy the cravings of our soul
 One kiss of love, or clasp of friendship's hand ;
 One warm embrace or even kindly smile
 Showing that we have really won the love
 Of wife or child of brother, or of friend
 This cheers our heart and gives us inward joy
 And is worth more far more to us than all
 The hollow flatteries the world can give
 They are of earth but dropping down from heaven
 Is the sweet tenderness of heartfelt love

J E ANDREWS

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WHOLE

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LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

LORD William Bentinck had served as Governor of Madras but was recalled after the outbreak of the Mutiny at Vellore. The disgrace was rankling in his breast, and so deplorable for the post of Governor-General of India after the retirement of Lord Amherst. The course which he adopted was an unusual one. But it has been justified on the ground that

"He wished that the country which had been the scene of his undeserved humiliation, should also be the scene of his administrative triumphs. These considerations must be taken into full account, if we would form an accurate estimate of the motives which induced Lord William Bentinck to appear as a candidate for the office."

Sir William Kaye, from whose article in the *Calcutta Review* the above extract has been made, mentions the special qualifications which Bentinck possessed for the Indian administration. He writes:

"When formerly Governor of Madras, he had devoted his active mind with great ardour to the study of Indian politics. He had made himself master of every subject connected with the internal economy and working of the Government. He had sketched out many plans for the improvement of the administration. In his eagerness to carry those views into effect, and to prevent their being subverted by superior authority, he had, in one instance, adopted the extraordinary step of quitting his own presidency and proceeding to Calcutta."

But no Indian having any sense of self-respect and not altogether wanting in patriotism, can praise Lord Bentinck for all the trouble he took for making himself master of every subject connected with the working of the government, during the period of his governorship of Madras. True it is, that during this period of his governorship, he was quick enough to perceive the benefits which Muhammadan rule had conferred on the natives of this country and which the Anglo-Indian Government of that day from the very nature of

its constitution was precluded from doing. He wrote:

"In many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermarried and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling."

It was easy for him to diagnose the disease and mention its symptoms. He knew the remedy also—the remedy which was calculated to cure the disease. But he did not propose to apply the remedy. It was during his governorship that one of the members of his council at Madras, by the name of Mr. William Thackeray, penned a minute from which the following extracts are made:

"It is very proper that in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the state. The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it!—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest. We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen."

Referring to the above, Mr. Digby truly observes:—

"Mr. Thackeray was without excuse. Lord William Bentinck, who of set purpose selected Mr. Thackeray as his mouthpiece, they holding ideas in common, is even more without excuse."

(Prosperous British India, p. 41).

If we remember the above facts, we shall be able to understand Bentinck's policy when he held the office of Governor-General of India. Of course, he was not popular with the Anglo-Indian community of his day, because he disturbed the allowances of the civil and military

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I p. 341

† *Ibid.*, p. 340.

officers He was denounced by his Christian countrymen because he touched their pockets It is on this account that the memory of Lord William Bentinck is held in execration in the annals of Anglo India Even the paid historiographer of the East India Company, Mr Thornton had no good words to say of Lord Bentinck The reader is referred to his History of British India for the estimate he formed of his lordship * So fair minded a writer as the Honorable Mr Frederick Shore wrote of Lord Bentinck

But what has been the general result of Lord William's government? What has become of his determination to do his best for the interests of the people over whom he has been placed? Professions of abundance we have had; it has been a government of professions which has begun and ended in words It may have been his intention to have fulfilled them but he forgot to add the qualifying proviso that his good intentions were never to interfere with the main principle of the British Indian Government profit to themselves and the masters at the expense of the people of India * The abominable system of purveyance and forced labour is still in full force The commerce and manufactures of the country are daily deteriorated by the vexatious system of internal duties which is still preserved—

the people are neither happier nor richer than they were before—indeed the social improvement has been progressing slower while the evils enumerated have continued in full force the revenue screw has scarcely been relaxed half a thread of the many hundreds of which it is composed while the natives the East Indians and the English settlers are found equally murmuring at the little which has been practically done to improve the condition.

(Notes on Indian Affairs Vol. II pp. 223-224)

But because he was unpopular with his own countrymen it does not necessarily follow that he wanted to injure them No he was their true friend and well wisher

* It remains only to state that he (Lord Bentinck) quitted India in May 1833 having held the office of Governor-General somewhat longer than the ordinary period but having done less for the interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had occupied his place since the commencement of the nineteenth century with the single exception of Sir George Bailew His besetting weakness was vanity—the idol of his worship was popularity and he sought to win his obeisance by an unrelenting sacrifice to what is called the Spirit of the Age Economy was in fashion and therefore Lord William Bentinck was an economist It was a period when showy and noisy pretensions were permitted in many instances to carry off the rewards and honors which were due only to deep and solid attainments and Lord William Bentinck challenged praise for a system designed to work in accordance with the popular feeling—professing to foster merit but in truth calculated to foster only undue influence For all these acts charity itself can see no motive but a weak and insatiable appetite for temporary admiration Vol. V pp. 275-3

Every political and administrative measure that he carried out in India was for their benefit and calculated to do harm to the natives of the soil

By Indian historians in general Lord William Bentinck is considered to have been a peace-loving Governor-General It is true that he did not involve India in costly wars like those of which his predecessors like Wellesley, Marquis Hastings and Lord Amherst had been guilty But then the finances of the country were in such a precarious condition when he was appointed to the high post of Governor-General that he could not indulge in the luxury of any costly war He had to carry out retrenchments and so he was obliged to touch the pockets of his own co-religionists and compatriots for which he was so unpopular with them

However there was one war during his regime by which a large province was made to lose its independence Coorg was coveted by Anglo-Indians because it appeared to them almost a paradise on earth says Mr L Bowring who was for some years Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg in his 'Eastern Experiences'—

Few parts of India are more picturesque than the little hill province of Coorg and nowhere can be found a more gallant and loyal race than its inhabitants In former days when to a native mind the mere title of a territory was its inaccessibility few States enjoyed such an immunity from invasion as Coorg the only approaches to it being through dense tangled woods or up the face of steep mountains clothed with forest trees and cut up by stony water courses

It was to lift the *purdah* of and annex this beautiful land that Lord William Bentinck made a war on its sovereignty The princes of Coorg were always friendly to the English When the latter went to war with Tippoo the help which they received from the then reigning prince of Coorg made them conclude a treaty with Coorg in 1790 with the following stipulations—

1 While the sun and moon endure the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate

2 Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo

3 The Rajah will furnish for far payment all the supplies a country affords and have no connection with other topwallahs

4 The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo

5 An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Telcherry until the establishment of peace

'God Sun Moon and Earth be witnesses'—*The Calcutta Review*, September 1856 p 188

But as usual with the East India Company, their dealings with Coorg were not fair. It would seem that Lord Bentinck was bent upon annexing Coorg because he knew its value to the colonisers of his race and creed when he was Governor of Madras. No trouble would have occurred had the Coorg question been properly dealt with. The claims of the last Rajah of Coorg were not well founded. Revd Dr Moegling, in his history of Coorg, published in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1856, wrote

The present Ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acquainted by the British Government without any difficulty. It appears Devanmaji's claims and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten.

The Raja was represented (or misrepresented) to be an incarnation of the Devil, and it was said that he delighted in murdering in cold blood his relatives and subjects. Affairs reached the climax when the Raja's sister Devanmaji and her husband fearing assassination at the hands of the Raja sought protection of the Resident of Mysore. It does not seem unreasonable that she fled to the Company's territory, in order to draw the attention of the Company to her claims to the sovereignty of Coorg. It may be that she might have concocted all the stories of the cruelties of her brother in order to gain her own end. But the Resident and the Company not only took her and her husband under their protection, but they wanted to coerce the Raja. The Raja as an independent sovereign resented this interference. He was irritated beyond measure and it is alleged that he indulged in mad schemes. If he did so, his conduct was not unjustifiable. Perhaps, the authorities were seeking for a pretext to annihilate the sovereignty of Coorg and so provoked the Raja to take those measures which were necessary to maintain his dignity and safety.

This was just what the authorities were longing for. War was declared against the Raja. An expedition under British officers was sent to his territory. The Raja never meant war and so it was not difficult for the British force to occupy his

country. Even the Revd Dr Moegling is forced to say that

the Rajah incited partly by the hope that a reconciliation was yet possible partly by the fear, that he might lose all if matters went to extremities sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah the several divisions of the British expedition then marching into Coorg were more indebted for their success and even safety than to the skill and talents of the commanders.

The Raja submitted. He was dethroned and sent a captive to Benares. Had Lord Bentinck been an honest man, here an opportunity presented itself to investigate the claims of the princess to the throne of Coorg. He did nothing of the sort, but on the contrary annexed the province on the ostensible plea that the people of Coorg unanimously desired to be placed under the protection of the East India Company. We know the significance of this diplomatic declaration.

The following Proclamation was issued to annihilate the national existence of Coorg

Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honourable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule that their civil and religious usages will be respected and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government to augment their security comfort and happiness.

Mr Bowring writes—

the province being one of the very few British possessions in India which has become such not by conquest but by the free consent of the population. Perhaps owing to this fact the government to which

* Ibid, p 199

† *Thorton as an apology for the annexation of Coorg writes—*

The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not on the first view so clearly justifiable but a very few words of explanation will show that in this instance also the right course was taken. The Rajah was childless [this is not true, as one of the Raja's daughters was married to an English gentleman] and he had taken effectual measures to cut off all pretensions to the succession derived from himself. The vacant throne was without a claimant and the power which had occupied the country was called upon to provide in some manner for the administration of the government. A stranger might have been placed on the misused, but there was no reason for the exercise of such self-denial on the part of the British Government more especially as the people manifested a strong desire to become British subjects. The existence of such a desire removed every pretension for hesitation, * * * (Vol. IV pp 14-215)

they announced the annexation in 1834 has not without good reason shown them constant indulgence and an exceptional deference towards their feelings and prejudices. For instance the slaughter of cattle in Coorg is and is likely to remain forbidden so long as the people deprecate it nor would it be prudent or just to ignore the feelings on the subject in the face of a distinct protest given to them by Colonel Fraser at the time of annexation.

It is admitted that Coorg is not a conquered province. Its inhabitants are not then bondsmen of England. But do they enjoy all the rights and privileges of free citizens?

It was solemnly proclaimed that the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg would be respected. But this solemn proclamation was violated by the English when cash payment was demanded for land assessment. The Revd Dr Mægling writes

Under the *Rajas* the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore now demanded cash payment. This was considered a grievance as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers.

There was an insurrection which was put down with a high hand.

This was how the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg were respected!

Lord Bentinck should be held responsible for the ill treatment that the *Ex Raja* received at the hands of the *E. I. Company* and to obtain redress for which he went personally to England. The wrongs of the *Raja* need not be dilated on here.

Coorg was annexed because it was considered fit for colonisation by English settlers. The number of Englishmen who have settled in Coorg as coffee planters is a very large one as may be judged from the fact of its being the largest coffee producing province in India. According to the *Agricultural Statistics for 1904-5* Coorg has an area of 48,142 acres of land under coffee cultivation. Mr Bowring wrote

If the progress of enlightenment among the Coorgs has been slower than could be desired their material progress has been remarkable. This is mainly owing to the extensive operations of the coffee planters who began to colonise the country the splendid forests in which promised a rich reward to the enterprising settler.

From the time when Europeans began to settle in the district to plant coffee the forests with which the country was covered began to acquire a new value. But at first any applicant received permission to commence operations on a wooded tract merely private individuals or regarded as sacred forests. Very little trouble was taken about securing proper grants permission to cultivate coffee on payment of the Government excise being deemed sufficient.

* Loc Cit p 247

After this need one wonder why the inhabitants of Coorg *unanimously* desired to place themselves under the protection of the English?

It is true that excepting Coorg no other province of India was annexed to the British dominion by Lord Bentinck. But the policy which his Lordship pursued in the Political or Foreign Department was such as paved the way to the annexation of the States of several independent or feudatory princes of Hindustan and bringing them under the direct administration of the East India Company. The manner in which he treated those princes was not calculated to make the relations between them and the English pleasant.

Take the case of Oude. Lord Bentinck meddled unnecessarily with the internal politics of this Kingdom. His visit to Oude in 1831 did not forebode good for that Kingdom. In his report of 11th July, 1831 he wrote

I thought it right to declare to His Majesty beforehand that the opinion I should offer to the home authorities would be that unless a decided reform in the administration should take place there would be no remedy left except the direct assumption of the management of the Oude territories by the British Government.

It is a well known fact that this minute of Lord Bentinck strengthened the hands of Lord Dalhousie and the Directors of the East India Company who were bent upon annexing Oude.

The King of Oude was alarmed by the hostile attitude which Bentinck assumed towards him. He intended the dispatch of an embassy to England to represent his case to the authorities. But how this was frustrated by Bentinck is not so well known as it ought to be. A correspondent under the pseudonym of *Veritas* wrote to the *Indian Examiner and Universal Review* for April 1847

Some ten or twelve years ago it was generally believed and publicly spoken of in the Calcutta

* The deposed *Raja* of Coorg went (in 1852) to England to represent his case to the authorities there and to obtain redress if possible for the wrongs inflicted on him. He took with him his only daughter who was converted to Christianity and married to an English gentleman there. It is needless to say that no heed was paid to his representations. That *Raja's* case was put before the British public in a pamphlet published in 1857 by John Bumpus, 158, early in the service of His Highness Veer Rajwade, Waddeer *Rajah* of Coorg.

Journals, that the East India Company would depose the then reigning sovereign of Oudh, take his rich country and treasury, in which he had enormous wealth, to themselves and pension the king as they had many other native princes of India whose possessions they coveted. The king greatly alarmed at the prospect of losing his kingdom, and becoming a pensioner of the East India Company, resolved on sending an embassy to England, in order to create a sympathy in the British people and avert, if possible the wrongs likely to be done him.

Having come to this resolution his Majesty selected for the embassy Colonel du Bois, an intelligent, talented gentleman, who then held a post of honor in the king's service. A native gentleman, from the Court of Oudh, was also to accompany Colonel du Bois as joint representative of his Majesty, while these matters were progressing, the supreme Government of India became alarmed at the probable results of the mission, determined at once to frustrate the king's intentions, and to ruin the embassy immediately. A plot was accordingly laid for this purpose, in which a lady, took an active part, and deprived it of all its power. Charges of conspiracy against the East India Company's Government were brought forward against Colonel du Bois as the embassy was on the eve of departure for England. Everything was carried on in secret against him, and before the matter was brought to a conclusion the ship sailed, and the embassy proceeded, in opposition to the Government. The Government arbitrarily compelled the King of Oudh to dismiss his faithful servant, Colonel du Bois on these absurd charges, brought forward for the express purpose of frustrating the king's intention. Colonel du Bois, though aware previous to quitting India that he was charged with conspiracy against the East India Company, yet conscious of his own innocence, never supposed that he would be injured by it. What, then must have been his horror and astonishment, on receiving his dismissal, which had been wrung from the King his master, by the supreme Government of Bengal and sent after him, in breathless haste, and without a moment's delay.

On Colonel du Bois being dismissed from the embassy, they had nothing to fear from the native gentleman, who was left in a helpless condition friendless, and in a strange country, where he knew not a word of the language, consequently not in a position to gain many in his favour, and, after suffering great anxiety of mind, he became depressed in spirits, ill in health, and ultimately died at Poonah on his way back to his sovereign, at Lucknow. Colonel du Bois finding he could obtain no redress from the East India Company, eventually sent his wife Madame du Bois to Calcutta, to seek an interview with Lord William Bentinck, and to implore him to redress his grievances, but the Governor-General was inexorable, for he had himself concocted the plot, for the benefit of his masters. After this piece of injustice from the East India Company, Colonel du Bois retired to France and would have held a post of high honour in his native land, but Lord William Bentinck had returned from India and was then in France and in addition to the signal service he had done him with the King of Oudh now prevented the King of the French from conferring this post of honour on him by representing that Colonel du Bois had entered into a conspiracy, against the East India Company's Government, though he knew at the same time, that it was one of the foulest plots ever concocted to ruin the charac-

ter of an honourable man and to pervert the course of justice. —*The Indian Examiner and Universal Review*, April, 1817, pp 178 187

In this connection must also be mentioned the opposition of Lord Bentinck to the embassy of the King of Delhi to England. The celebrated Hindoo reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, was selected by the King to represent his grievances to the authorities in England. As Ram Mohun Roy was his ambassador, the title of Raja was conferred on him to exalt his dignity. Lord Bentinck was much enraged at the proceedings of the King. To mark his displeasure with the conduct of His Majesty—whose vassal the East India Company, of which he was the representative, was, he did not see the King when he passed by Delhi. This act of positive discourtesy, if not disloyalty, of Lord Bentinck must have rankled in the breast of the King and of his relatives and loyal subjects and was probably one of the contributing causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Perhaps the fact is not so well known as it deserves to be that Lord Bentinck was the author of a plot which had for its object the extinction of the Mahratta Principality of Gwalior. Writes Mr John Hope, a former Superintending Surgeon of Scindia's Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of Gwalior, in his brochure "The House of Scindia, a Sketch," published in 1863 by Messrs Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green

'But if these dangers surrounded him [Maharaja Janko Scindia] in his capital, he was threatened with no less danger from the council of Calcutta. Secret deliberations were there being held, with a view to discover what profit could be made out of the troubles of this weak but most faithful young prince, .. A demi-official letter was written to the Resident by the Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, desiring him to learn, at a private interview, by way of a feeler, if the Maharajah, encircled as he was by serious troubles—troubles mainly caused by our government—would like to resign, assigning over the country to the British Government, and receiving a handsome pension, which would be paid out of his own revenues. There can be very little doubt that this demi-official document was of the genus mystic, and that no copy of it can now be found among the archives pertaining to India. Mr Cavendish, than whom no Englishman ever attained a greater ascendancy over the minds of the natives with whom he had concern declined to make such a suggestion and his answer threw a damp upon the hopes of the annexationists. The government officials were of course extremely angry. The press, almost entirely supported by the civil and military services which are immensely benefited by annexation, was very abusive. Presently another demi-official

letter arrived this time from the Deputy Secretary of the Foreign Department—a 'mystic' one we may be quite sure—strongly expostulating with Mr Cavendish upon his proceedings, and concluding with this significant remark—"You have thus allowed a favourable chance to escape of connecting the Agra to the Bombay Presidency." Of course the accident's doom was sealed though not just then declared. A few months afterwards the Governor-General gratified his feelings of resentment by removing Mr Cavendish to another native court.

'Lest it should be thought by any one that in this little sketch of his (Lord William Bentinck's) foreign policy, we have given even the slightest touch of colouring, we will relate by way of illustration, an amusing anecdote which is known to three or four persons now living and which sufficiently confirms our statement that, in respect of the rights of native states his lordship entirely overlooked the tenth commandment. It happened that Major Sutherland was selected to fill the office vacated by Mr Cavendish. He therefore waited on the Governor-General in Calcutta, to learn what the policy was to be at Gwalior—was it to be intervention or non-intervention? Lord Bentinck whose disposition, like that of Lord Palmerston loved a joke quickly replied 'Look here Major and his lordship threw back his head, opened wide his mouth and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar plum. Then turning to the astonished Major he said 'If the Gwalior State will fall down your throat you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr Cavendish did but swallow it—that is my policy. To the traditional old Indians' the objects of so much scorn in these days this doctrine smacks of petty larceny. Imagine a magistrate of Bow Street to say to some smart looking man with a cloak hanging on his arm for a purpose 'Don't prowl about the theatres at night picking pockets for that is larceny but if you see a person drop his purse keep it a traditional old hawk would call this petty larceny but I tell you it is all right! In a moral point of view we think the two cases exactly parallel.

The Afghanistan imbroglio and disasters of 1839-1842, the subsequent unjustifiable wars in Sind and Punjab and also the annexation of those two provinces were in no small measure due to the part which Lord Bentinck played in the scheme which was euphemistically called the navigation of the Indus.

* It was Moorcroft who first suggested the navigation of the Indus. Captain Cunningham, in his history of the Sikhs writes—

"The traveller Moorcroft had been impressed with the use which might be made of the Indus as a channel of British commerce and the scheme of navigating that river and its tributaries was eagerly adopted by the Indian Government and by the advocates of material utilitarianism. One object of sending Hugh Williams presents for Karjeet Singh by water, was to ascertain as if undesignedly, the trading value of the classical stream, and the result of Lieutenant Burnes' observations convinced Lord William Bentinck of its superiority over the Carries. There seemed also in his Lordship's opinion, good reason to believe that the Great Western Valley had

The real author of this scheme was Sir John Malcolm. Its genesis was the "Memorandum on the North-Western Frontier of British India, and on the importance of the River Indus, as connected with its defence, drawn up by desire of Sir John Malcolm." This document was considered by the authorities of the East India Company, as well as by Lord Bentinck. Some extracts from this State document which was pregnant with such momentous consequences are given below:

Should ever an enemy appear on our N.W. Frontier the possession of Sind will become a point of the utmost importance to British interests in India as commanding the navigation of the Indus, a position in case of such an event occurring, of vital consequence to the defence of the country. A perfectly unrestricted communication on this river, can never be expected to be conceded us by the Court of Hyderabad. The possession of Hyderabad may consequently become the object of the British Government—that effected it is presumed, that very efficient measures might be taken to secure the free passage of the Indus. The execution would not appear to present any serious difficulties—the routes upon Hyderabad (as will be shown) are very practicable the fortifications of that Capital are insignificant. The best is the only foreign adjacent power—from the organization of his Government, the disposability of his force and his political discrimination whose jealousy of our encroachment we need fear or propitiate, and the disjointed texture of the Scindian Force and Government while it prevented union in those who opposed us would afford us ample means of coercing any refractory chiefs and of converting many into grateful allies, by substituting a liberal and beneficent rule, for the grinding tyranny of the Amiers.

Of course, the annexation of Sind was plainly hinted at in the above document.

Lord Bentinck played the part of Machiavelli in the Navigation of the Indus Affair. Sir Charles Metcalfe as a member of the Council of Lord Bentinck raised his voice of protest against this measure.

In a minute dated October 1830, Metcalfe condemned the contemplated Survey of the Indus. He wrote

'The scheme of surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to Rajah Runjeet Singh, seems to me highly objectionable.

'It is a trick in my opinion, unworthy of our Government which cannot fail when detected, as

at one time been as populous as that of the East, and it was thought that the judicious exercise of the might remove those political obstacles which had banished commerce from the rivers of Alexander. It was therefore resolved in the current language of the day "to open the Indus to the navigation of the world."

most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.

"It is just such a trick as we are often falsely suspected and accused of by the native powers of India, and this confirmation of their suspicions, generally unjust, will do us more injury by furnishing the ground of merited reproach, than any advantage to be gained by the measure can compensate."

"It must be remembered that the survey of the Indus or any part of the Sind country may give us the power to injure that State, may even assist us in conquering it, and in the course of events, is as likely to be turned to use for that purpose as for any other. The rulers of Sind, therefore, have the same right to be jealous of our surveys of their river and their territories that any power of Europe has to protect its fortresses from the inspection of foreign engineers."

"It is stated in a late despatch from the Secret Committee that we must not permit the rulers of Sind to obstruct our measures. In other words, that we are to go to war with them to compel submission to our wishes. With deference I should remark that such an assumption does not seem to be warranted by the law of nations. But the assumption is an exemplification of what I have often observed in our conduct towards the Native States, and what appears to me the greatest blot in the character of our Indian policy, although I am not aware that it has attracted any general notice in England. How ever much we may profess moderation and non interference when we have no particular interest of our own concerned, the moment we discover any object of pursuit we become impatient and overbearing, insist on what we require and cannot brook denial or hesitation. We disregard the rights of others, and think only of our own convenience. Submission or war is the alternative which the other party has to choose."

"Thus at the present time, because we have taken alarm at the supposed designs of Russia, it would seem that we are to compel intermediate States to enter into our views or submit to our projects, although they cannot comprehend them, and instead of entertaining any apprehension of Russian designs, are more apprehensive of our own, our character for encroachment being worse than that of the Russians, because the States concerned have a more proximate sense of it from the result which they see in actual operation among the realms of India."

"Among other uncertainties of this great question, is that of what our own conduct ought to be when the expected crisis shall arise. Whether we should meet the enemy half way and fight the battles in foreign countries—whether we should defend the passage of the Indus and make our stand there, or await the foe on our own frontier, and force on him all the labor, and loss, and risk of coming the whole distance before we attack him—must depend so much on the disposition of intermediate countries, and other circumstances of the time, that it seems utterly vain to determine even our own course at this remote distance from the event."

"If, therefore, I were asked what is best to be done with a view to a Russian invasion, I should say that it is best to do nothing until time shall show us what we ought to do, because there is nothing that we can do in our present blind state that would be of any certain benefit on the approach of that event."

"The only thing certain is, that we ought not to want only to offend intermediate States by acts

calculated to arouse hostile feelings against us, but ought rather to cultivate a friendly disposition."

"No rulers have ever shown their jealousy of us more decidedly than the Amers of Sind, which feeling we are about to stimulate afresh by an act which will justify its past existence, and perpetuate its continuance."

"If the information wanted is indispensable, and cannot be obtained by fair and open means, it ought, I conceive, to be sought by the usual mode of sending unacknowledged emissaries, and not by a deceitful application for a passage under the fictitious presence of one purpose, when the real object is another, which we know would not be sanctioned."

In a minute dated June 2, 1833, Metcalfe wrote—

"It does not appear to me that the establishment of a British agent at Caubul is requisite or desirable in any point of view."

"The professed object of the proposal is the improvement of commerce. I believe that commerce will take care of itself best without our direct interference in the form of a Commercial Agency, and, if we sought to remove existing obstacles, our efforts would be more needed elsewhere than at Caubul, where the trade with India already receives every possible encouragement."

"A commercial agent would unavoidably become, from the time of his creation, a political agent. To the extension of our political relations beyond the Indus there appears to me to be great objections. From such a course I should expect the probable occurrence of embarrassments and wars, expensive and unprofitable at the least, without any equivalent benefit, if not ruinous and destructive."

"The appointment of an agent at Caubul would of itself almost amount to an interference in the political affairs of Afghanistan."

"As a commercial measure, I consider the one proposed to be unnecessary, as a political one, undesirable, and therefore on the whole objectionable."

Kaye writes that

"The survey of the Indus and the Commercial Agency at Caubul were the *prolegomena*, so to speak, of the great epic of the Afghan War, and Metcalfe, in his correspondence both with Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, argued and protested, with equal sagacity and earnestness, against measures which could hardly fail to entangle us in such a manner with the Trans Indian States as eventually to evolve a great and calamitous war. He left India at a most unfortunate conjuncture. His services were never so much needed as at the time of his departure."

Metcalfe wrote.

"We could not long exist in a state of adequate preparation, as we should be utterly ruined by the expense."

The navigation of the Indus was

* Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe, pp. 211-217.

† P. 218 Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 219.

§ *Ibid* p. 199.

ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of presenting a coach and horses to Maharaja Runjeet Singh. Writes Prinsep

"It was resolved to make the transmission of this present a means of obtaining information in regard to the Indus, and the facilities or the contrary it might offer to navigation. The dray horses were accordingly sent out to Bombay, and the Supreme Government instructed Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of that presidency, to take measures to have them forwarded under charge of an intelligent and prudent officer in boats up the Indus. Some demur was anticipated on the part of the rulers of Sind to allowing them passage through the Delta and lower part of the river but it was assumed that the governing Mus sultans as they were relatively to Runjeet Singh on the one hand and the British Government on the other would notreadily incur the risk of offending both powers by refusing a passage altogether, if it were insisted upon. (Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Chapter X.)

But Lord Bentinck had his designs on the provinces of the Punjab and Sind and so he paid no heed to the warning voice of Metcalfe

It was because he had his eye on Sind, that he stood in the way of Maharaja Runjeet Singh's attempt in adding that province to his dominions. The treaty which was concluded with Runjeet Singh by the Government of India in 1809 expressly stipulated that that sovereign was not to be hampered in his operations on any country beyond the Sutlej. So Lord Bentinck violated the Treaty when he forbade Runjeet Singh from acquiring Sind.

The meeting at Roopur, of Bentinck with Runjeet Singh, was a covert attempt to spy out the military strength of Runjeet Singh. Runjeet Singh threw all precautions away and did not hesitate to meet Lord Bentinck at Roopur. On a previous occasion when he had sent presents to Lord Amherst at Simla, the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, who passed the warm season at Simla in 1828, desired to procure an invitation in person to Lahore, but then Runjeet Singh evaded compliance with this wish. But the Sikh Sovereign, addicted to hard drink and debauchery,

* Captain Cunningham in the seventh chapter of his History of the Sikhs has dwelt at great length on this subject. One of the causes which provoked the Sikh War was the fact that the English to possess Sind themselves had during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck made use of every stratagem, artifice and excuse to frustrate Runjeet Singh from acquiring, or extending his power over, Sind.

† Prinsep's Runjeet Singh, 9th Chapter

was losing his strong common sense for which he was noted and being easily seduced by the presents received from Bentinck, unhesitatingly acceded to the latter's wish and met him with all the pagantry of the East at Roopur.

It is said that Bentinck was not very favorably impressed with that Sikh sovereign and hence the contemptuous manner with which he treated him and the conspiracy laid during his regime of subverting that Sikh Raj. Of this conspiracy, we read in the evidence of Captain Macan before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company on 22nd March, 1832 —

1446 An idea has been broached that great additional security would result to our eastern empire from the extension of our frontier to the Indus. Is that a subject you have considered?—Yes, I have frequently considered it.

1447 What is the result of your opinion?—I have heard many military men say that the Indus was our natural boundary in India. But it has been proved by late and former wars that a river like the Indus is little or no obstruction to a well-organised invading army and if we are to have a defensible boundary on that side, we should do more than stop at the Indus we should push our posts into the hills fastnesses and passes which are beyond that river. But I hold that the conquest of the Punjab (which is the country between the Indus and the Sutlej upon which latter river our frontier posts are now stationed) would be highly impolitic and unjust. We already possess more territory than we seem capable of governing well. The chief of that state has been on amicable terms with us since the treaty made with him in 1808. The cause of that treaty was an attempt on his part to conquer the (which has been faithfully observed by both parties since that period) was that he should not interfere east of that river nor we to the west of it. The consequence has been that he has gradually extended and lately Peshawar, his territory is extensive, populous and fertile, his army numerous and efficient, perhaps the best native army in India, with the exception of the British. Again it would be impolitic to extend our frontier in that quarter, as it would bring us in direct collision with the Afghans, all the Mahomedan tribes. Now, it is well known that the Sikhs are neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos, but a mixt converts of both though their religion has infinitely more of the Hindoo in it than the Mahomedan they are therefore a powerful barrier between us and those fanatical tribes with whom we are to come in collision it would unquestionably have a dangerous influence on the religious prejudices of our Mahomedan subjects and troops."

Of this conspiracy we read in Baron Hugel's Travels (p. 334),

* Several articles had appeared of late in the newspapers of Hindustan and of Calcutta which went to

show that the English must of necessity soon march to the Indus, and make that river the Western boundary of British India and I fancied that Runjeet Singh had thought a good deal of these articles

Lord Bentinck did nothing to allay the alarm into which Runjeet Singh was thrown by all these writings in the Calcutta papers, which were of course all inspired by the Governor General or his subordinates in office. It was the policy of the Company of which Bentinck was the representative not to make any alliance with Runjeet Singh, for Baron Hugel wrote —

A treaty offensive and defensive with the British Government having a guarantee for the integrity of his possessions was the only thing that could ensure the dominion of Ranjit Singh. But this would have prevented England from taking immediate advantage of any sudden occurrence which might fall out. (P 409)

Such was the foreign policy then of Lord Bentinck. He annexed Coorg, he interfered needlessly with the affairs of the kingdom of Oude and his Minute on Oude was made use of by those who favored the extinction of that kingdom. He unnecessarily humiliated and insulted the king of Delhi. He tried his best to exterminate the independent existence of the Mahratta State of Gwalior. He approved of and countenanced, for he made no protest against, the navigation of the Indus, which laid the foundation of all the troubles in Afghanistan, Punjab and Sind.

In the face of the above mentioned facts, it is travesty of truth to say that Lord Bentinck was a peace loving, honest and straightforward man in his dealings with the Native Powers of Hindoostan.

In addition to his post of Governor General, Lord William Bentinck was also Commander in Chief in India. The *Afcerut Universal Magazine* for 1835, in reviewing his career in the latter capacity, wrote as follows —

* A more unfit person for a Commander in Chief than Lord William Bentinck it would have been difficult for any Ministry to pitch upon nor does it reflect credit upon the Court of Directors the Board of Control or his Majesty's Government that for the sake of effecting a saving of some six or seven thousand pounds a year the welfare and discipline of an Army should have been risked or their interests sacrificed.

* The first acts of Lord William Bentinck on assuming the command of the Army were taken with a view to redress the disgrace on the rule of his predecessor and in pursuance of this system all descriptions of complaints were not only received but fostered at headquarters squabbles long set at rest were

carefully raked from their ashes—nourished into representation enquiries and courts martial and the curious observer will find that a large majority of the causes submitted to the decision of the military tribunals were manufactured out of disputes that occurred in the time of Sir Edward Barnes. His Lordship loved to live in an atmosphere of complaints and so long as he received a due quantity, considered that the Army must be progressing to a state of improvement.

'With a man so singularly lauded for benevolence and humanity as Lord William Bentinck was it is extraordinary how many acts we find that would lead the casual observer to a belief that his Lordship was swayed by a selfish disregard of every one but himself or his immediate parasites.

'Lord William is very fond of Rupees—Lord William loves the Rupees

In the administration of domestic affairs, Lord Bentinck did little to promote the interests of the natives of India. Indeed some of his measures were best calculated to make the natives miserable and keep them in subjection. Before his time, the executive and judicial functions were not combined in the same individual. But he combined them. That this measure has been a great curse to the people of Hindustan is evident from the fact that the Indian National Congress from its very birth has been praying for the separation of judicial and executive functions—a request which that astute Irish Viceroy Lord Dufferin pronounced to be "a counsel of perfection."

His great aim in the administration of India was to anglicise and denationalise the natives of India. He did not conceal it, because he came to believe that the anglicisation of India would be of material advantage to England. With this object, among others, in view, he tried his best to introduce English as the court language in India. (*Vide* passages quoted from blue books in the *Modern Review* for February, 1910, pp 177 179)

Knowing the views and opinions of Bentinck, Macaulay also did not hesitate to side with the Anglicists and wrote that minute which made English the medium of instruction in India. That minute considerably retarded the growth of the vernaculars of India.

Lord Bentinck did all that lay in his power to give impetus to the settlement and colonisation in India of his co-religionists and compatriots. The free resort of his countrymen to India would lead to the anglicisation of the natives, which would be advantageous to England.

He is considered to be a

thoripist because he passed that act which prevented the immolation of widows known as *Suttee*. Of course it was the right thing to do. But the ground had been paved as it were for him by the writings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. If the credit is mainly due to anybody for the abolition of *Suttee* it is to Ram Mohun Roy. Bentinck was obliged to him for it was not Bentinck but Ram Mohun Roy who was the object of obloquy and the target for ridicule and attack of the Hindus for they knew that with out the powerful aid of Ram Mohun Bentinck would not and could not have ventured to enact the abolition of *Suttee*. But such was the sense of gratitude possessed by Bentinck that he put obstacles in the way of Ram Mohun Roy's proceeding to England as ambassador of the King of Delhi and did not recognise the title of Raja which the Moghul King had honoured him with.

It is said that Bentinck was a friend of the natives because he recognised their claims to the more extensive employments in the service of the State and for the posts of Deputy Collectors created during his regime. It was not from any philanthropic considerations that the natives were more widely employed. It was financial necessity which obliged the authorities to resort to native agency—the same necessity which led to the curtailment of the *batta* of the civil and military officers and which made Bentinck so unpopular with his countrymen in India.

* Lieutenant A. White a contemporary of Ram Mohun Roy writes in his *Considerations on the State of British India* pp. 60-61—

This enlightened Hindoo Ram Mohun has rendered a signal service to his countrymen next to exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband.

By right all the appointments in the public services of India belong to the natives because they are the children of the soil and also the taxpayers. Even if Bentinck employed them more extensively, we do not see any reason why he should be thanked or considered a philanthropist for merely meeting out a little justice to them.

It should be remembered that Bentinck was no advocate of high education in India. This will be gathered from the following from the *Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe* dated the 16th May, 1835—

His Lordship (Bentinck) however sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operation of the Press. I do not for my own part anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes.

That Bentinck's seven years rule from 1828-1835 was on the whole beneficial to the natives of the country is a myth. His foreign policy was aggressive and his domestic policy was destructive of the best interests of the children of the soil. It has been good for both England and India that the East India Company's attitude towards the Indian States was not persisted in after the Sepoy War.

* Prof H. H. Wilson in his continuation of Mill's *History of British India* in a footnote in Book III Chapter VI writes—

Regulation V 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck but this is an injustice. That his Lordship unreservedly admitted the principle and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs is undoubtedly true but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised both in India and England long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment and the provisions of the Regulation on this point were based as mentioned in the Regulations of Directors prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor General.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RAMDRANATH TAGORE

CHAPTER VIII

NIGHT'S STORY

9

PARAGRAPHS and letters against me have begun to come out in the local papers, cartoons and lampoons are to follow, I am told. Jets of wit and

humour are being splashed about and the lies thus scattered are convulsing the whole country. They know that the monopoly of mud throwing is theirs and the innocent passer by cannot escape unsoiled. They are saying that the residents in my estates from the highest to the lowest

are in favour of *Swadeshi*, but they dare not declare themselves, for fear of me. The few who have been brave enough to defy me have felt the full rigour of my persecution. I am in secret league with the police, and in private communication with the magistrate, and these frantic efforts of mine to add a foreign title of my own earning to the one I have inherited, will not, it is opined, go in vain.

On the other hand, the papers are full of praise for those devoted sons of the motherland, the Kunda and the Chakravarti *zamindars*. If only, say they, the country had a few more of such staunch patriots, the mills of Manchester would have had to sound their own dirge to the tune of *Bande Mataram*.

Then comes a letter in blood red ink, giving me a list of the traitorous *zamindars* whose treasures have been burnt down because of their failing to support the Cause. Holy Fire, it goes on to say, has been aroused to its sacred function of purifying the country, and other agencies are also at work to see that those who are not true sons of the motherland do cease to encumber her lap. The signature is an obvious *nom-de plume*.

I could see that this was the doing of our local students. So I sent for some of them and showed them the letter.

The B. A. student gravely informed me that they also had heard that a band of desperate patriots had been formed who would stick at nothing in order to clear away all obstacles to the success of *Swadeshi*.

"If," said I, "even one of our country men succumbs to these overbearing desperados, that will indeed be a defeat for the country."

"We fail to follow you, Maharaja," said the history student.

"Our country," I tried to explain, "has been brought to death's door through sheer fear, from fear of the gods down to fear of the police, and if you set up, in the name of freedom, the fear of some other bogey, whatever it may be called, if you would raise your victorious standard on the cowardice of the country by means of downright oppression, then no true lover of the country can bow to your decision."

"Is there any country, Sir," pursued the history student, "where submission to government is not due to fear?"

"The freedom that exists in any coun-

try," I replied, "may be measured by the extent of this reign of fear. Where its threat is confined to those who would hurt or plunder, there the government may claim to have freed man from the violence of man. But if fear is to regulate how people are to dress, where they shall trade, or what they must eat, then is man's freedom of will utterly ignored, and manhood destroyed at the root."

"Is not such coercion of the individual will seen in other countries too?" continued the history student.

"Who denies it?" I exclaimed. "But in every country man has destroyed himself to the extent he has permitted slavery to flourish."

"Does not this rather show," interposed a Master of Arts, "that trading in slavery is inherent in man—a fundamental fact of his nature?"

"Sandip Babu made the whole thing clear," said a graduate. "He gave us the example of Harish Kunda, your neighbouring *zamindar*. From his estates you can not ferret out a single ounce of foreign salt. Why? Because he has always ruled with an iron hand. In the case of those who are slaves by nature, the lack of a strong master is the greatest of all calamities."

"Why, Sir," chimed in an undergraduate, "have you not heard of the obstreperous tenant of Chakravarti, the other *zamindar* close by,—how the law was set on him till he was reduced to utter destitution? When at last he was left with nothing to eat, he started out to sell his wife's silver ornaments but no one dared buy them. Then Chakravarti's manager offered him five rupees for the lot. They were worth over thirty, but he had to accept or starve. After taking over the bundle from him, the manager coolly said that those five rupees would be credited towards his rent! We felt like having nothing more to do with Chakravarti or his manager after that, but Sandip Babu told us that if we threw over all the live people, we should have only dead bodies from the burning grounds to carry on the work with! These live men, he pointed out, know what they want and how to get it,—they are born rulers. Those who do not know how to desire for themselves, must live in accordance with, or die by virtue of, the desires of such as these. Sandip Babu contrasted them,—Kunda and Chakravarti,—with you,

Maharaja You, he said, for all your good intentions, will never succeed in planting *Suadeshu* within your territory."

"It is my desire," I said, "to plant something greater than *Suadeshu*. I am not after dead logs but living trees, — and these will take time to grow."

"I am afraid, Sir," sneered the history student, "that you will get neither log nor tree. Sandip Babu rightly teaches that in order to get, you must snatch. This is taking all of us some time to learn, because it runs counter to what we were taught at school. I have seen with my own eyes that when a rent-collector of Harish Kundu's found one of the tenants with nothing which could be sold up to pay his rent, he was made to sell his young wife! Buyers were not wanting and the *zamindar's* demand was satisfied. I tell you, Sir, the sight of that man's distress prevented my getting sleep for nights together! But, feel it as I did, this much I realised, that the man who knows how to get the money he is out for, even by selling up his debtor's wife, is a better man than I am. I confess it is beyond me, — I am a weakling, my eyes fill with tears. If anybody can save our country it is these *Kundus* and these *Chakravartis* and their officials!"

I was shocked beyond words. If what you say be true," I cried, "I clearly see that it must be the one endeavour of my life to save the country from these same *Kundus* and *Chakravartis* and officials. The slavery that has entered into our very bones is breaking out, at this opportunity, as ghastly tyranny. You have been so habituated to submit to domination through fear, you have come to believe that to make others submit is a kind of religion. My fight shall be against this weakness, this atrocious cruelty!"

These things which are so simple to ordinary folk, get so twisted in the minds of our *B.A.s*, and *M.A.s* the only purpose of whose historical quibbles seems to be to torture the truth!

10

I am worried over Panchu's sham aunt. It will be difficult to disprove her, for though witnesses of a real event may be few or even wanting innumerable proofs of a thing that has not happened can always be marshalled. The object of this move is, evidently, to get the sale of Panchu's holding to me set aside.

Being unable to find any other way out of it, I was thinking of allowing Panchu to hold a permanent tenure in my estates and building him a cottage on it. But my master would not have it. I should not give in to these nefarious tactics so easily, he objected, and offered to attend to the matter himself.

"You, Sir?" I cried, considerably surprised.

"Yes, I," he repeated.

I could not see, very clearly, what my master could do to counteract these legal machinations. That evening, at the time he usually came to me, he did not turn up. On my making inquiries, his servant said he had left home with a few things packed in a small trunk, and some bedding, saying he would be back in a few days. I thought he might have sallied forth to hunt for witnesses in Panchu's uncle's village. In that case, however, I was sure that his would be a hopeless quest.

During the day I forget myself in my work. As the late autumn afternoon wears on, the colours of the sky become turbid, and so do the feelings of my mind. When the gloaming deepens over the world, like the gaze of the dark eyes of the beloved, then my whole being tells me that work alone cannot be the truth of life; that work is not the be all and the end all of man, for man is not simply a serf, — what though the serfdom be of the True and the Good. Alas, Nikhil, have you for ever parted company with that self of yours who used to be set free under the starlight, to plunge into the infinite depths of the night's darkness after the day's work was done? How terribly alone is he, who misses companionship in the midst of the multitudinousness of life.

The other day, when the afternoon had reached the meeting point of day and night, I had no work, nor the mind for work, nor was my master there to keep me company. With my empty, drifting heart longing to anchor on to something, I traced my steps towards the inner gardens. I was very fond of chrysanthemums and had rows of them, of all varieties, banked up in pots against one of the garden walls. When they were in flower, it looked like a wave of green breaking into indescent foam. It was some time since I had been to this part of the grounds, and I was beguiled into a cheerful expectancy at

the thought of meeting my chrysanthemums after our long separation

As I went in, the full moon had just peeped over the wall, her slanting rays leaving its foot in deep shadow. It seemed as if she had come a tiptoe from behind, and clasped the darkness over the eyes, smiling mischievously. When I came near the bank of chrysanthemums, I saw a figure stretched on the grass in front. My heart gave a sudden thud. The figure also sat up with a start at my footsteps.

What was to be done next? I was wondering whether it would do to beat a precipitate retreat. Bimala, also, was doubtless casting about for some way of escape. But it was as awkward to go as to stay. Before I could make up my mind, Bimala rose, pulled the end of her sari over her head and walked off towards the inner apartments.

This brief pause had been enough to make real to me the cruel load of Bimala's misery. The plaint of my own life vanished from me in a moment. I called out "Bimala!"

She started and stayed her steps but did not turn back. I went round and stood before her. Her face was in the shade, the moonlight fell on mine. Her eyes were downcast, her hands clenched.

"Bimala," said I, "why should I seek to keep you fast in this closed cage of mine? Do I not know that thus you can not but pine and droop?"

She stood still, without raising her eyes or uttering a word.

"I know," I continued, "that if I insist on keeping you shackled, my whole life will be reduced to nothing but an iron chain. What pleasure can that be to me?"

She was still silent.

So," I concluded, "I tell you truly Bimala, you are free. Whatever I may or may not have been to you, I refuse to be your fetters." With which I came away towards the outer apartments.

No no it was not a generous impulse nor indifference. I had simply come to understand that never would I be free until I could set free. To try to keep Bimala as a garland round my neck, would have meant keeping a weight hanging over my heart. Have I not been praying with all my strength that if happiness may not be mine let it go, if grief needs must be my lot let it come, but let me not be kept in bondage. To clutch hold of that which

is untrue as though it were true is only to throttle oneself. May I be saved from such self destruction.

When I entered my room, I found my master waiting there. My agitated feelings were still heaving within me. "Freedom, Sir," I began unceremoniously, without greeting or inquiry, "freedom is the biggest thing for man. Nothing can be compared to it—nothing at all."

Surprised at my outburst my master looked up at me in silence.

"One can understand nothing from books. I went on 'We read in the scriptures that our desires are bonds, fettering us as well as others. But such words by themselves are so empty. It is only when we get to the point of letting the bird out of its cage that we can realise how free the bird has set us. This is just what the world has failed to understand. They all seek to reform something outside themselves. But reform is wanted only in one's own desires nowhere else, nowhere here!'"

I was suddenly reminded of my master's absence during the last few days and of my ignorance as to its reason. I felt somewhat foolish as I asked him "And where have you been all this while Sir?"

Staying with Panchu," he replied.

"Indeed!" I exclaimed. "Have you been there all these days?"

"Yes I wanted to come to an understanding with the woman who calls herself his aunt. She could hardly be induced to believe that there could be such an odd character among the gentle folk as the one who sought their hospitality. When she found I really meant to stay on, she began to feel rather ashamed of herself. 'Mother,' said I 'you are not going to get rid of me even if you abuse me.' And so long as I stay, Panchu stays also. For you see, do you not, that I cannot stand by and see his motherless little ones sent out into the streets?"

"She listened to my talks in this strain for a couple of days without saying yes or no. This morning I found her tying up her bundles. 'We are going back to Brundaban,' she said. 'Let us have our expenses for the journey.' I knew she was not going to Brundaban and also that the cost of her journey would be substantial. So I have come to you."

"The required cost shall be paid," I said.

"The old woman is not a bad sort," my master went on musingly. "Panchu was not sure of her caste and would not let her touch the water jar, or anything at all of his. So they were continually bickering. When she found I had no objection to her touch, she looked after me devotedly. She is a splendid cook!"

"But all remnants of Panchu's respect for me vanished! To the last he had thought that I was at least a simple sort of person. But here was I, risking my caste without a qualm, to win over the old woman for my purpose. Had I tried to steal a march on her by tutoring witness for the trial, that would have been a different matter. Tactics must be met by tactics. But stratagem at the expense of orthodoxy is more than he can tolerate!"

"Anyhow, I must stay on a few days at Panchu's even after the woman leaves for Harish Kundu may be up to any kind of devilry. He has been telling his satellites that he was content to have furnished Panchu with an aunt but I have gone the length of supplying him with a father. He would like to see, now, how many fathers of his can save him!"

"We may or may not be able to save him," I said, "but if we should perish in the attempt to save the country from the thousand and one snares—of religion, custom and selfishness—which these people are busy spreading, we shall at least die happy."

DIMALA'S STORY

12

Who could have thought that so much would happen in this one life? I feel as if I have passed through a whole series of births. Time has been flying so fast, I did not feel it move at all, till the shock came the other day.

I knew there would be words between us when I made up my mind to ask my husband to banish foreign goods from our market. But it was my firm belief that I had no need to meet argument by argument, for there was magic in the very air about me. Had not so tremendous a man as Sandip fallen helplessly at my feet, like a wave of the mighty sea breaking on the shore? Had I called him? No it was the summons of that magic spell of mine. And Amulya, poor dear boy, when he first came to me,—how the current of his life flushed with colour, like

the river at dawn! Truly have I realised how a goddess feels when she looks upon the radiant face of her devotee.

With the confidence begotten of these proofs of my power, I was ready to meet my husband like a lightning-charged cloud. But what was it that happened? Never in all these nine years have I seen such a far away, distraught look in his eyes—like the desert sky,—with no merciful moisture of its own, no colour reflected, even, from what it looked upon. I should have been so relieved if his anger had flashed out! But I could find nothing in him which I could touch. I felt as unreal as a dream,—a dream which would leave only the blackness of night, when it was over.

In the old days I used to be jealous of my sister-in-law for her beauty. Then I used to feel that Providence had given me no power of my own, that my whole strength lay in the love which my husband had bestowed on me. Now that I had drained to the dregs the cup of power and could not do without its intoxication, I suddenly found it dashed to pieces at my feet, leaving me nothing to live for.

How feverishly I had sat to do my hair that day. Oh shame, shame on me, the utter shame of it! My sister-in-law, when passing by, had exclaimed "Aha Junior Rani! Your hair seems ready to jump off. Don't let it carry your head with it!"

And then, the other day in the garden, how easy my husband found it to tell me that he set me free! But can freedom—empty freedom—be given and taken so easily as all that? It is like setting a fish free in the sky,—for how can I move or live outside the atmosphere of loving care which has always sustained me?

When I came to my room to-day, I saw only furniture—only the bedstead, only the looking glass, only the clothes rack—not the all pervading heart which used to be there, over all. Instead of it there was freedom, only freedom, mere emptiness! A dried up watercourse with all its rocks and pebbles laid bare. No feeling, only furniture!

When I had arrived at a state of utter bewilderment, wondering whether anything true was left in my life, and whereabouts it could be, I happened to meet Sandip again. Then life struck against life, and the sparks flew in the same old way. Here was truth—impetuous truth—which

rushed in and overflowed all bounds, truth which was a thousand times truer than the Senior Rani with her maid Thako and her silly songs, and all the rest of them who talked and laughed and wandered about

"Fifty thousand!" Sandip had demanded "What is fifty thousand?" cried my intoxicated heart "You shall have it!"

How to get it, where to get it, were minor points not worth troubling over. Look at me! Had I not risen all in one moment, from my nothingness to a height above everything? So shall all things come at my beck and call! I shall get it, get it, get it,—there cannot be any doubt!

Thus had I come away from Sandip the other day. Then as I looked about me where was it,—the tree of plenty? Oh, why does this outer world insult the heart so?

And yet get it I must, how, I do not care, for sin there cannot be. Sin taints only the weak, I with my *shakti* am beyond its reach. Only a commoner can be a thief, the king conquers and takes his rightful spoil. I must find out where the treasury is, who takes the money in, who guards it.

I spent half the night standing in the outer verandah peering at the row of office buildings. But how to get that Rs 50,000 out of the clutches of those iron bars? If by some *mantram* I could have made all those guards fall dead in their places, I would not have hesitated,—so pitiless did I feel!

But while a whole gang of robbers seemed dancing a war dance within the whirling brain of its Rani, the great house of the Rajas slept in peace. The gong of the watch sounded hour after hour, and the sky overhead placidly looked on.

At last I sent for Amulya.

"Money is wanted for the cause," I told him. "Can you not get it out of the treasury?"

"Why not?" said he, with his chest thrown out.

Alas, had I not said 'why not' to Sandip just in the same way? The poor lad's confidence could rouse no hopes in my mind.

"How will you do it?" I asked.

The wild plans he began to unfold would hardly bear repetition except in the pages of a penny dreadful.

"No, Amulya," I said, severely, "you must not be childish."

"Very well, then," he said, "let me bribe those watchmen."

"Where is the money to come from?"

"I can loot the bazar," he burst out, without blenching.

"Leave all that alone. I have my ornaments, they will serve."

"But," said Amulya, "it strikes me that the cashier cannot be bribed. Never mind, there is another and a simpler way."

"What is that?"

"Why need you hear it? It is quite simple."

"Still I should like to know."

Amulya fumbled in the pocket of his tunic and pulled out first a small edition of the Gita, which he placed on the table—and then a little pistol, which he showed me but said nothing further.

Horror! It did not take him a moment to make up his mind to kill our good old cashier.* To look at his frank open face, one would not have thought him capable of hurting a fly, but how different were the words which came from his mouth. It was clear that the cashier's place in the world meant nothing real to him, it was a mere vacancy, lifeless, feelingless, with only stock phrases from the Gita—*Who kills the body kills naught!*

"Whatever do you mean, Amulya?" I exclaimed at length. "Don't you know that the dear old man has got a wife and children and that he is—"

"Where are we to find men who have no wives and children?" he interrupted. "Look here, Maharani, the thing we call pity is, at bottom, only pity for ourselves. We cannot bear to wound our own tender instincts and so we do not strike at all,—pity indeed! The height of cowardice!"

To hear Sandip's phrases in the mouth of this mere boy staggered me. So delightfully, lovably immature was he,—of that age when the good may still be believed in as good, of that age when one really lives, and grows. The Mother in me awoke.

For myself there was no longer good or bad,—only death, beautiful assuring death. But to hear this stripling calmly talk of murdering an inoffensive old man as the right thing to do, made me shudder all over. The clearer I saw that there

* The cashier is the official who is most in touch with the ladies of a *zamindar's* household directly, taking their requisitions for household stores and doing their shopping for them and so becomes a member of the family than others.—Tr

was no sin in his heart, the more horrible appeared to me the sin of his words. I seemed to see the sin of the parents visited on the innocent child.

The sight of his great big eyes shining with faith and enthusiasm touched me to the quick. He was going, in his fascination, straight to the jaws of the python, from which, once in, there was no return. How was he to be saved? Why does not my country become, for once, a real Mother,—clasp him to her bosom and cry out 'Oh my child, my child, what profits it that you should save me, if so it be that I should fail to save you?'

I know, I know, that all Power on earth waxes great under compact with Satan. But the Mother is there, alone though she be, to condemn and stand against this devil's progress. The mother cares not for mere success however great,—she wants to give life, to save life. My very soul to day, stretches out its hands in yearning to save this child.

A while ago I suggested robbery to him. Whatever I may now say against it will be put down to a woman's weakness. They only love our weakness when it drags the world in its toils!

'You need do nothing at all Amulya, I will see to the money,' I told him firmly.

When he had almost reached the door, I called him back. 'Amulya, said I, 'I am your elder sister. To-day is not the Brother's Day* according to the calendar, but all the days in the year are really Brother's Days. My blessing be with you. May God keep you always.'

These unexpected words from my lips took Amulya by surprise. He stood stock still for a time. Then, coming to himself, he prostrated himself at my feet in acceptance of the relationship and did me reverence. When he rose, his eyes were full of tears. O little brother mine! I am fast going to my death,—let me take

* The daughter of the house occupies a place of specially tender affection in a Bengali household (perhaps in Hindu households all over India) because, by dictate of custom she must be given away in marriage so early. She thus takes corresponding memories with her to her husband's home where she has to begin as a stranger before she can get into her place. The resulting feeling of the mistress of her new home for the one she has left has taken ceremonial form as the Brother's Day on which the brothers are invited to the married sisters' houses. Where the sister is the elder she offers her blessing and receives the brother's reverence, and *vice versa*. Presents called the offerings of reverence (or blessing) are exchanged.—T

all your sin away with me. May no taint from me ever tarnish your innocence!

I said to him 'Let your offering of reverence be that pistol.'

"What do you want with it, Sister?"

"I will practise death,"

"Right, Sister. Our women, also, must know how to die, to deal death!" with which Amulya handed me the pistol.

The radiance of his youthful countenance seemed to tinge my life with the touch of a new dawn. I put away the pistol within my clothes. May this reverence offering be the last resource in my extremity.

The door to the mother's chamber in my woman's heart once opened, I thought it would always remain open. But this path way to the supreme good was closed when the mistress took the place of the mother and locked it again. The very next day I saw Sandip, and madness, naked and rampant, danced upon my heart.

What was this? Was this, then, my truer self? Never! I had never before known this shameless, this cruel one within me. The snake charmer had come, pretending to draw this snake from within the fold of my garment,—but it was never there it was his all the time. Some demon has gained possession of me and what I am doing to-day is the play of his activity—it has nothing to do with me.

This demon, in the guise of a god, had come with his ruddy torch to call me that day, saying, 'I am your Country. I am your Sandip. I am more to you than any thing else of yours. *Bande Mataram*!' And with folded hands I had responded. 'You are my religion. You are my heaven. Whatever else is mine shall be swept away before my love for you. *Bande Mataram*!'

Five thousand is it? Five thousand it shall be! You want it tomorrow? Tomorrow you shall have it! In this desperate orgy, that gift of five thousand shall be as the foam of wine—and then for the riotous revel! The immovable world shall sway under our feet, fire shall flash from our eyes, a storm shall roar in our ears, what is or is not in front shall become equally dim. And then with tottering footsteps we shall plunge to our death—in a moment all fire will be extinguished, the ashes will be scattered, and nothing will remain behind. (To be continued)

Translated by
SURENDRA NATH TAGORE

A LETTER FROM FRANCE

THANK you so much for your letter! It was deeply interesting reading, especially your remarks about affairs in India. Things indeed are going forward at home and it is a joy to me to know it. We cannot absolutely afford to lose a single minute. We must push forward with all speed and energy, but we must take both deep and quick thought, and see at each step that we are going forward on right lines. I am so glad to hear that Delhi has determined to secure compulsory primary education, and I hope every municipality in India will make haste to do the same. We must strive to the last bit to get that! And now when England itself has acknowledged the good of sound education for its own sons and daughters in such a marked manner, surely she cannot and will not hold it away from us, who need it so urgently. I am right glad to hear this news away here in France, about compulsory primary education, and I wish God speed with all my heart to all such healthy and legitimate efforts!

But you are quite right in saying that we need careful and clear thinking, if we are to go forward in a healthy manner. I have learnt that lesson out here, through seeing the hospital work. Clear thought, and the wise following out of our thoughts in action, can alone make us avoid the great dangers that beset our complex situation in the future. God grant to us and God grant the Government clear sight in this most vital of all matters!

I left Rouen on Wednesday with a party of Indian Cavalry officers who were invited to visit Paris. Everything has been done for us free of all cost and we have been able to see the places of interest under the best auspices. I have also been made quite at home during my stay here in the intellectual and artistic society of this great city. Only yesterday I attended a lecture given by Professor Berillon of the Paris University, who is said to be the greatest living psychologist of our times. I went to his clinique for nervous diseases. Then I heard his lecture, in the course of

which he paid a very high tribute to the ancient Hindu philosophers and thinkers—especially those who worked out the Yoga System of thought. He said that those great men of the past had really worked out the *Idea* that he and the men of the West were mere craftsmen and apprentices applying these old principles which the Hindu thinkers discovered to practical results.

He spoke so clearly and he used such simple words that I was able to follow him right through while he spoke on in French and it was a most delightful lecture to listen to. The language was beautiful the illustrations were apt and attractive. The style was simple and as clear as sparkling water. There was also just a light ripple of mirthful comment and observation which made the whole subject pointed and full of charm.

Then I also heard Madame Berillon lecture to a class of French ladies who were coming forward to help as nurses at the front and behind the lines. It was a great privilege to be at this lecture also and it was so kind of Madame Berillon who gave me a special invitation. Paris is really fascinating with its intellectual and cultured life, and the French people are so free and affectionate, especially towards us Indians. These people indeed know how to live and to work.

Amidst all this wealth of music, art, colour, one sees the more serious side of France, in the Lecture rooms of great teachers like M. Berillon, and also in their modest and quiet homes. The home of the Berillons is in Rue Mazarine one of the older parts of the city. It is on the third story, the rooms are of ordinary size, quietly but really artistically arranged and cleanly and tidily kept. There is no servant—a *war economy*—the girls, boys, aunts and wife of the house do the whole menage. They all know English as they know French and are thoroughly interested in their country and in the deep things of the world of thought and science. They have taken a very great interest in India and its people. Like many French families here in Paris they have thrown their doors

wide open to the Indian officers and men who have come to their city. There is no stiffness or aloofness at all and no coldness. They are simple and homely yet high and great at the same time.

In all these experiences I can never forget the villages of dear India. Since my contact with the army I have been drawn more and more strongly towards our villages and to the people who live in them rather than towards the cities. It is in them that our own simple and affectionate

Indian life lies and there is wonderful intelligence also. And when one comes to think of it, the village world of India is really the world that must count when we look forward to progress in the future.

But personally there is no doubt—not the least—that before I really begin my own work on my return I should get through a thorough course of stiff studies. I am not too old for it yet and I am by no means down-hearted.

PENSION SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

IT is said of Themistocles that his father to dissuade him from accepting any public employment showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea shore and said: Thus my son do the populace neglect their leaders when they have no farther use for them. Every student of History knows how true the prophecy of the father turned to be.

This story of Plutarch has a significant bearing on the life of modern social workers in India. We cast our social servants out of employment in their old age when the best portion of their lives have been spent for the cause of society. They have little saving to fall back upon and to enter into any new profession when they are past their prime means a good deal of unlearning many habits and learning new things for which their weak brain and body are least fitted.

There is a widespread tradition that corporations have no souls. But of all soulless corporations our educational institutions probably have the smallest compassion so far as the question of dealing with their servants and devoted workers is concerned. Few of the business corporations are as heartless towards an old officer as a very large proportion of our schools and colleges are. None of our modern institutions have ever thought it their duty to maintain the old servants who have worked ceaselessly for the benefit of society. Our schools and colleges should not divest themselves of a humane duty towards an old or worn out teacher.

There is no doubt that our private institutions are under no obligation to establish a general and permanent system of retiring allowance to the superannuated workers, but the obligation for a service performed is one thing and the question of taking an obligation for service to be performed is quite another.

Pensions are in vogue almost all over the world in the military department. Governments pay a vast amount of money to combatant and non-combatant officers and privates, disabled soldiers and widows of soldiers. Besides these many hereditary Dukes, Princes and Rajas receive no inconsiderable sums from the public treasury in recognition of some half-forgotten past services or some dubious claims not of themselves but of their ancestors! Vast sums of public money are thus every year spent in many monarchical countries. In England and America the pension system had had to be recast after each war. But the Old Age Pension System for the silent millions who work in the offices of rail ways, Post and Telegraph Departments, Dockyards and Arsenals and a thousand such departments and those selfless silent people who work in Schools and pass away silently without the world knowing what a life of untiring work and good wishes they have borne, is a very recent growth.

Modern Pension Systems appeared in the nineteenth century and have shown rapid growth. Their extent to all orders of society has been a feature of the opening decade of the twentieth century. This result is due chiefly to two facts: First to our quicken-

ed sense of human ty secondly, to the clearer appreciation that such humanity means more effective service and an improved condition of society

It was Germany which first appeared in the field of state controlled Pension System for all superannuated workers in the Empire Other countries were not far behind her and followed her in this most humane work It was only in 1908 that England fully realised the condition of the working millions, and enacted a law, which, must be admitted, was a very perfect one

But in India the condition is quite different In Europe, America and other more fortunate countries the people and the state are identified The interest of the Government is not in conflict with that of society Here the country belongs to the British, but the British public are not responsible to the people of India Thus there is a distinct line of demarcation between the work of the Government and that of society Here society and state work at loggerheads and people and Government, if not positively jealous of each other's work, look askance when one or the other is suddenly roused to activities Co-operation, confidence and a right spirit of emulation are totally absent from the field of India's social and political activities Self Governing countries have responsible Governments and the State is there responsible for the welfare of the individual This care of the individual is the duty of the State, when society has been dead The underlying principles of modern legislation seek freedom, not for some men only, but for all men I do not know whether people have been happier than before or worse than ever, but their sufferings in old age have been a little mitigated In Germany

of invalidity, amount (including a state subsidy of £2 10s for ea h) respectively £8 8s. 111 0s, £13 10s. £15 15s and £18 The Old age Pension (beginning at 70 years) amount £3 10s. 7 £8 10s. 110 and £11 10s The old age and invalid insurance is carried out by 31 large territorial offices to which must be added nine special unions The income of the 40 establishments was in 1903 £8 500 000 (including £1 700 000 imperial subsidy) The capital collected was upwards of £50 000 000 [Encyclopedia Britannica 11th Ed Germany]

Besides this insurance against old age and invalidity,

Under an imperial law of 1883 and amending acts (codified in 1912) workmen must be insured against sickness and must themselves pay two-thirds of the contributions their employers paying one-third For accident insurance under an Act of 1884 and amending Acts the contributions are paid entirely by the employers and they for mutual protection have united into associations according to the nature of the industries in which they are engaged On January 1 1916 the number of persons insured against sickness was 7 747 613 men and 4 019 061 women total 8 767 177 [Statesman's Year Book 1917 pages 911,912]

In England under the National Insurance Acts, 1911 to 1916, provision is made for compulsory insurance against loss of health, for the prevention and cure of sickness, for compulsory insurance against unemployment The number of insured persons under the Health Insurance Scheme at the beginning of 1914 was about 12½ millions, including 260,000 deposit contributors The number of unemployment contributors in February, 1917, was about 2,100,000, exclusive of those serving with the Army or Navy, and of the munition workers, etc [Statesman's Year Book, 1917] Among her colonies the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand Nova Scotia have introduced the Old Age Pension system in their respective states In Nova Scotia, 'a pension scheme is an

and modern legislations have brought them unto The Educational departments have all been keen on the subject of pensioning the old teachers

Pensions are justified upon practically two grounds first, those of a larger social justice secondly, as a necessary condition to an efficient public school system The first of these reasons applies in marked measure to pensions like that of the teacher Society as at present organized desires to get the best service it can out of the various vocations and callings into which men are naturally distributed In some of these callings great prizes are to be won, and these serve as incentives for high performance In other callings like that of the teacher, there are no longer prizes in the way of pecuniary reward (it would be a wise thing in society to create such) Society desires to obtain of the teacher a service quite out of proportion to the pay which he receives Intelligence devotion high character—all are necessary and the state seeks to obtain them at an average salary of \$300 [or 1,500 rupees] a year It is clear that if the State is to receive such service some protection for old age and disability must be had, if the best men and women are to be induced to enter upon such a calling as a life work Secondly, from the standpoint of efficiency in organization whether a governmental one or business one there must be some means for retaining decently and justly worn out servants In the past we have in most cases turned out men and women no longer able to teach but the conscience of our time does not permit such action Outworn teachers remain to the direct injury of the pupils themselves As a matter of efficiency some humane means of retirement for public school teachers is necessary

[Report of the Carnegie Foundation]

The above passage is as true of India as it is of the United States of America, the only difference is that our School masters would be content with five hundred rupees a year, instead of being discontented with 500 dollars in America In America 13 of her States have already made State laws for the pension of Teachers

The first individual who felt the crying need of a reform in the education department in this respect was Mr Andrew Carnegie, the owner of the biggest steel trust in the world, who made a munificent donation of 15,000,000 dollars for the pension of old professors of colleges and universities He clearly saw that able men would not be drawn to this profession until a prospect of decent living and an honourable retiring allowance be given them He in his letter to the trustees of the foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, wrote thus "Able men hesitate to adopt teaching as a career, and many old professors, whose places should be occupied by younger men, cannot be retained" But it is a pity Mr Carnegie made

this provision only for college and university Professors The President of the same Foundation in a report, in considering the problem of school teachers, says

But if there is a justification for pensions for Teachers in colleges there is a still stronger justification for Pensions for teachers in Public Schools, where salaries are lower, work is harder, and the conditions of service are in every way most difficult One of the greatest weaknesses of our [American] Public School Systems to day lies in the fact that only a small number of men can be induced to undertake permanent careers in it Before we can hope for the best results in education, we must make a career for an ambitious man possible in the public schools To do this dignity and security must be given to Teacher's calling and probably no one step could be taken which will be more influential in including able men and women to adopt the profession of the teacher in the public schools than to attach to that vocation the security which Pension brings

In India the schools in lower grades are filled up by most worthless men, of course there are honourable exceptions The reason is not far to seek Teaching is indeed a fine art, but the fact that it is an art is not a sufficient incentive and consolation for young men to join this service Very often people disqualified from other services or unsuccessful in other lucrative professions, have recourse to teaching at last, as if the least degree of qualification and minimum amount of knowledge are the prerequisites of this profession Teaching is no fine art to them, it is merely a means of subsistence To others in India, it is a stepping stone to higher stations of life I do not know if there be a single graduate working in office or pleaders practising in the Bar, who has not, once in his life, done some teaching work It is not infrequently that a barrister or a High Court Vakil is appointed a professor with his one hand in the pockets of his clients and another in the college office! These people, as soon as they have a good practice, throw away the college work Teaching is indeed a stepping stone to them How can we hope for efficient teaching until and unless we can draw people, who would gladly stick to this line of work? And the only means of attracting efficient men, is to pay them decently I do not say that the profession should be made wealthy by paying its workers lavishly, but its members should be protected against want, anxiety, neglect and bad conditions of labour "To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well" But our school masters and "Native" professors live in eternal

poverty Poverty in a society where wealth is held in great honour, is a crime There can be little doubt that unless a thorough reorganisation in the Educational department in respect to pay, retiring allowance or provident fund or pension system be made little have we to expect in the line of efficiency Let us see what percentage of the teaching population reap the benefit of pension in the Educational line in India The following passage is quoted from the Education Report for 1907-1912

At the quinquennium there are 10 directors of Public Instruction There are also (excluding the 14 posts in chief's colleges) 170 officers in the I L S the average monthly pay is 783 (less than the actual by reason of the fact that many officers have not reached Rs 1000 grade) Of these 4 are Indians There are 380 officers in the provincial service (of whom 328 are Indians and some of the other members of the domiciled community) the average pay is Rs 318 a month The subordinate and lower subordinate services contain 7811 officers (of whom 200 were Europeans) drawing an average pay of Rs 50 a month There are also 460 ungraded posts (of which 43 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of somewhat over Rs 70 a month and 104 posts which cannot be classified (of which 90 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of slightly over Rs 152 a month The total number of officers in these services is thus 8945

These services however turn but a small section of the host of Teachers who number 215518 Of these only 7598 are in Government service 51970 are in employ of Boards 9121 in that of municipal bodies and 146820 belong to privately managed schools The conditions upon which last three classes work are less favourable than in the case of Government servants

But the principal qualification is the general want of some provision for old age Government servants look forward to their pensions But generally speaking those teachers in private employ have no prospect of pension and no contribution fund This is a matter in which reform is urgently called for [Pp 31-32]

In Europe and America much storm has blown over the question of the adaptability of contributory and non contributory systems of pension We cannot think of introducing non contributory system in our Education Department until an Indian Carnegie comes forward to pay for the poor teachers The condition of schools and colleges in every case, is not solvent and it would hardly be possible for our institutions to grant pensions or any retiring allowance once for all without the non contributory method In the German Universities long before the state had taken the burden on its own shoulders, the pensions began with the contribution of the professors themselves, and only after a long discussion on the economic and

moral questions involved in it, was the burden of these pensions shifted from the shoulders of the teachers to the treasury of the Government aided organization

It is needless to add here that in India the difference between a School master and a Professor or a School Inspector or his subordinates is very great This difference is not merely in the amount of salary they draw, but also in the degree of recognition in society In Germany, the salary of a Director is from £300 to £400 per annum and of a teacher from £130 to £250 These salaries, however, carry pensions (Germany of Today page 144) "On the whole the university professors are not highly paid A professor in ordinary, if he be of great national importance and highly respected may in Prussia be in receipt of an income amounting to about £600, the average salary in Prussia is about £350, to which should be added lecture fees, which in certain instances may amount to another £100 per annum" (P 155) In India we have every reason to believe that the whole structure of Education is top heavy one set of people are growing fat at the cost of the people, whereas another set in the same sphere of work are on the verge of famine This anomaly should be done away with and let us hope that some day the socialisation of work and pay would be introduced in the department

The specific things that I have to propose before the public are the following — (1) a fair retiring allowance after 55 years of age or the benefits of a provident fund, or (2) a disability allowance after 25 years of service as a teacher, in case of a failure in health so complete as to unfit him for his work as a teacher, (3) the payment to the widow of a teacher, who has had 25 years of service, of a pension equal to one half of the allowance he would have been entitled to at 55 But there is one great difficulty in its way in private services For there is no co-ordination of work and no co-operation between schools It should be the duty of the University to improvise certain means to meet these difficulties

I believe, it would not be out of place just to mention the great financial and actuarial difficulties which some of the Banks and Insurance Companies in connection with pension system have met in the United States of America and Australia

'In New South Wales the Government had to fight hard with uncertain facts unreliable data for years and at last in 1903 the economic disaster which the expert actuaries repeatedly warned the Government of came down with a crash the superannuation account has no funds left in its treasury Over £1 000 000 had been contributed to it during its existence but it was all gone It is calculated that in 1936 the drain upon the treasury will have ceased finally

Such disaster befell many of the Pension Funds in New York Our difficulties and dangers in this direction are tremendous We shall have to work hard with

such problems as longevity, expectation of life and a thousand such other questions connected with the Theory of Probabilities The time is ripe for our society, Government and the universities to join hands for the amelioration of the dreadful and wretched condition of the most useful of social workers, viz, its teachers

City College, PROBHUAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE
Calcutta

THAT PERFECT ONE

A MEDITATION BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE

'Know that Perfect One who is worthy to be known so that Death may give you no pain

KNOW the Deathless Then Death will give you no pain Take shelter in Him, worship Him know Him who is worthy to be known

Death's cruel image is ever before us The world itself is Death's symbol Everything dies that is born The restless fleeting imagery of life, the changing, transitory history of man remind us incessantly of Death Death is all around us and about us How can we escape from its fears?

We are freed from all fear by taking shelter in the Deathless In this world there is fear, but there is no fear in the dwelling place of immortality In this world the prongs of death may overtake us Yet even now, by taking refuge in the Deathless we may get courage and win hope

How wonderful that in the midst of Death we may know the Undying! How wonderful, that we who are so feeble can take shelter from our terrors with the King of Kings and Lord of Lords!

Amid all the varied happenings of the world, man alone can consciously fulfil the gracious purposes of God Buds and beasts, fish and fowl, live and move and have their being all unconscious of the kindly care of the Creator They do this will, but I know it not

But man has this supreme gift of know

ledge Of his own free will he becomes one with the gracious purposes of God Living in the midst of death, he alone attains the Deathless Dwelling in the region of fear, he alone takes shelter in the Fearless

When thus we learn consciously to depend upon that Perfect One, we move in a new world, we can never lose the joy of our soul We may have suffering to endure we may have danger to encounter, we may have sickness to overcome, but the joy of the inner spirit will remain unquenched Taking refuge in the dwelling place of the Immortal, the terrors of Death cannot alight on us

Therefore, so long as we remain in this world, with all its fears, let us not turn away, but draw near to the Deathless The scripture says,—'Let me not turn away from God let God not turn away from me, let there be no disunion'

Apart from God, all life would be waste and void I am God flow all our joys He never forgets us for a moment

Utter ruin would be ours if God were to forsake us So the scripture says again,—'Who could move or live, if this Being, whose very name is Joy, filled not the infinite space'

God is the Giver of all joy I am our birth He has nourished us with His love He remembers us at all times, that we may not become forgetful of Him

How can it be possible for man to forsake Him? Have we not cares, anxieties, suffering, depressions of mind? Can we, then, bear to live without Him? Have we not fears and terrors? Can we, then, neglect His haven of Peace? Have we not sins and stains? Do we not need the shelter of Him who can make pure the defiled?

None but God Himself can give peace to our restless hearts. None but God Himself can drive away our fears in this fear-haunted world. If we forsake Him, we lose our highest good. Our best deeds become selfish, our purest enjoyment becomes ungracious.

In our times of joy, let us remember the Giver of joy. In taking our food, let us call to mind the Giver of our daily bread. In our repentance for sin, let us come to the Fountain of purity. Let us surrender ourselves to Him, and attain the new life of the soul.

Some may ask for instruction as to the manner of His worship. The worship of Him, whose tender care we enjoy, needs no instruction. The love of God, the great Giver of Good, cannot be taught by rote.

God Himself is the Teacher of teachers, the Father of us all. Let us come simply

to Him in childlike adoration. Worship will be natural to us, if we are true to our nature. Only let our inner life grow freely, and we shall learn, each in our own way, to worship Him.

Those desolate countries where God is not worshipped, those destitute homes where His Name is never uttered, those vacant hearts wherein His seat is not spread, are the dwelling places of despondency. Therefore from to-day take shelter with Him and begin your inner worship. Bring your thoughts and actions, your faith and conduct, into harmony.

As a child runs to its mother's arms without fear, so enter fearlessly into His presence. Oppressed with sin, take refuge in Him with tears of repentance. And He, who is tender to the desolate, will give you freedom. Worship Him, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

If any have the knowledge, but lack the joy of worship, then let them persevere in earnest prayer for purity of heart. Surely they too will feel His goodness.

At last, by all, in the inmost heart, the scripture will be understood,—“God does not forsake me, let me not turn away from God.”

(Translated from the Bengali)

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S V VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

V RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN PEACE — SEC 3 *Alliances and Treaties*

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

IT was noted in the last section how alliances and treaties were among the most important functions of ambassadors. In this an attempt is made to consider the various causes, characteristics and kinds of alliances and treaties. As has been already seen¹ there were political units of organisation of different grades and of unequal strength and resources in the various ages of the ancient history of India. Naturally, there arose the necessity for constant intercourse among these

states for various purposes and what in modern technology of international relations are known as alliances, leagues, confederacies, ententes and coalitions became absolutely necessary.

Alliances, variously styled *सन्धि*, *सन्धय*, *साधय*, and *समाधय*, are reckoned by all writers, secular and religious, as forming a separate department of statecraft.² It is defined as seeking the protection of another,³ a means by which even the weak may become powerful.³ The works on polity place

¹ The six attributes of statecraft are *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Samsraya*, *Asana*, *Yana* and *Dva* tibhava.

² Kautilya *Arthashastra*, VII 1.

³ Sukraniti IV 7, 147.

¹ See *Mal. Rev.* June 1918.

great insistence on the king keeping up the balance of power among the circle of states that surrounded him (मण्डल)¹. A *mandala* consisted of twelve kings of different attitudes and varying relations to each other². It was to the interest of a state to manipulate the relations with others in such a way as never to allow itself to be overwhelmed. It should have round it friendly, hostile and neutral states arranged so as to secure the safety of its own position. A balance of power was to be aimed at and there was little chance in such a case of the particular state being invaded by hostile armies because there were the other intervening states who might form coalitions to resist the invasion on the principle of self preservation. The wise king should thus make himself the *nabhi* (centre of gravity) of the *mandala* and make the surrounding states the *neti* (spokes) of the wheel³. In this Kautilya and the rest touch on the importance of constant alliances and counter alliances between the various powers.

Thus, alliances were from the beginning of our history of great necessity and importance considering the multiplicity of the nature and the number of states in ancient India and the divergent tendencies and opposing principles which characterised the dealings of a ruler against the rest.

HISTORY OF ALLIANCES

Alliances are in evidence even in the earliest age of the history of India. In the *Rig Veda*⁴ we find that some of the Aryan tribal communities entered into an alliance with each other and with the non Aryan tribes to form a confederacy of ten tribes against the most powerful Aryan political organisation of the Tritisus under their leader Sudās. The result was the Battle of Ten Kings⁵ which is made mention of in some of the hymns. The apparent cause for the formation of the confederacy was

the desire on their part to check the growth of Sudās.

In the Epics there are many instances of alliances actuated by different motives in different cases. We read of the names of a good belt⁶ of Aryan and non Aryan kingdoms that took sides with the combatants in the Mahā Bhārata War. The alliance was for offensive and defensive purposes and was formed with a view to crush one of the rival powers and to lead to the rise of the other. The frequent quarrels among some non Aryan and Aryan tribes offered no doubt another opportunity for some of the alliances of Aryan and non Aryan powers that are in evidence in the age. The alliance of Rama and Sugriva⁷ as against Vali and Ravana is a case in point. Another instance is met with in that of the Pāndavas and the king of Virāṭa against the Kauravas⁸. These, we may say were formed to keep up the balance of power or to uphold the cause of the righteous against the wrong doer.

Coming to later times we find Magadha and Avanti were for long the dominant states in Hindusthan and naturally enough alliances were formed between the various smaller states to thwart the growing ambition of these Imperial states and to preserve their own integrity and independence. The *Pratnyāyagruddharāyana*⁹ of Bhāṣa illustrates how king Pradyota, Mahāsena of Avanti was trying to realise the world ideal and how he tried to overcome the Prince of Kausambi who alone had managed to be independent. An early example¹⁰ of alliance in the history of Magadha may be seen in the confederacy of the eight Licchavi clans. The coalition of these clans was formed in order to act as a bulwark against the growing aggression of Magadha which was trying to stretch its arms on all sides especially under the reigns of the most powerful of its sovereigns Bimbisāra and

1 Arthashastra, VI 2

2 These were besides the king in point
द्वि मित्र मध्यम उदासीन अविमित्र मित्रमित्र अविमित्र
मित्र पालि दाह आक्रान्त पालिपदादाह and आक्रान्त
पादः।

Arthashastra, VI 2 See Manu VI 15, 157

3 Arthashastra VI 2

4 and 5 P. Veda VI 13 23 for example

1 Chief of these were the Uttara Kurus Uttara Madras Candharas, Bahlikas to the north Angas, Magadhas Akritas to the east Bhojas Andhras Satvas on the south Nchyas Apachyas, Dhils Kambhojas and Tangaras on the west
Mahabharata Bhishm Parva Bhagavatg ta Parva

2 Ramayana Ashvamedha Parva 17

3 Mahabharata Virata Parva

4 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series

5 V. A. Smith Early History of India page 36 citing Jacobi Jaina Sutras

Ajātasatru The latter is said to have defeated this coalition and acquired for himself a large tract of territory. A little later there is the alliance between Udayana of Kauśāmbi and Darśaka of Magadha which forms the historical background of the Svapna Vāsavadattā.¹ In the same period we read of Chandra gupta Maurya having displaced the Nandas from the throne with the help of the 'Lion' and the 'Elephant'.² These alliances were actuated either by the desire of acquisition of kingly power and territory or to prevent the danger of being overcome by more powerful enemies.

CAUSES FOR THE FORMATION OF ALLIANCES

From this brief sketch of political alliances we are enabled to gather the causes that led to their formation. The occasion for these varied apparently in different cases. But for the most part they were made for defence against the aggression of other powers, and as Kautilya³ said 'whoever was lacking in the necessary strength to defend himself sought the protection of another'. It was in certain cases to prevent the dangerous overgrowth of one particular state or to thwart the designs of the enemy by show of combination and thus attain one's object.⁴ Other causes for alliances appear to have been the desire for the acquisition of territory or for keeping up the balance of power among the states in ancient India. It may be noted, in general that the alliances were entered into mostly for the purposes of war against others. At other times the ordinary rules of statecraft⁵ and the attitude of one state towards another in normal times regulated the conduct of the states to each other. In the latter case there was no special necessity for the formation of alliances. In fact all states which were not enemies either natural or artificial, were allies to one another.

NATURE OF AND NECESSITY FOR ALLIANCES

The following points may be noted as⁶

regards the nature of and necessity for alliances

'One should ally oneself with a king stronger than one's neighbouring enemy. In the absence of such an ally one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighbour. There can be no greater evil to kings than seeking protection with a king of enormous power unless one is actually attacked. A king situated between two powerful kings shall ally himself with the stronger or with the more reliable or with both on equal terms. He may make alliance with a neutral. Of two powerful kings friendly to each other a king should choose to seek the protection of the one who likes him most and who is liked by him.'

This, says Kautilya⁷ is the best method of making alliances.

KINDS OF ALLIANCE

Alliances were of various types—*offensive* and *defensive*—the former mostly during war, the latter in peace times as well. A second type is in evidence in the alliances on *equal* or *unequal* terms⁸ (समान and असमान or श्रेय). Apparently in the first class both parties that entered into the alliance had equal advantage, while in the latter case, from its very nature the less powerful states of the alliance were bound to the larger states in various ways. In fact, any alliance between greater and smaller states, where the initiative is taken by the latter, being hard pressed to keep up its own existence, was, generally speaking, an instance of the latter class of alliances (असमान). In the Harsha Charita⁹ we meet with an alliance of this kind entered into by Kumārārāja, the king of Kāmarupa with the king. The position of an असमान ally corresponded in a way to that of the feudatories to the suzerain. They were bound, it would appear, 'to do suit as is indicated by the order' that was given by Harsha to his ally. 'I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sramana you are entertaining at the Nālanda convent'. The subordinate character of Kumārārāja in relation to Harsha is clear from the place accorded to him in the procession with the image of the Buddha as described by Yuan Chwang.¹⁰

¹ See Svapnavasavadatta Triv. Sansk. Ser.
² These were the emblems respectively of the king of Śāmbhupuram in Rajputana and the Gayapati of the south.

³ See Indian Antiquary for 1916

⁴ Arthashastra VII. 1

⁵ Manu Smṛiti, VII. 168.

⁶ See Ante for April and May 1918

⁷ Arthashastra VII. 1

⁸ Manu VII. 163 for e.g.

⁹ Chapter, VII. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr Banerjea's Public Administration in Ancient India.

¹⁰ Yuan Chwang 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' I. 216

¹¹ Ibid, I. 218

The duties of a subordinate ally roughly speaking were as follow —

(1) To agree to accept the superiority of his ally and

(2) To leave with him in the main the conduct of the affairs for which the alliance was formed.

(3) To give him help in various ways providing him with men money etc and giving him all auxiliary help.

(4) To attend on him when called on to do so.

(5) To be bound to abide by the terms of the alliance.

Alliances may again be either *voluntary* or *purchased*. The former depended on the good will of the parties and were certainly more stable depending on mutual good understanding. The latter were in the face of them mercenary and intended to stand only for so long as the object for which the alliance was formed was achieved. These it is held were not alliances proper. Alliances with *feudatories* and *vassals* were in evidence though they were not considered quite desirable as is clear from the statement in the *Sukraniti* to the effect that a king may make peace with feudatories in order to conquer his enemies. Throughout there were not only the alliances of the *Aryan* or the non *Aryan* states among themselves but also of mixed nature formed of *Aryan* and non *Aryan* powers. The alliances mentioned in the *Rig Veda* and in the epics are cases in point.

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES AS SECURITY FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCES

Very often a political compact was strengthened by marriage alliances between the sovereigns. And here we are reminded of the system of Dynastic Marriages which prevailed in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. To cite only a few instances Vatsa the country of *Ujjayini* is overrun by his enemies under the arch-rebel *Aruru*. He is compelled to flee and protect himself in *Lāvānaka* for a time. In order to win the support of *Darsaka* king of *Magadha* a marriage is

contrived by *Udayana's* skilful minister *Yaugandharāyana* of his king with *Padma vati*, the sister of *Darsaka*. "The marriage was of political significance to *Udayana* as it meant not only *Darsaka's* abstention from actively helping the insurgents in the *Vatsa* country but prompt aid in putting the rebellion down." An instance of a different type may be seen in the alliance between *Seleucus* and *Chandragupta* where the latter is offered the hand of the daughter of *Seleucus*.

TREATIES AND THEIR FORMATION

Alliances were made to depend on treaties as to the purpose duration and object of such alliances. Those of honour were certainly the most praiseworthy. But there were as we have seen other kinds e.g. those that concluded the wars and those that were secured by purchase—in the case of which specially there was the necessity for the stipulation of the terms on which they were concluded and possibly also for the mention of penalty in case of breach. The treaties in these cases were necessary to keep up the subordinate character of the less powerful of the states of the alliance. These were concluded by the ambassadors or other accredited ministers of the sovereigns or as often times happened the kings met in person and made the agreements of peace. It would appear that though the general terms of the alliances may be settled by the ministers appointed for the purpose, the sovereign was the final treaty making and ratifying authority.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TREATIES

A treaty has been defined as that which binds sovereigns in faith to one another. Those actions by which the powerful become friendly constituted a treaty. A treaty for its observance generally depended on the word of honour (*शब्द शक्ति*) Securities (*वस्तु*) and hostages (*परिवृत*)

1 See *Śaṅkhaśāstravādī* of *Bhāṣa*, *op cit*
2 *Int. Ant.*, 1916 *op cit*
3 *Smith Early Hist of India* p 119

4 These were the only honourable and proper forms of alliances. This idea is probably implied in the statement in the *Sukraniti*. Everything else other than alliance implies a species of gifts. *It* 17 416-2 & *Arthashastra* VII 17

5 *Amulya Arthashastra* VI 17
6 *Sukraniti*, IV 7 460-7

1 As a result in the very definition of the

2 Age P. 120

3 *Yoga Chakra* of *it*

4 *Sukraniti* IV 7 1 & 2

5 *It* IV 7 441

were demanded in certain cases of doubtful intention.¹ As the Sukraniti holds, gifts were given according to the strength of the adversary. Sometimes one had to bind oneself to do some service, even to part with one's children, wealth and property.² Ascetics and nobles sometimes stood as securities to avoid the breach of treaty obligations. In cases where there was the fear of breach of honesty, one party exacted from the other an oath by fire, water or the sword.³ According to the older teachers says Kautilya, 'a treaty of the second and third classes was considered stable (स्थिर), while one of honour was unstable (अस्थिर)'. Sukraniti which comes later lays down that without gifts there is no (good) form of agreement.⁴

Kautilya, however, holds the view that a treaty depending on दण्डवत् was more permanent as being useful not only during life on earth but also in the world beyond, unlike the latter kinds which served men only in this world.⁵

DURATION OF TREATIES

A treaty was generally in force until the object for which the powers had treated and the conditions stated therein had been accomplished. In the case of alliances and treaties between unequal powers, the lesser states were placed in less advantageous positions and possibly the penalty inflicted on them in case of a breach of the terms was heavier. The breach of the conditions laid down in treaties proved one of the various causes of war on the state that did not keep its word. There was the chance of the defaulter state not only incurring the odium of being untrue to its word—the most serious violation of the rules of Dharma and therefore a great stigma on the state that was not धर्मतः—but being blotted out of existence by a combination of other powers to assert the cause of the right. Securities were necessitated because, as Kautilya⁶ with his usual practical wisdom said, the state whose power was rapidly increasing might at any time break the terms of the agreement.

In this connection we are reminded in a way of the spirit with which agreements and treaties have been safeguarded by some of the European nations of modern times. It is a sad feature to note that the high sounding guarantees of safety and security were given effect to by some of these only so far as they served their own ends and if they had no more prospect of gain the nearest opportunity was possibly taken hold of by them to deal with them as no more valuable than scraps of paper. Instances are apparently rare in Ancient India of breach of the terms of the treaties entered into. But in the case of 'treaties depending on promises to pay in future large hoardes of money, there was the possibility that owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long the amount of the tribute may sometimes fall in arrears'. Also in the case of agreements to pay more than the land could yield, where it was exacting more than one could manage, there was the possibility of the promise not being fulfilled. In these cases a reasonable period of time either stipulated or not was allowed. There was next the possibility of the evasion of the terms of the agreement, which had to be allowed, under the 'plea of loss of results from works'.⁷

KINDS OF TREATIES

We have next to take note of the various kinds of treaties recorded in our literature, and among these the most common were those that concluded the wars. Kautilya⁸ mentions quite a large number of these. They have been roughly classified under—

- (1) Dandopanata offering the army
- (2) Kosopanata treasure
- (3) Dē opanata territory
- (4) Suvāna amicably settled (peace with honour)

(1) Under दण्डोपनत are mentioned—

(a) आमात्रिय—Agreement on the understanding that with a section of the army or with the flower of his troops the sovereign should present himself.

(b) स्ववात्तर—That made on the condition that the commander of the army and the crown prince should present themselves. 'This kind of treaty is conducive

¹ Arthashastra VII 17

² Sukraniti IV 7 430 f

³ Arthashastra VII 17

⁴ Ibid

⁵ IV 7 476 y

⁶ Arthashastra VII 17

⁷ Dō VI 17

¹ Arthashastra VII 3 (See *Infra*)

² Dō

to self preservation as it does not require the attendance of the king.

(c) **अदृष्टदृष्ट**—‘The one made on the agreement that the king or some one else appointed should march with the army to some place as required.’ This form is conducive to the safety of the king and the chief’s army.

(2) Under **कोषोपनत** are —

(a) **प्रक्षिप**—‘When by the offer of wealth the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free.’

(b) **अवयव**—‘When peace is concluded by offer of money capable of being carried on one’s shoulders.’

(c) **अक्षय**—‘When by offering large amount of money peace is concluded.’

(3) **विशेषनत** has the following subheads —

(a) **अक्षिप**—‘When by cession of a part of territory the rest of the land is saved.’

(b) **अक्षिपदक्षि**—‘If the part of the territory is ceded but devoid of all resources therein.’

(c) **अक्षय**—‘By which the land is set free on the understanding that payment will be made of the produce thereof.’

(d) **अक्षिपदक्षि**—‘Agreement to pay more than the land could yield.’

(4) **अक्षिप**—‘When between the parties making the treaty there is the amicable union of hearts.’

The last was by all means the most desirable form of peace making. Whereas the other forms depended on promises to cede wealth, land or forces, in the last the cessation of hostilities or the settlement of disputes depended merely on the word of honour of both parties.

This chapter closes the section on Rights and Obligations in Peace. The next chapter will begin with the section on War.

NEWSPAPER REPORTERS IN THE GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR AT LAW

OF the London reporters, the most distinguished are the men in the Gallery of the House of Commons. The Press Gallery is the height of reportorial ambition, and the Gallery men are justly named the Olympians of this department of journalism. A visitor on his first visit to the stranger’s gallery in the House of Commons will see the long gallery above and behind the Speaker’s head, the occupants of which are continually moving, as, after every few minutes one of them rises and is at once relieved by another. The fact that the occupants of this Gallery are continually moving and diligently writing is sufficient introduction to the visitor, and leaves no doubt in his mind that they are the Press Reporters who are there to report Parliamentary proceedings, speeches, etc. He will at once know that they are not members of the House or its state officials, but representatives

of the Press. ‘The Times’, being the first newspaper in the United Kingdom, enjoys the privilege of three representatives in the Gallery—Chief of Staff, reporter, and summary writer. Other leading papers, such as ‘The Daily Telegraph’, ‘The Morning Post’, ‘The Daily News and Leader’, ‘The Daily Chronicle’ have the privilege of one representative only. Many papers do not send representatives, and depend for their parliamentary reports on the Press Agencies. The editors of the newspapers too occasionally come into the reporters’ gallery when important debates are going to take place in the House.

The right hand corner of the Press Gallery is reserved for Hansard. Here sits the representative of Hansard. The reader will naturally ask at this point, ‘What is Hansard?’ The answer is that Hansard is the name of the official record of the proceedings in Parliament which are

published every year in a bulky volume. These records are most useful to a politician for reference purposes, especially to a member of the House of Commons. Hansard is named after Luke Hansard, a printer, born at Norwich in 1752. In his early days he left Norwich, where he was a Printer, came over to London, and found employment with Hughes, who was at that time printer to the House of Commons. His employer died and he succeeded to his business, and soon acquired reputation as an accurate printer of Parliamentary proceedings and papers. He died in 1828, and his business in the House of Commons was continued by his family. In the eighties Hansard became a public company, and since then its work has been greatly increased and is carried on by a large body of staff. At first Parliamentary reports printed by Hansard were often modified by the members of the House of Commons at their own pleasure. But the case of Stockdale *versus* Hansard (1839) put a stop to this sort of practice. In that case the House of Commons had authorised Hansard, its printer, to publish a report which contained a libel upon Stockdale. Stockdale sued Hansard for libel, and Hansard pleaded in justification the authority of the House of Commons. It was held that the House of Commons cannot, by its own resolution, "alter the law of the land so as to legalize an other wise illegal act, and further, that a resolution of the House declaring its privilege would not prevent the court from inquiring into the validity or otherwise of such privilege." In consequence of this, and in order to render Hansard immune from the consequences of libel, in future, an Act was passed in 1840 which provided that in such cases a certificate, signed by the necessary officials, to the effect that the publication was by order of the House, would operate as a stay of proceedings.

The history of the reporter in the Gallery of the House of Commons is as fierce and steady in fight as the history of the fight for the freedom of the Press. The House of Commons at first did not look upon the reporter as a desirable person, but for years—nay for more than a century—looked upon him as a "stranger." First of all it was Lord Marchmont in 1762 who used to take a special delight in insisting on the imposition of the statutory penalties on the newspaper men

who would mention the name of any member of the House of Commons in the report of a debate. In 1793, Wyndham in his attack on the newspaper men described them as "bankrupts, lottery office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen." But this abuse was so keenly felt by Sheridan that it led him to the championship of the representatives of the Press whom he described as "men of education and even of literary distinction." But the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn tried to pass a resolution that no man who had written for a newspaper should be admitted to the Bar. But in this they were opposed by James Stephen, Master in Chancery, who supported Sheridan, and thus killed the resolution. In fact, James Stephen himself had been once a reporter for the "Morning Post", and could not stand his amateur profession being thus degraded. In 1833, Daniel O'Connell made an attempt to clear the reporters' Gallery in the House, but failed. Then he tried to adjourn the sitting by the traditional remark, "I spy strangers." But this too came to nothing. In 1875 Mr Biggar attempted to clear all the galleries. He was successful in so far that all those present, among whom was His late Majesty King Edward the Seventh, as Prince of Wales, excepting the members of the House, had to withdraw. But Mr Disraeli condemned this strongly, and "moved the suspension of the order requiring the withdrawal of strangers who thereupon returned, the Prince being the first to re enter the House."

The reader will be astonished to know that though Parliamentary reporting has been going on for more than a century past, it is still illegal, and is a breach of privilege of the House of Commons. Both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have frequently declared by passing resolution that the publication of debates of either House constitutes a breach of privilege. This privilege was strictly enforced by the House of Commons till 1771, and if reports of Parliamentary debates did appear now and then in the papers, the names of members were either not given or they were given fictitious names. For instance, Edward Cave, who founded the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1736, and who is considered to be the first man to publish reports of the House of Commons and who

Dr Johnson for the parliamentary work in 1740, for two years, *re* till 1738, disguised a speaker's name with a blank. But when in 1738 the House threatened him with its vengeance in case he went on with his impudent practice of reporting parliamentary speeches, he became more careful and adopted fictitious names, though made his reports fuller by giving them such titles as "Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput." But the chief credit of bringing the system of parliamentary reporting to perfection belongs to William Woodfall, editor of the "Morning Chronicle", and James Perry of the "Gazetteer". The former worked from memory, as it was then perilous to be seen taking notes in the House and the latter organised the system of relays of reporters, and thus published the parliamentary speeches on the very morning following the debate. In 1771 the House of Commons sent a messenger to arrest Miller, a printer of Parliamentary debates. Miller gave the messenger into custody for assault, and the Lord Mayor and two aldermen committed him for trial though releasing him on bail. Upon this the House of Commons at once caused the entry to be erased from the book of recognizances, and sent the Lord Mayor and two aldermen to the Tower. This aroused a feeling of indignation, and the House waived the right to restrain publication of its debates. But, it should be noted, this right is still permitted upon sufferance only, and the House can still exercise the right of punishing the offender if he wilfully misrepresents its debates. But it was the case of *Wason v. Walter*, 1868, which decided that 'faithful and fair reports of parliamentary proceedings although containing matter disparaging to individuals, is privileged, though the publication of a particular speech malafide, with the object of damaging an individual, would not be privileged.'

But the Parliamentary reporter is now a days declining in importance. There was a time when the famous journalists wanted to get into the Gallery of the House of Commons, and the public used to attach greater importance to the Parliamentary reporter than to the ordinary reporter. But with the advent of modern journalism imported from America, the parliamentary reporting in its entirety has been practically abandoned, and the majority of

London papers now content themselves with a lively sketch of the proceedings and a full report of two or three important speeches in the course of the whole session, which speeches can easily be procured from the news agencies at a small cost. Now a-days the Gallery is considered to be a fine training ground for the man who wants to see how things are done and who wants to know the leading politicians of the day. But it is no place for the man who wants to be known as a journalist. Moreover, the pay of a parliamentary reporter is rather meagre in comparison to the pay of a man who works on the staff of a leading London daily. The fact of the matter is, that the glory of the man in the Gallery of the House of Commons has, practically speaking, gone. I am, of course, referring to the parliamentary reporting and not to the sketch writing.

The sketch writer of parliamentary proceedings, etc. has come to the fore. He is at present in great demand. He is known by what the journalists call "Lobbyist". His duty is to pick up gossip connected with parliament and its members. He walks up and down the lobby, and interviews the members of the House upon any subject of public interest and thus picks up any item of parliamentary intelligence. Before the sketch writing of parliamentary intelligence came into fashion, "The Times" had its daily summary, but it was really an unpicturesque affair. It was Mr. (now Sir) H. W. Lucy of "The Daily News" (now "Daily News and Leader"), whose delightful letters made the actual drama of Parliament a living thing for newspaper readers. No other English journalist (Mr. T. P. O'Connor bracketted) has done more than Sir H. W. Lucy to enlighten the Londoner on affairs of the House of Commons. For many years he was the representative of "The Daily News" in the Gallery of the House of Commons. He also represented that paper in the lobby. Even when Mr. Labouchere, at one time proprietor of "The Daily News", appointed him the editor of "The Daily News", Mr. Lucy was usually seen in the Gallery. In fact he was not at home in "the chair". He, no doubt, as an editor wrote leading articles, but it was his parliamentary letter in his paper which was much appreciated by the public. His portraits of Major Gorman, Sir Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Tom

Collins are still fresh in the minds of the reader. But his pen pictures of Mr Gladstone are simply delightful. Another English journalist who has done more than others to make the parliamentary affairs most interesting and charming to the average Englishman is Mr T P O'Connor. He writes regularly every week for the "Reynolds Newspaper" on Parliamentary affairs, and I am simply doing justice to him and nothing more—I mean no flattery—when I say that as descriptive writing of parliamentary affairs, I have not read anything of its kind in any other London paper. To me he seems to be not only one of the most versatile, experienced and original writers, as journalists say, but one of the fastest descriptive writers in London. In addition,

his account of parliamentary affairs is always unbiased. Of course, he is an Irishman, and is, therefore, naturally and honestly inclined towards the Irish people, and is one of the strongest advocates of Irish Home Rule. But this fact alone does not detract from the value of his being an impartial and sound critic and writer of affairs in general. Anyone, whether Britisher or Foreigner, who wants to be acquainted with Parliament, its members and its affairs, cannot do better than read Mr T P O'Connor's weekly article in "Reynolds's Newspaper." No wonder, he is called "evergreen." T P O'Connor, as he is always so fresh, original and natural. At present he is away in America.

London,

2nd Mar, 1918

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI

'There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays
Standing with half its battlements above
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity—where wave
The green leaves over all by Time o'erthrown
What treasure lay so locked, so hid? A hermit's
grave
—Byron

WHILE all else,—battlements, fortresses, and palaces of ancient India,—have been completely swept away by Time, without leaving behind a vestige of their existence, some of the hermits' graves may still be met with amidst the ruins. Such are the principal monuments of Sanchi.

Sanchi, a small village on the saddle of a low hill in the Diwanganj Sub-Division of the Bhopal State, has come to enjoy a world wide celebrity on account of the matchless monuments in its neighbourhood, universally recognised as the most magnificent examples of ancient Indian Architecture. This place now occupies a convenient situation for a station on the G I P. Railway, and stands in the environs of the once populous city of Vidisha, the ancient capital of Eastern Malwa,—well known to Sanskrit scholars as the scene of a drama of Kalidasa.

Very little information about these monuments is, however, available in ancient Indian literature or in the writings of the Buddhist Pilgrims from China. General Taylor, of the Bengal Cavalry, encamped near this place during the campaign against the Pindharis in 1818, was perhaps the first British officer to visit these monuments. The discovery, thus left entirely to chance, brought in its train more ravages from the hand of Man than from that of Time. Many hasty excavations, by bungling antiquaries or greedy searchers for coins, precipitated the dilapidation of several important structures, which had been still in tact in the beginning of the last century. An inscribed stone pillar, set up by Asoka, was broken into pieces by a local Zamindar that he might utilise the shaft in a sugarcane press! Thus continued to perish the monuments, which represented the art and achievements of the people during an epoch of nearly fourteen hundred years of their unrecorded past,—a past which approximately synchronised with the rise and fall of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

The first service for the preservation of these ancient monuments, carried out by the Government of India, was, however,

partly insufficient and unhappily inefficient To the generosity of the noble minded Ruler of Bhopal, the celebrated Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum Sahiba,—and to the specially skilled experience of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India,—is due all that has at last been done in a scientific method to investigate and preserve what still endures of these interesting and instructive memorials of the past. This work has indeed been one of *Jirnoddhara*, rightly eulogised in Indian literature as more meritorious than original construction, conferring greater blessings upon the restorer than upon the builder —

(i) According to the Devi Puranam—

मृत्वास्तुतुष इष्य माधवाजीवं कारक ।
तस्मात् सन्नेप्रदय न जीवं लोकार्वाणवेत् ॥

(ii) According to the Hayasirsha Pancharatram—

वापी रूप तद्वागानां सुप्रधानां तद्वानच ।
प्रतिमानां सभानाच संकल्पानां यो नरो भवेत् ।
इष्य घटतुष तस्य भवेत् स्तूप इवय ॥

These texts, testifying to the devout interest once taken by the Indian people in the restoration and conservation of their public monuments, have now been more than amply borne out by the actual discovery of undeniable proofs of repeated restorations carried out by them even as late as the latest mediæval period. This meritorious work, which had to be unavoidably abandoned and allowed to remain neglected during the long continuance of Mahomedan Rule, has now once more been resumed during enlightened British Rule with commendable earnestness and superior scientific skill. It is a happy sign of the times that not only the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal but also another Mahomedan Ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, have generously condescended to push forward this praiseworthy act of *Jirnoddhara* or restoration of ruined monuments of bygone days. All India must remain grateful to them and to Sir John for the timely inauguration of this scheme of archaeological excavation and conservation. Ancient Sanskrit texts not only recommended such work as a pious act for ordinary individuals, but also in an indirect manner laid down the duties of the Ruler of the country in this

behalf. For, according to the Visnudharmottara,

यस्य राजस्यु विषये देवदेवत विधायकान् ।
तस्य बौद्धि तद्वागानां देवदेवत यदा तथा ॥

These purports to lay down the maxim that the kingdom of the Ruler, who allows temples to fall into ruins, falls to pieces like the buildings in question. In the absence of more definite information, these texts give us a glimpse of the ideas and aspirations of the Indian people regarding the preservation of their national monuments. They will, therefore, be instinctively delighted to appreciate the modern endeavours in this behalf.

A guide to Sanchi by Sir John has just been published to give us a refreshing chapter of information about all up-to-date investigation, which is destined to throw useful light upon the earlier writings of Cunningham (1852), Fergusson (1868), Cole (1882), Maisey (1892), Burgess (1902) and others. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this latest publication, which places in the hands of the general reader the cream of the Official Annual Report of 1913-14.

In the short compass of 154 pages the author has very thoughtfully inserted maps, plans and photographs in fifteen well-executed Plates, which have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the publication. The letter press has been divided into ten chapters, supplemented by a short Bibliography and a brief sketch of the life of the Buddha with particular reference to the sculptures of Sanchi.

These monuments consist chiefly of the remains of Buddhist Stupas, Gates, Pillars, Temples and Monasteries, some of which have only been recently unearthed since 1912. Five years' judicious and pains-taking labour has thus made Indian Archaeology justly proud of this praiseworthy achievement.

In one respect these memorials are all unique,—in that none of them is in any way connected with the life or acts of the Great Master. This may to some extent account for the absence of reference to them in the ancient writings of the country, which may be excused for taking little notice of this isolated neighbourhood of subordinate sanctity. Yet the pulse of the people throbbed here with no less vigour than elsewhere, inasmuch as their devotion left behind them lasting monuments to

bear eloquent testimony not only to their faith but also to the culture of which that faith was an outward manifestation

"It is indeed a strange coincidence," observes Sir John, "that these remains should be at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Indian Architecture" (P 2) This might as well be due to the circumstance that this particular area enjoyed a freedom of construction which was unhampered by any primitive sacred models, like those which had been hastily set up by the faithful in all places sanctified by the Great Master himself. Situated far off from all such places of pilgrimage, Sanchi and its neighbourhood had to be satisfied with the commemoration of the devotion of lesser personages,—the saints and teachers of the faith. This was continued to be done during a long epoch of gradual development of art in a province, which, by its geographical situation, enjoyed greater facilities for enlarging its angle of vision than the tradition-bound insulated middle country (Madhya desa) of India.

The real key to the exceptional magnificence of the matchless monuments of Sanchi must, however, lie buried in its local history of which hardly anything more than the bare outlines is clearly visible in our day. In this state of limited knowledge, the earlier writers should have done well to remain more satisfied with their actual discoveries than with plausible interpretations which at first sight might appear to account for everything. Caution in Archaeology, as one of its first principles, was more ignored than recognised by most of these earlier writers whose attempted explanations, extremely fanciful in some cases, did, however, stimulate research and lead to discovery.

Time has now come when we may look forward with hope to an early publication of the promised special monograph, which is to be issued both in English and in French with numerous plates illustrating the whole series of these remarkable and richly decorated structures. Meanwhile the small "Guide to Sanchi," already before us, deserves a hearty welcome from all students of Indian History.

Chapter I—Topographical—of this Guide book deals with the old and modern sites. "The hill on which the monuments are clustered is not in any way remarkable" (P 2) But near it grew up the

remarkable city of Vidisa with its flourishing community of Buddhists, to whom the hill supplied convenient spots to build their monuments and monasteries,—"far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife," yet close by to attract hosts of devout worshippers.

When did these building works actually commence was a problem of local history, which could not be satisfactorily solved without searching excavations on the spot. While only a few monuments were hitherto visible to the eye, most of them were "buried in such deep accumulations of debris and so overgrown with jungle that the very existence of the majority of them had not even been suspected." Recent excavations have, therefore, opened a new vista through which posterity may hopefully look for reasonable solutions. The name of Sir John Marshall is thus destined to be inseparably connected with all future investigations regarding these memorials of the past.

The main ancient approach from the city, shown in Plate XIV, will have to be looked upon as an important guide to old topography, as it was by this approach that the pilgrims from the city reached the Great Stupa as it stood in their day. It came "direct from the north east" by the edge of an old tank, which now goes by the name of the "Purania talab."

Chapter II—Historical and Artistic—is the most interesting chapter, in which an account of local history has been interwoven with the author's views on the origin and development of Indian Art. This chapter, however, suffers from extreme conciseness, inasmuch as it raises many important issues for a full discussion of which one must wait till the publication of the special monograph. For the sake of this conciseness, the long history of Sanchi has also been compressed into three periods only—"the first extending from the reign of Asoka to the overthrow of the Kshatrapa power about 400 A. D. by Chandragupta II, the second from the advent of the Imperial Guptas to the death of the Emperor Harsha in 647 A. D.; and the third embracing the late mediæval period down to the close of the twelfth century" (P 7).

In this first or early period the name of Sanchi is not known, that of another place Kakandava is known only from

inscriptions, while that of Chetiyagiri from the Mahavamsa,—the Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon—was once supposed to be known. The authority of this Chronicle, regarding the origin of the monuments of Sanchi, is not, however, free from doubt, inasmuch as it rests entirely upon a tradition, which has been found to possess more than one version. Be that as it may, the archaeological remains have induced Sir John Marshall to declare with some definiteness that "the history of Sanchi starts during the reign of Asoka in the third century B C" (P 7). Burgess in his paper on 'The Great Stupa at Sanchi Kanakhedra' (published in the J R A S 1902, pp 29 45) came to the same conclusion, although he thought that the Great Stupa itself (as it stands in our day) belonged to the reign of Asoka. He evidently overlooked the circumstance that the present "confined and awkward positions of the Asoka pillar in the angle of the balustrade by the side of the south gateway," would make his supposition highly improbable. It had been discovered as early as 1822 that "the core of the structure was composed of solid bricks laid in mud." The addition of the stone envelope increased the diameter of the Stupa to over 120 feet and its height to about 54 feet. It is, therefore, clear that this addition of a stone encasement was made, as an act of restoration, after the pillar of Asoka had been set up near the original brick built Stupa. The history of Sanchi must have, therefore, started with the construction of the original Stupa of bricks. Was it before or during the reign of Asoka? We have hardly any written record to answer this question.

Here Sir John has very cautiously expressed an opinion to the effect that the original Stupa of brick was most probably built by Asoka at the same time as the column was erected" (P 31). This opinion seems to be chiefly based upon the size of the bricks (16" x 10" x 3") which "correspond approximately in size with the bricks in other structures of the Maurya epoch" (P 32). In this connection the text of the inscription on the pillar set up by Asoka might also have been taken into consideration. This inscription proclaimed the same pious commands which were proclaimed at Sarnath and Kausambi, viz., "the monk or nun who shall cause

divisions in the Sangha shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart" (P 93). This may indicate the existence of a Sangha near Sanchi, like the Sanghas at Sarnath and Kausambi, of sufficient importance to make Asoka anxious to select this place also as one of the necessary sites for the proclamation of his edict. It may, therefore, appear more probable that the Sangha near Sanchi had its centre of attraction in a Stupa of some sort, with which must have started the real history of this locality from before the age of Asoka than that Asoka himself had caused the first Stupa to be built. In the absence of direct evidence to support the erection of the brick Stupa by Asoka himself, this probability seems to be further strengthened by the fact that Stupa building did not originate in the reign of this monarch. The division of ashes of the Buddha, for being enshrined in Stupas at different places, indicated the prevalence of the practice even in the days of the Great Master. If we have as yet met with no such structures of undoubted pre Asokan period, we have at least good grounds to suppose that they actually existed and that their ruins may yet be discovered. But in our present state of knowledge one need not seriously dispute the tentative opinion of Sir John. In this connection it may, however, be noticed that Sir John raised an expectation by the observation that "there is good evidence, as we shall presently see, to show that the Buddhists established themselves at Sanchi for the first time during the life time of Asoka" (pp 8 & 9), but this expectation has not been adequately fulfilled in any subsequent portion of the Guide book.

The discovery in Stupa 3 of the relics of Sariputra and Mahamagalana, two disciples and companions of the Buddha, who laid down their earthly frames before their Master, might lead to an inference that their relics were enshrined near Sanchi as soon as they had departed this life. But structural proofs could not support such an inference. The core of the Stupa 3, in which their relics lay enshrined, was not composed of bricks like that of the Great Stupa. It was "homogeneous throughout, and composed of heavy unwrought blocks mixed with spar." The enshrinement of the relics of these disciples of the Buddha cannot, therefore, be ascribed to an age prior to that in which this stone-Stupa

was built. It was built evidently after Asoka, almost contemporaneously with the encasement of the original Great Stupa in stone. The enshrinement of the relics of two persons in one Stupa naturally tends to show that their relics must have been collected from two original contemporaneous Stupas now buried in oblivion. If they existed anywhere near about Sanchi, the Sangha of this place would justly claim a greater antiquity than that of the age of Asoka.

Even if the history of Sanchi be taken, for the sake of convenience, to have started in the reign of Asoka, as surmised by Sir John, we have in its interesting neighbourhood many remains of Indian architecture, which go back to more than two thousand years. It is no wonder, therefore, that Sanchi has come to engage the earnest attention of the learned world for the study of the origin and development of Indian art and architecture in stone.

The real origin of Indian art is, however, still buried in oblivion. Nothing deserving the name of a work of art has yet been discovered which can be referred with confidence to a time prior to that of Asoka. Yet it must be admitted that his father and grandfather, nay, many others who ruled over the country before them, must surely have built palaces, public offices, and devotional edifices suitable to their dignity, and proportionate to their affluence. That no trace of them seems to survive may best be explained by the supposition that all such early works of architecture must have been constructed of perishable materials like wood, which was so easily available in all parts of India. There is yet another reason to rely upon the existence of an earlier art. The art of the Asokan age is a "mature art," which tends to show that Indian art had an earlier history. Prof. Percy Gardner observes that the art of Asoka was "in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though, of course, far inferior to it, at least in our eyes." As it is now impossible to trace in detail the stages of the growth of this art, we must be content with that on which we can lay our hands with certainty. They belong almost exclusively to the age of Asoka, during which the adoption of stone as the most suitable material seems to have been made. This might be due to some extent to that noble monarch's commendable zeal to leave be-

hind him monuments intended to last as long as "the Sun and the Moon should endure" in the heavens, but it might very largely be due also to the living examples of memorials in stone then existing in other countries to which Asoka sent his missionaries. Art as an exponent of a nation's ideas and aspirations, must, however, be necessarily indigenous." Substantial originality of Indian art must, therefore, be accepted as a general result of examination of all foreign influence. That foreign example made wood to be gradually replaced by stone would not materially affect the case.

From remotest antiquity the Indian people have always been primarily noted for plain living and high thinking. This was more so in the earlier epochs of their history. Their artistic conceptions were, therefore, naturally manifested more in minute ornamentation than in any form of ostentatious building work. The goldsmith, the ivory monger, and the wood-carver practically represented the chief agency through the exertions of which Indian art continued to develop, giving rise to what may be called the Early Indian School of Art. As soon as their art instinct received a new impetus to manifest itself in ostentatious building works, their first attempt must have remained satisfied for a time with the immediate need of the age. The origin of Indian architecture was thus primarily indigenous. Its forms have long been recognised and admitted to be particularly Indian. It was composed chiefly of wood and brick in the early stage of its development. As soon again as an active intercourse came to be established with the outer world during the reign of Asoka, Indian art received a fresh impetus to develop itself with the help of a new material—stone—to suit the requirements of architecture and sculpture of a more lasting type than that which already existed in the country. Even here the carpenter's devices continued for a long time to influence all work in stone, as may be noticed in the Gates near Sanchi. The art of this age was no doubt characterised by its "frank naturalism," giving us a reflection, as in a mirror, of the social and religious life of India, which it primarily attempted to immortalise in stone. But it also betrayed from the first some tendency to lapse ultimately into an equally frank idealism.

"The indigenous art in the time"

Asoka," observes Sir John, 'was still in the rudimentary state, when the sculptor could not grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, when the 'law of frontality' was still binding upon him and when the memory picture had not yet given place to direct observation of nature" (P 10) This opinion seems to have taken it for granted that in the reign of Asoka the true sculptor had already replaced the time honoured wood carver of India

The only authentic example of Asokan art at Sanchi which may be cited without hesitation is, however the Edict bearing pillar standing near the south gate of the Great Stupa. It cannot bear out the above observation. This pillar is of peculiar interest both for its material and workmanship. The sandstone block, out of which it was carved came from the quarries of Chunar several hundred miles away. "The task of shifting so ponderous a mass and of hoisting it up the steep hill side of Sanchi" was one, of which any engineer might well be proud (P 93) When intact, it was about 12 feet in height, and consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft with bell shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and a crowning ornament of four lions set back to back, the whole finely finished and polished to a remarkable lustre from top to bottom. (P 91) If this pillar was the product of indigenous art it could not have been 'still in the rudimentary state"

Sir John is however, of opinion, like some other European scholars that this pillar is the handiwork of a Perso Greek sculptor 'who had generations of artistic effort behind him, (p 92) so that its existence in India could not be inconsistent with the rudimentary state of the purely Indian art of its age. Several pieces of a stone umbrella, probably belonging to the original Great Stupa of brick, found by Sir John have been described by him as specimens of exceptional artistic merit, 'displaying all that exquisite precision which characterises every known specimen of the mason's craft in the Maurya age, and which has probably never been surpassed in the stone carving of any country' (P, 32) This excellence of the umbrella has not however been ascribed to foreign workmanship. It is, therefore difficult to reconcile the praise bestowed

upon it with the opinion that 'in the time of Asoka, indigenous art was still in the rudimentary state" The other opinion, that the pillar is the handiwork of a Perso Greek sculptor, seems to be based upon the following data —

(i) Persian or Greek influence is, indeed, apparent in every feature of the monument as well as in the edict incised upon it. It has long been known, of course, that the decrees of the Achæmenian monarchs engraved on the rocks of Behistun and elsewhere furnished models on which the edicts of Asoka are based

(ii) It was in Persia also that the bell shaped capital was evolved

(iii) It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghab,—at Istakhr, Nakhsh-e Rostam and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Mauryan columns were copied

(iv) It was from Persia again that the craftsmen employed by Asoka learnt to give so lustrous a polish to the stone,—a technique of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere

(v) Lastly, it was to Persia, or, to be more precise, to that part of it which was once the satrapy of Bactria, and was at this time asserting its independence from the Empire of the Seleukids, that we must look for the Hellenistic influence, which alone at this epoch of the world's history, could have been responsible for the modelling of the living forms on this pillar at Sanchi, or on the still more magnificent pillar of Asoka at Sarnath (P 92)

These data, taken singly or collectively, without any dispute as to correctness, may raise a presumption in favour of an influence of foreign examples. They can, however, hardly supply unquestionable premises for an inevitable conclusion that the pillar 'is the handiwork of a Perso Greek sculptor,' unless we are forced to acknowledge that the truly Indian art of the period was 'still in the rudimentary state'

If it was really so there would be every reason to accept this conjecture as almost inevitable. But adequate proof has yet to be disclosed and discussed. In the absence of such proof this conjecture may be accepted only upon the authority of the varied experience of the learned author, in the hope of meeting with more elaborate exposition in the promised monograph

On the death of Asoka the Empire of the Maurvas fell rapidly to pieces, and ultimately their throne passed to the Sungas, whose power endured for a little over a century. Regarding the art of this period Sir John is of a different opinion "It is," he says "essentially indigenous in character, and, though stimulated and inspired by extraneous teaching, is in no sense mimetic. Its national and independent character is attested not merely by its methodical evolution on Indian soil, but by the wonderful sense of decorative beauty which pervaded it and which from first to last has been the heritage of Indian art" (P 12) A curiosity naturally arises as to what contributed so rapidly to such wonderful advancement of Indian art, if it was only a few decades ago "still in the rudimentary state"

On the decline of the power of the Sungas, the Andhras are known to have extended their sway over eastern Malwa for two or three decades before the Christian era "It was under this dynasty," says Sir John, "that the early school of Indian art achieved its zenith, and that the most splendid structures of Sanchi were erected, viz—the four gateways of the Great Stupa, and the single gateway of the third Stupa" (P 12)

The materials for a critical study of this early school of Indian art are barely sufficient to enable us to do more than lay down the outlines of its history, subject to modifications in the light of every newly discovered example. A few specimens of this art have survived the ravages of time, while a great majority of them, in less durable materials than stone, must have perished for ever. The remains of Sanchi are, therefore, of peculiar interest, for, it is here that, from a careful study of what exists, we may make a reasonable guess regarding the details of the stages through which art had gradually advanced.

In this connection a further observation of Sir John will be found to be interesting and instructive. "That Hellenistic and western Asiatic art affected the early Indian school during the Andhra even more intimately than it had done during the Sunga period," says Sir John, "is clear from the many extraneous motifs in these reliefs, e.g., from the familiar bell capital of Persia, from the floral designs of Assyria,

or from the winged monsters of western Asia, and it is clear also from the individuality of many of the figures, e.g., of the hill men riders on the eastern gate, from the symmetrical character of some of the compositions, and from the 'colouristic' treatment, with its alternation of light and dark, which was peculiarly characteristic of Greco-Syrian art of this period" (P 14)

These descriptions relate more to the letter than to the spirit of the art of this period. They have, therefore, been supplemented by a considerate observation that "though western art evidently played a prominent part in the evolution of the early Indian school, we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance. The artists of early India were quick with the versatility of all true artists to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them, but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek, than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its roots in the heart and in the faith of the people, and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature. True alike from artificiality and idealism, its purpose was to glorify religion, not by seeking to embody spiritual ideas in terms of form, as the mediæval art of India did, but by telling the story of Buddhism or Jainism in the simplest and most expressive language which the chisel of the sculptor could command. And it was just because of its simplicity and transparent sincerity that it voiced so truthfully the soul of the people, and still continues to make an instant appeal to our feelings" (Pp 14 & 15)

It has not, however, been clearly demonstrated how or why these observations cannot as well be applicable to the Indian art of the Asokan period. The "round and slightly tapering" monolithic shaft of Asoka may agree as well with the definition of a Mahastambha of the Vrita type as laid down in the Vastusastram. There is evidently no special feature in this shape, which may be deemed inconsistent with purely Indian origin. Wooden pillars were already in use in connection with Vedic ceremonies. Indeed the evolution of the shape of a pillar in the land of palm groves might very naturally adopt this shape,—

"round and slightly tapering" towards the top. The "bell shaped" capital ascribed to foreign imitation, does not disclose the real shape of a bell. "It is somewhat like a bell in shape" as noted by Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, p. 194) 'but with a greater swell near the top. If this was the shape of the *ghanta* (bell) in those days it could not have been unfamiliar to the Indian artist. It rather agrees with an inverted Padma kumbha, regarded as an auspicious symbol from hoary antiquity and recommended as a suitable ornament of pillars. The lotus (*padma*) the national flower of India is responsible for the evolution of so many fantastic conventional types that this type of capital may easily have been one of them. The fine finish and polish (due to the application of a paste the Vajra lepa described in detail by Varaha Mihira) appear to be more Indian than foreign inasmuch as the ingredients are mostly indigenous to India. It may, therefore, be premature to call it foreign before the ingredients have been properly analysed by competent experts.

The capital of the Asoka pillar like its shaft, is monolithic. It is composed of three members—the capital proper an abacus above it, and a crowning piece at its top. The so-called bell shaped member had hardly anything in it which could surpass the skill of Indian artists. But the abacus had something in it which could not be successfully executed by a foreigner. It was decorated on its edge with bas relief designs of purely Indian origin. The crowning piece, a sculpture in the round represented either a sacred symbol like the wheel, or a symbolical animal or group of animals—the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse, and the Lion. The ability of an Asiatic Greek to represent these Indian animals so well may very well be doubted. This doubt induced Vincent Smith to hesitate to accept the conjecture of Sir John that the composition might be the work of an Asiatic Greek. He was accordingly obliged to modify it by another conjecture—that the brilliant work typified by the Sarnath Capital may have been designed in its main lines by foreign artists acting under the orders of Asoka while all the details were left to the taste of Indian workmen much in the same way as long afterwards the Kutab Minar was designed by a Mahomedan architect and built by

Hindu Masons, under the orders of the Sultan Iyaltimish. It is hardly necessary to note that this conjecture is more clumsy than reasonable. The skill with which the Indian artists incised the beautiful inscriptions of Asoka, either on native rock or on artificial stone pillars, would disclose their dexterity in manipulation which might also be credited with an equal capacity for carving out the pillar, even if the main idea had been actually suggested by any foreign example.

The development of Indian art may be studied from another standpoint,—the development of Indian life rather than the facilities of intercourse with foreign lands. The archaeological remains of India gradually unearthed and illustrated with commendable skill, are daily placing before us valuable materials for an independent research from this standpoint.

The rule of the Andhras in eastern Malwa was finally overthrown by the great satrap Rudradamana after which Sanchi and Bidisa remained in possession of the western Kshatrapas until the close of the fourth century, when Malwa was annexed to the Gupta Empire. Here then was a period of foreign occupation during which an active intercourse was maintained with north western countries, for a longer period than in the reign of Asoka. Indian art did not flourish with this foreign connection, nay, it remained all through these centuries 'at a relatively low ebb.' Buddhism showed no signs of low vitality to account for this stagnation of art.

The rule of the Guptas came with a new spirit. It marked the most brilliant epoch of Indian history. The effect of the intellectual vitality of this age was conspicuous and far reaching. The Imperial idea, lying dormant since the downfall of the Maurya Empire, was once more reawakened, and the whole of northern India, as far south as the Narmada, was once more consolidated into a powerful empire, marked by a reawakening,—a true Renaissance. In dealing with the history of this epoch, Sir John observes with genuine appreciation, that "the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought" (Pp. 19-20).

This Renaissance did not, however, come quickly to an end with the break up

of the Gupta power, although for a time northern India lay bleeding under the feet of the blood thirsty Huns until their despotism was effectively shattered by the final overthrow of Mihiragula. Sir John has rightly discovered that here there was a period of quiescence during which the people retained sufficient vitality which only needed the agency of a strong national central power to make them what they were. Harsha made an attempt in that behalf with partial success for a while, after which came the gradual fall and inevitable stagnation. It was eastern India, the kingdom of Bengal, which made a subsequent attempt in the same direction, but it had no connection with the history of Sanchi.

Thus it may appear almost self-evident that the real secret of the history of Indian art, of its rise and fall, lay in the life of the people more than in any extraneous influence of foreign example. There were two powerful Empires—one of the Mauryas and another of the Guptas. The first enjoyed a greater extent of territory and larger spheres of influence in foreign lands than the second. Yet Indian art advanced more rapidly in the second than in the first. May it be that the life of the people in the first had less spontaneous national awakening than the life of the people in the second? Time has now come when all India will look forward to Sir John Marshall and to his learned colleagues to discover in their promised joint monographs the real merit of Indian art from the standpoint of the life of the Indian people as evidenced by their literature and art.

Whatever impetus Indian art might have received during the reign of Asoka, it was like the spread of Buddhism, practically dominated by the strong will of that benevolent autocrat rather than by the natural upheaval of national life. The first efforts of Indian art to manifest its achievements in stone necessarily received substantial encouragement from Buddhism and its great supporter. Side by side with this there must have existed artistic manifestations in older and more perishable materials than stone in Hindu and Jaina architecture and sculpture. That the earliest available examples relate almost exclusively to Buddhism need not necessarily raise any presumption that Indian art owed its real origin to that

faith. As Buddhism was a growth of Indian culture, so Buddhist art, as it is loosely called, was a development of Indian art. In both there was a natural tendency to adopt everything which was not fundamentally inconsistent with the new doctrines.

The Sanchi sculptures, examined from this standpoint, may disclose the adoption of many well known traditional symbols. The universal chakra (wheel), the trisula (trident), kalasa (pitcher), and the padma (lotus) are there. The volute ends of the architraves of the magnificent gates may be easily recognised as instances of the adoption of another well known auspicious symbol,—the Srivatsa. The sacred animals in the round, placed in the open spaces between the uprights separating the architraves, indicate the same purpose. All these symbols have not as yet been exhaustively examined, while some have been sought to be explained as peculiarly Buddhist.

The seated female figure, flanked by two elephants pouring water over her hitherto identified with the image of Sri, the goddess of prosperity, has now come for the first time to be discovered and recognised by M. Foucher as an image of Mayadevi, the mother of the Buddha.

In this latest attempt to interpret the sculpture with a Buddhist leaning the critic has been obliged to suppose (1) that the two elephants really represent the two Nagas who according to the Buddhist Scriptures, bathed the new born babe, and also to suppose (2) that instead of doing that duty, these Nagas, 'in the form of elephants,' were pouring water over the mother, because, up to the time of the erection of these gates, the figure of the Son had not come to be represented by human form, but only by symbols, such as his foot prints, his seat, his tree of knowledge, or his Stupa, to account for his presence. In this connection it may be interesting to enquire whether in the age of the construction of these gates, the tradition about the Nagas bathing the new born Buddha had gained sufficient currency. It may be equally interesting to enquire that while the Nagas appeared as Nagas in other scenes, what artistic reason made them appear in the form of elephants in this particular scene, and that why Mayadevi was represented in a seated posture like Sri instead of in the standing

one in which she was well known to have given birth to the Buddha.

The alleged figure of Maya may be examined in the light of the description of Sri as noted in the Matsya Puranam chapter 261. The reproduction of this scene by Prof. Grünwedel agrees better with the Pauranika description of Sri than with any known description of Mayadevi. There is not only one but several lotuses in various stages of development to indicate the favourite environment of the lotus throne of Sri. A pair of foot prints, a single tree with or without a seat under it, a single horse and a single Stupa may very well stand forth as happy symbols of the presence of the Buddha. But the lotus to indicate his birth is not so self-evident. Even if it were so, multitudes of lotuses near about the seated female figure would defeat the proposed purpose of the symbol.

The identification of this scene with the pictorial representation of the birth of the Buddha will appear to every Indian as a far fetched imagination—more ingenious than sublime. For there would be questionable artistic reason to indicate birth by an after birth incident, although death might be very appropriately represented by the funeral pyre or the sepulchre raised over the ashes. Birth to the Indian is a happy expectation which loses its æsthetic charm by a realistic representation. The Gandhara style was in this respect decidedly non-Indian.*

The study of Indian Iconography is still in its infancy. In the eagerness to arrive at an interpretation it is still liable to lead us astray—sometimes very far off indeed from the real basis of idealisation upon which the representations were originally based. However fantastic the ultimate development may appear to us in the present age, the original conception centered round an initial idea which was not only simple and primitive but also self-evident to the people.

* This gross realistic representation of the birth of the Buddha was modified in consequence of its adoption by the Bengal school of sculptors, as may be noticed in a specimen collected and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. The Mother there stands in the conventional seated posture with the right hand catching hold of the branch of a tree and the left placed round the shoulder of a female attendant. The child is shown on the right side at the level of the waist of the mother, but the actual process of miraculous delivery is not shown at all.

The iconography of the reliefs inserted in the Guide book, is based upon a note sent to the author by M. Pouchet whose brilliant labours have placed the meaning of the sculptures beyond dispute. But there is in some cases as in the above instance still room for doubt which has to be cleared up.

The abacus reliefs and the crowning figures of Asokan pillars though slightly different in different specimens appear to possess a symbolic character which has not as yet been adequately explained. The abacus of the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar is decorated by a row of flying sacred geese. The abacus of the pillars at Allahabad, Sankisa, and Rampur is 'exhibit elegant designs composed of the lotus and palmette or honeysuckle. The Sanchi pillar has on the edge of its abacus four pairs of chakravak birds (Anas Casarca). A horse once crowned the pillar at Rummanderth-lumbini garden. The Sankisa pillar exhibits an elephant, now unhappily badly mutilated. The two pillars at Rampur have the bull and lion respectively. The Sarnath and Sanchi pillars had four lions sitting back to back. Vincent Smith offered an explanation that the elephant represented the guardian of the east, the horse of the south, the bull of the west, and the lion of the north. All these four animals are however carved in relief on the sides of the Sarnath abacus. They do not appear to bear out the above explanation.

The lion was identified with Atman (आत्मन्) in the Rig Veda. It was subsequently used as a symbol of the Buddha, probably by way of an adaptation of the Vedic symbolism. But the four lions at Sarnath and Sanchi could hardly have been used as symbols of the Buddha. The Sarnath abacus may in this connection suggest a clue.

Even in our own day the pitha (pedestal) of the image is supposed to rest ultimately upon eight legs four of which are placed in the directions of N E N W, S W and S E and are represented by Aisvarya (affluence), Aishvarya (attachment), Jñāna (knowledge) and Dharma (religion). These abstract ideas are respectively represented by the material forms of a black elephant, yellow horse (?) green lion and red bull. Thus—

एतन्मूर्तिं प्रवर्तयन्वाधो दृष्टिं श्यामवर्चः ।
श्यामं दद्यात् विजिगृह्णन्ति योगं च वैराग्यवर्धनम् ।

भूताकारं दिशतनुमश्चामीये च कथ्य
नमःपूर्व स्तरेणगु दिशि विजावि गादावि पोटि ॥

—Prapanchasara VI 20

Here the lion is a symbol of knowledge. From a verse quoted by Hemadri in his *Vratakhanda* (chapter I) the lion would appear to have once stood as a symbol not only of knowledge but also of the three other abstract ideas noted above. Thus—

चर्म शानच वरामयश्चैव तदेव हि ।
विश्वरूपोदक्य दिक्षुषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

May it be that the four crowning lions of the Sarnath pillar indicated the same symbolism as the four animals on the abacus purported to disclose? The position assigned to these animals on the abacus should be studied in this connection before the surmise of Vincent Smith can be accepted as satisfactory.

The evolution of the ultimate shape as evidenced by the Great Stupa of Sanchi has yet to be accounted for. Even in our own day in places far off from the Ganges a piece of charred bone from the funeral pyre is carefully secured by the orthodox Hindu and kept buried in his courtyard under a small tumulus of earth until suitable arrangements are made to consign the sacred relic to the holy stream. This humble tumulus of earth appears to have supplied the primitive model which led to the gradual development of the full grown Buddhist Stupa. It came ultimately to consist of a *medhi* (a high terrace) rising from the ground up to some height round a lofty and a dome) nearly hemispherical in shape with a *harmika* (pedestal) on which stood the umbrellas. The two paths, one on the ground level and another on the terrace intended to facilitate *pradakshina* (going round from left to right) appear to have been subsequent additions to the original model.

The august simplicity of the lofty dome as well as the series of umbrellas appear to suggest their symbolic character. May it be that the original shape of the Stupa gradually developed into a sacred symbol to indicate the three worlds and the *Nirvana loka* of the Buddhists by the four distinct architectural devices of the *medhi* and a *harmika* and *chhatravali*? The original object of enshrining a sacred relic in a simple tumulus of earth might have been gradually associated with the further

object of developing the shape as a symbol to represent the faith and its particular transcendental philosophy. As divine architecture in ancient India was the handmaid of religion it must have been more or less symbolic in its character which left a limited freedom to the artist to follow the unfettered dictate of his craft. His apparent incapacity in any respect from a purely architectural point of view might have been due in a great measure to this unavoidable obligation to supply the requirements of the creed. Before these points are adequately cleared up the real merit of Indian ancient art will remain liable to be underestimated by a mere comparative study with the help of specimens from the different parts of the civilised world.

The real work for which the name of Sir John Marshall is destined to be associated with Sanchi is not however one of interpretation but of discovery which has thrown much new light upon the subject. With his varied experience and consummate skill Sir John has happily combined a sympathetic frame of mind which makes him take a genuine interest in his work, with a scrupulous regard for accurate procedure. This work has been not only arduous but extremely difficult requiring unflinching resoluteness to bring it to a successful termination. In the absence of written records these remains are now the chief materials for constructing a history of ancient India. The discovery of these tangible proofs of a nation's activities in successive epochs required more discrimination than mere manual skill. It is here that Sir John has given proofs of his rare ability which has manifested itself in the remaining chapters of the *Guide Book*. The work of conservation has been no less painstaking than that of excavation. Most important and most difficult of achievement which this task entailed, have been first the dismantling and reconstruction of the south west quadrant of the Great Stupa which was threatening to collapse and to bring down with it south and west gateways as well as the balustrade between them, secondly, the preservation of Temple 18, the ponderous columns of which were leaning at perilous angles and had to be reset in the perpendicular and established on secure foundations and thirdly the repair of Temple 13 which had reached the last stage of

decay, and was a menace to any one entering its shrine' (P 29)

"A small but adequate museum is already in course of construction for the purpose of 'protecting the numerous moveable antiquities which lay scattered about the site,' where the visitor will find sculptures, inscriptions and architectural fragments to assist him in the study of the unique monuments of Sanchi. The im-

provement and beautification of the area around the Great Stupa by "roughly leveling and turfing it, and by the planting of trees and flowering creepers" have now made the impenetrable forest a garden of pleasure,—a fit environment of the remains, which testify to the aesthetic culture of ancient India

A K. MAITRA

AUSTRALIA AND INDIA

IT is time that the legend current in India about Australia was exploded and in this article I shall do my best to bring about the explosion

The legend briefly is this, that Australia is just as bad as South Africa in its treatment of Indians. The truth is, that in this respect there is an entire psychological difference between the two countries. I have lived in both places in company with Indians and I can speak from personal experience. In what follows I shall relate what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears and I can vouch for its general accuracy.

Before proceeding I should add that in South Africa itself, which is a vast country, a distinction must be made. In Cape Town and throughout Cape Colony there are much fairer conditions than in Natal and the Transvaal and Orange Free State,—just as I believe, there is far greater friendliness to Indians in the Eastern States of Canada than in British Columbia. If I may judge from what I have read and seen it is in the southern part of the United States, in British Columbia, and in South Africa, that the colour prejudice,—which is a direct denial of our common humanity,—exists in its most repulsive form to-day. I feel certain from what I have seen that it would be wrong to add Australia to this list.

In spite of very harsh economic exclusion laws, I have found in Australia very little arrogance and prejudice in the *personal* treatment of other races. I do not wish to give more credit for this than is

deserved. It is probably due to an almost entire lack of contact and not to any special innate virtue. If the 'problem of the negro' had been present in Australia as acutely as in America, I could not vouch for what would have happened to kindly human sentiment. The earlier treatment of the Australian aboriginals and the ruthless exploitation of Kanakas in Queensland have left stains upon the history of the colonisation of the South Pacific which cannot easily be obliterated. And the brutalities of traders in the Islands are by no means merely a thing of the past, though public opinion is now ranged strongly against them.

Yet, in spite of very much that is still unquestionably evil I would repeat that the personal attitude of Australians, on the whole, towards members of other races is neither harsh nor intolerant. There is a rapidly growing sentiment in favour of humanity and equal treatment. With regard to the aboriginals this sentiment has taken the form of almost indiscriminate charity. Once I travelled with an aboriginal and his wife, who were very helpless and destitute and by no means cleanly and I saw how Australians befriended them at every turn,—paid their fare, sat with them, gave them tea and food at the different stations. They were treated by every one almost like spoiled children. In New Zealand I have seen the Maories (who are a far superior race) treated in a similar manner. I remember, for instance, on the long journey from Wellington to Auckland, how one Maori,

who was quite drunk, kept walking up and down the passage between the seats, barging and knocking against the passengers. I expected to hear a chorus of angry remonstrances, but it was all tolerated with good humour and there was not the least sign of resentment.

But to come at once to salient facts relating to the treatment of Indians. First of all, I met Indian soldiers in Australia who had been accepted and welcomed into the Australian army on exactly the same terms as Australians themselves. They were receiving the same liberal pay (nearly 140 rupees a month), they were dining at the same mess and sharing the same tents. These Indian soldiers obtained exactly the same pension and invalid allowances, in case they were wounded or invalided, and they had the same opportunity for getting commissions in the Australian army with Australians themselves.

I had ample time to talk with these Indian soldiers, privately and separately, and they were warm in their praises of the equality of treatment which they had received. One soldier whom I met was a man of property, owning seven thousand acres of land, and when I told him about some Sikhs in Fiji who were old soldiers and desired to go to the front, he at once offered to bring them over, at his own expense, and enlist them in the Australian army. He would never have done this, if he had been dissatisfied with the conditions of the Australian army service. I found, in New Zealand, that the Maories had been enlisted in the same way. Once, in a mess room of returned Australian soldiers, I asked about some disturbances which had happened in Egypt among the Anzacs—"Why?" said one of them to me, 'they started calling our Maories 'niggers' and we wasn't going to stand that!'

I do not, of course, guarantee in any way the accuracy of this soldier's statement but the speech and tone were significant and the other soldiers present nodded their heads and expressed approval. Again and again, in the streets of Sydney and Melbourne, I have seen an Australian stop and shake vigorously by the hand some bearded Indian in a turban in memory of the days when they were fighting side by side with the Sikhs in France or at Suez. Once I watched, out of curiosity, and saw this happen three times in the space of a couple of hundred yards.

To turn to the more fundamental question of education I found in Australia Indian children, the sons of indentured Indian parents, who had come over from Fiji. These were receiving a free education, side by side with Australian children, in the public schools. They mixed with, played with, made friends with Australian children in the ordinary, normal school boy way, and were treated without any race distinction. I found that the same was the case in New Zealand. At Tamaranui, I spent the day with a group of Indians of the labouring class,—such as would be called coolies in India. These men were earning 250 rupees a month; their children were allowed to go to the public schools; they themselves had votes and full rights of citizenship and were admitted into a Labour Union. They told me how the Member of Parliament for their district had come down specially to visit them and to solicit their votes. They spoke to me, in Hindustani, with some amusement, concerning the efforts of the two rival candidates, at election time, to win them over.

During the visits I had to make in Fiji I met grown up Indian men who were sitting side by side in class with little Indian children busily occupied in learning their alphabet, so that they might quickly obtain the very small amount of reading and writing necessary to gain admission into New Zealand. I saw a letter sent to Fiji by the New Zealand Government authorities stating, with regard to the admission of Indians into the country, that there was no necessity for the steamship companies to take any £100 bond or security, for there was only the one test, namely, ability to speak and write English. One of the finest Indian young men in Fiji had been sent to New Zealand for his education. His father was wealthy and had sent his boy to the best College in New Zealand, and his second son had gone later to the same College. I had the privilege of seeing some letters about these boys from their tutors and they were very pleasant reading.

I think I am right in saying that there has never been any restriction against educated Indians in New Zealand. The question of any large influx of Indians into that country has never been acute and those Indians who have settled there have become readily absorbed. But in Australia—

the problem, during the time of the old indenture system was always critical. It was one of the great issues between labour and capital. The capitalist was ever wishing to exploit indentured Indian and Chinese labour for his own ends and the Australian Labour Party resisted this to the utmost in order to avoid the reduction of their own standard of living.

How great the danger of an influx of indentured Indian labourers was in earlier days, I myself experienced in a somewhat dramatic way. I was invited down to Glenelg near Adelaide in South Australia to spend the day with a very old man of 82 years of age who had been one of the pioneers of modern Australia. In the afternoon we had a long talk about the conditions of labour under the indenture system in Fiji and I noticed that he listened intently to what I had to say. At the end he turned to me in his invalid chair, and said: "Do you know Mr Andrews more than twenty years ago I was on the very verge of introducing indentured labour from India into Australia myself. I was Chairman of a large Syndicate established for that purpose and we had got permission from the Indian Government. But at the last moment, there was some hitch in the business arrangement and the plan fell to the ground. I am an old man now—over eighty years of age—and looking back I must say I cannot be too thankful that I haven't got this to answer for to my Maker when I meet my death."

I made full enquiries in Australia and it became more and more clear to me that if the Labour organisations had not exercised their influence very strongly in deed indentured labour from India would certainly have been introduced in the early years of the present century. And at that time, the Indian Government was so supine and Indian politicians were so helpless that there would have been no serious opposition. All the moral evils of Fiji might have been repeated in Australia on a far larger scale and a racial sentiment similar to that in South Africa might have grown up—a sentiment of contempt and arrogance.

But fortunately for India and for humanity the democratic elements in Australia came to the front and there have influenced the politics of the country ever since. There have been evils—terribly

serious evils—under democracy, and selfish things have been done. The first Restriction Acts were of this selfish character, and the White Australia cry has led again and again to coarsely brutal acts. The Chinese have suffered from these on more than one occasion. But there has been nothing so brutal and inhuman as the evils of sweated labour which the Australian Democracy has swept away.

The first Restriction Acts as I have said were almost wholly selfish. They gave the power to the people to exclude every one belonging to a foreign race and they were specially directed against Asiatics. But one of Australia's greatest statesmen came into power,—not himself belonging to the Labour Party, but full of keen sympathy with the poor—a man whom I can never forget—Mr. Alfred Deakin. When Mr. W. W. Pearson went out with me for the first visit to Fiji, we had an introduction to him. He was in shattered health owing to a nervous breakdown from overwork but the moment he heard that we knew the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, he put on one side his doctor's prohibitions so as to meet us, and again on the way back from Fiji we had long conversations with him and he wished us God speed in our longing desire for the complete and speedy abolition of indentured labour in Fiji. He wrote to me from time to time in India, and on my second visit to Australia I was received by him with a warmth of affection for the Indian people which touched me very deeply indeed. He was a complete invalid, but his interest in India and in the Fiji question was vivid and keen. It was Mr. Alfred Deakin and others with him who were able in spite of opposition to introduce the modifications of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901. These permitted Indian merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia freely without any restriction provided they did not claim to be permanent residents. I have the actual documents with me in my own possession, which show that from October 1904 there has been no barrier at all on the Australian side to the entrance of educated Indians into Australia. *This has been the actual law of Australia ever since that date.*

There were two points in these Regulations on which I wished for information, and I went to the Department of External Affairs in Melbourne about them. The first

point was as to the nature of the passport which the Indian Government gave to a student desirous of going to Australia for study. I asked the Minister, Mr Glynn, and his Secretary, Mr Attlee Hunt, very precisely, whether this passport was for any other purpose except attestation that the immigrant belonged to one of the three classes of merchant, student, tourist. The answer was 'No'. It was pointed out to me that without such a passport it would be easy for Indian labourers to pass themselves off as students or tourists,—this danger had already been a very real one in the case of Chinese. The aim of the law was to give perfectly free and unrestricted access to Australia in the case of those educated Indians who wished to come over for a special purpose. They were anxious to welcome Indian students, both men and women.

The permanent secretary, Mr Attlee Hunt, who was in office when the Act itself and its new modifying regulations were drawn up, gave me copies of the State papers and asked me very earnestly to go back to India and make the true situation known. Both he and Mr Glynn gave me every opportunity of talking the whole matter over and entering into every particular. They were genuinely surprised that so little advantage had been taken by Indians of this offer of free entry which had now been held out to Indian students by Australia for nearly fourteen years. They fully realised that the restrictions against Indian labourers must cause soreness among Indian thinkers, though they wished that Australian economic difficulties with regard to the cheapening of labour could be taken into account. But while they acknowledged that their Restriction Act was open to serious objection yet they had done their best; they said to modify it as far as they felt they could go safely. Nevertheless, they found, after fourteen years, that not a single Indian student had taken advantage of the modification! Mr Attlee Hunt asked me, again and again why this boycott of Australia by Indian students had taken place. I could only answer that every Indian student I had ever met was ignorant of the Law of Australia on the subject. The universal opinion was that Australia was a closed country—is tightly closed to educated Indians as South Africa. I told him also, quite frankly, that this

false impression had never been dissipated by the Indian Government.

After this, I had many opportunities of talking with the leading statesmen of Australia on both sides of the House. Their assurances were positive. The laws of Australia clearly and definitely admitted Indian students. If, therefore, Indian students came, in accordance with those laws they would receive not only a welcome but all the hospitality for which Australia is famous among western peoples.

As the question is so important, and at the same time so novel, I think it will be best to copy down the exact words of the Australian Commonwealth Regulations, they refer to Indian merchants, students and tourists—

"On arrival in the Commonwealth the Education test prescribed by the Immigration Restriction Act will, in these cases, not be imposed *and such persons are to be allowed to land without restriction*, but in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a Certificate of Exemption for the desired term should be made before the expiry of such time, stating the reason for such extended stay."

In this last sentence occurs the second point to which I have referred above as needing explanation. I mentioned to Mr Attlee Hunt that an Indian student with a five or six years course of Medicine would hardly embark on such a course unless he were assured of his certificate of exemption at the end of the first year. Mr Hunt stated positively, in answer, that the only single reason for this clause being added was the same as the reason for the passport, namely, to make certain that men were not coming in as pretended students and then at once starting as hawkers or pedlars or small tradesmen. If this guarantee, that the student was a bona fide student engaged in his studies, could be obtained in any other way, it would serve the purpose of the Australian Government just as well.

I proposed that in the case of students the clause should be altogether cancelled and arrangement should be made whereby the Registrars of the Universities should be responsible for certifying that the Indians who were on the rolls were bona fide students actually in residence. This proposal was favourably received.

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have little doubt that it would be accepted by the Australian Government as satisfactory. There could then be no need at all for any certificate of exemption.

I asked Mr. Attlee Hunt the pointed question,—"Could an Indian student stay on for six or eight years, or even longer, provided he was a bona fide student?"

The answer immediately followed—"Most certainly. Why not? That is what the Law implies."

In the face of all this information, which was given with frankness, openness and sincerity, I was startled to read the following paragraph in the "Indian Daily News" of Calcutta:

"The Madras Government, it is stated, has nothing to do with the refusal of a passport to Mr. Jeenarajadasa. When passports are applied for by Indians the procedure in the first instance is to refer the matter to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and only after their approval does the Madras Government issue passports. If the Australian Government objected to Mr. Jeenarajadasa's advent, the Madras Government had nothing to do with it."

The paragraph astonished me. If there had been an atom of truth in it, then all that I have written above would be shown at once to be mere idle words. But the actual telegram of Mr. Glynn has since been published, and it completely discredits this shameless fabrication.

One point, which I have italicised, needs careful enquiry. If the Government of India is still adopting the cumbersome procedure of sending first to Australia before granting any passport, then it is high time that this should be given up. The Government's duty in the matter is a very minor one. It is merely to certify that such and such an Indian is a bona fide merchant, student or traveller and to state the probable duration of his visit. It is not their duty to act the part of Grand Inquisitor, as they do with useless letters to Australia asking the Australian Government if they are willing to receive one whom that very Government itself has declared by its own laws to be eligible for admission.

I wish now to show in some detail how our Indian students have been deprived, by this remissness and lack of interest on the part of the Indian Government of privileges which would have helped them

in the midst of their desperate struggle, in face of poverty and privation, to get on in the world.

I visited Perth in Western Australia and stayed there for a considerable time making enquiries. There is a rising University at Perth, in a perfect climate. This University charges no fees at all to its students. It is within 9½ days' sea voyage from Colombo. A deck passage across would not cost more than £4 or £5 and a second class passage from £10 to £12, and there were large and comfortable fortnightly steamers running before the war began. The University, though in its infancy, has already obtained a very able staff of European Professors, especially on the Science side. I met them, one by one, and had long, leisurely talks with them discussing the whole problem. They expressed the keenest interest in welcoming Indian students, if only they were ready to come over to Australia. Later on I saw the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor and the Registrar, and they were equally willing to welcome both men and women students from India. I saw also the Labour Leaders of Western Australia,—for Labour now wields immense power in all political and social matters. These, including the editors of the Labour newspapers, gave me their support. Last of all I met the different West Australian Women's organisations,—and how ardently they supported the proposal may be easily judged by the letters which have appeared from them in the Indian Press declaring their sympathy with Indian women, in their struggle to abolish indenture. On both subjects,—the admission of Indian students into Australian Universities and the amelioration of the lot of Indian women in Fiji,—I had from first to last the strongest support of the women in Australia.

[I must add in a parenthesis that ever since the attitude of Indian leaders on that which was in Australia the one supreme issue, viz, the abolition of indentured labour, has been known by the Labour Leaders of Australia, they are willing to support the admission of Indian students. They have no wish whatever to shut the door of knowledge, however much they may wish to close the door to cheap Indian labour. Their attitude from first to last was 'You pledge us that you will send no cheap Indian labour, and we

pledge you we will not object to your Indian students coming here to study.]

I discussed with the Science Professors in all the Universities the openings for study in their different subjects. I should state that the standard in Science is high, and some of the most brilliant men are carrying on research with eminent success in Australia. One of the Science Professors at Adelaide obtained quite recently the Nobel Prize. This will serve to show the standard reached. I gained the following information—

At Perth, West Australia, mining engineering, electrical engineering, and dry farming in agriculture, were special subjects in which help could be given to Indian students.

At Adelaide, there were admirable laboratories for chemistry, physics and engineering. There was also a good Medical School. The Professor of Chemistry was especially keen to receive Indian students as his pupils.

At Melbourne, all the chief sciences were represented. The Medical Course took a high place. Bacteriology was specialised in Mechanical engineering was strong. This ranks with Sydney as the chief University.

At Sydney, Science in its main branches has been a special feature of the University from early days. Medicine rivals that of Melbourne University. Indeed, in every way, Sydney and Melbourne are the Oxford and Cambridge of Australia.

I was unable to make full enquiries with regard to Brisbane University, because it was the Long Vacation when I visited that city. It stands with Perth as among the newer Universities of Australia.

Every one of these five Universities is open to Indian students. As to the rate of payment—while Perth is free from all lecture and University fees, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane have moderate charges. There are scholarships, which would be open to Indian students, and there are possibilities of earning money, by the healthy open air life of fruit picking, during the Long Vacation. Ordinarily, tuition fees do not come to more than about £20 a year, or 25 rupees a month. Good lodging and board can be had very cheaply and if a student is economical he should be able to manage all his expenses on 100 to 120 rupees a month. To give an example I stayed myself at a

house close to Adelaide University where the food and accommodation was ample and the people of the house were most kindly disposed towards Indians. They would be willing to take two Indian students at 60 rupees each per mensem. It should be understood that, though travelling and hotels in Australia are expensive, it is always possible to live in one's own house very cheaply indeed, on account of the abundant supply of fruit and vegetables and bread and milk.

One further point needs to be emphasised. The climate of Australia is probably the most healthy in the world. This vast continent with its deserts, is very sparsely inhabited. The air has never been contaminated with disease germs to any great extent. The sunshine is abundant, and yet there is a bracing cold especially at night. The people themselves are a healthy people. From an Indian point of view, I can imagine no life more truly health giving and invigorating than a student life in an Australian University. It is a land of bright days, large open spaces and keen fresh air. The physical stature of Australians is remarkable and I feel certain that Indian students would come back after five or six years in Australia with a new physical vigour that would stand them in good stead for the rest of their lives. There would be none of the terrible depression which most Indian students feel during the dark cold fogs and sunless winter days of England or Scotland.

When I saw the hospitable welcome which Australians of all classes were ready to give to Indian students, I confess it was with something akin to indignation that I remembered that all these facts had been known to the Indian Government and yet they had been so remiss as not to make them widely and fully canvassed among the Indian public. I began to question with myself,—was this mere slackness, or was it intentional? Was the atmosphere of Australia too free, too democratic, too 'advanced' for Indian students? It was a significant thing, that without a single exception Australians who talked with me were of the opinion that Home Rule should be given to India. "Why don't you let Indians govern themselves?"—this was a question repeatedly asked. Just as every one wished Ireland to have Home Rule, so also they wished

India to have Home Rule In this they were consistently democratic

I return from this discussion of the admission of students from India to give one or two more personal experiences for these after all will make the picture most vivid to the mind

In the city of Perth West Australia I asked a group of ladies if there were any Indians in the home neighbourhood One of them described to me an Indian who lived near to her own home so clearly that I can remember her description still She said to me You should just see Mr — coming down the street with the children hanging on to him in the morning as he goes to catch the train and the mothers looking out of their doors as pleased as anything And he generally brings something back in his pockets for them in the evening He is a rare one for children

I stayed many days with a Chinese graduate of Hong Kong University who was a clergyman in the Church of England He had the pastoral charge of Australian congregations and just before I left he was asked by an important parish where the parishioners were entirely Australian (not Chinese) to become their parish priest

Again on board the ship coming home — there were six young Australian mechanics who were going out to Singapore to work on the tank steamers When we reached Macassar on the Dutch island of Celebes we all went ashore That night on returning one of them said to me

Mr Andrews we've seen a sight to-day that we've never seen before in all our lives If I was to write home and tell my mother about it she wouldn't believe me

What was it? I asked curiously
'Why there were natives all over the place actually dragging white men about in those rickshaws as they call them and

the white men were treating them just as if they were slaves or animals Just fancy being dragged about like that! No I'm never going in one of them things! I'm an Australian!

He spoke that night with great excitement Three weeks afterwards I met him in Singapore and asked him

Have you ever been in a rickshaw yet? He said to me No! and I'm not going in one either I'm an Australian!

I felt that there was something great in a country's traditions of manhood and freedom when they could make this young Australian artisan resist steadfastly at all costs to use as a kind of beast of burden his fellow man

After reading over what I have written I do not wish to minimise for a moment the dangers that lurk behind the cry of white Australia which is itself an insult to other races This cry started as a purely economic watchword may at any future time become a fanatical and unreasoning religion and create a subtle enmity and dread in Australia of all Asiatic neighbouring races There were signs in Australia that this was beginning to take place, and I heard on the Domain at Sydney speeches by Socialist Labour Leaders which were appeals to anti-Chinese prejudice pure and simple

But all the same here to-day is Australia stretching out her hand to India with an offer that is both just and timely, — the offer of an open door of welcome for Indian students into her Universities. I do it for Australia's own sake as well as for the sake of India — I trust that this opportunity of human fellowship will not be lost.

Shantimuketan

C F ANDREWS

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

GERMANY'S LOST COLONIAL EMPIRE by John H. Harrs London 1918

There is a rapid review for the busy man who has little time to spare yet is anxious to know the extent

of the colonial territory lost by Germany in the present war This has been illustrated by diagrams which make out the extent to before times that of Germany The birth of these colonies was due to Prince Bismarck the Alpha and Omega of whose policy was a place in the sun for the surplus population of the Fatherland It will however appear

Nawab and conquered back Toda. The elephant which barred the way of Prithviraja was driven away by an amazon blow of the sword of Tara which cut off clean the trunk of the monster. The honour of shooting down the Afghan intruder, also belonged to the heroine on horse back. Tara not only claimed the Hindu right of being the half self of her husband, but she actually shared his risks and glory in this patriotic *anushāsana* of 'redemption'. Sarajmal who had turned a rebel to the throne of Chitor fought Rana Rai Nal (Prithviraja's father). The battle being indecisive the two armies bivouached in sight of each other. Prithviraja, whom his contemporaries called 'the winged' owing to his meteoric marches covering at times 150 miles a day, had suddenly appeared on the scene and had retrieved the day for his father the Maharana. At night Prithviraja went to his uncle Sarajmal and enquired after his health and wounds. He told his uncle that he had not yet seen his father. The uncle whose wounds had hardly been sewn got up to receive the Crown Prince and declared himself healed by the pleasure of seeing the nephew while some of the wounds were actually bursting by the exertion. The uncle and nephew dined from the same plate and wished good bye with the hope of meeting next morning on the battle field. On a later occasion, when the uncle and nephew were warning against each other and dining together at the same time, the household of Sarajmal being sick with their continued exile and struggle put poison in the food which was to be served to Prithviraja. Sarajmal suspecting it proposed to dine from the same plate as the nephew, whereupon the household was confused and the food served was hurriedly removed. In an instance Prithviraja read the whole situation, and moved by the sense of honour of Sarajmal, he resigned his future right of succession to the throne in favour of the uncle Sarajmal. Sarajmal proudly replied to his child (nephew) that he disowned even as much claim on Chitor as to drink water in its territory. He retired to the wilds of Kanthal to found the small state of Deola, where his descendants still reign. For the 'winged' Prithviraja it was a sport to capture Mahomedan kings on the battle field. But he would not destroy their life, he would bring them captives to Chitor, keep them with full honour and restore them back to their homes.

His younger brother Sangha was called 'Hindupat' or the leader of the Hindus by his contemporaries. He had the same valour which characterised his house. It cannot be better described than by a description of his person when he closed his eyes. 'He exhibited at his death the fragments of a warrior'. 'One eye had been lost in a duel. One arm had been lost in the battle where he defeated the Lodi king of Delhi. A cannon ball had made him further cripple' while he counted 80 wounds from the sword and lance on various parts of his body' (Tod). His rival Babar, dreaded him on the battle-field and paid tribute to his sword after his death.

Sangha lived at one of those junctures which history produces for itself to take a definite turn. The Afghan power had been broken by the Hindu power arising from the sands of Rajputana, encircled Delhi had been successively defeated, the kings of Malwa and Gujrat had been made captives and liberated in actions after actions. The moment was awaiting an empire-builder. The battlements from the shores of Gujrat up to Delhi and Jaunpur were waiting for a new standard. All eyes turned on the Hindu-

pat Sangha was going to be the lord of all the Hindus. The flag of Suryavamsa was going to be hoisted again over Aryavarta. Time demanded a change.

Sangha's deeds and democracy marked him to carry out that change. After his greatest victory Sangha requested the nobles and chiefs of Rajputana to elect a new king out of themselves to occupy the throne of Mewar and Hindu leadership, for he had lost a limb and become incapacitated in the eye of Hindu law. Only when the princes re-elected him, he ascended the throne of the Maharana. The deeds of valour inspired under his leadership filled the Hindu world with pride and enthusiasm. At the storming of the fortress of Ahmadnagar Kanhi Singh Chauhan 'rushed to the gate, covered the spikes with his body' and invited the elephants who had been refusing to force the portals against the iron spikes. Kanhi Singh nullified the spikes by the cover of his body and urged the elephants to do their duty, "himself being impaled" (Sarda, p. 81). No sacrifice was too great for the Hindus to make under the banner of that 'fragment of a warrior'. The Hindupat, as Erskine rightly says, 'inspired all his countrymen with hopes that a change of dynasty was about to take place, and they hailed with joy the prospect of a native Government of India'.

But an incident that occurred on the 16th of March, 1527, made history take an unexpected turn. On account of that incident, Sangha missed 'the crown of India' (Sarda, p. 50), which in the language of Tod, "might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu" and occasioned the transference 'of the banner of supremacy' from Indraprasth to the battlements of Chitor. This incident was the fatal mistake of removing the wounded Maharana from the battle-field.

Mr. Sarda performs the function of real historian when he appraises the qualities of Babar in words rightly due to that man of destiny. He was 'Maharana Sangha's equal in courage and determination and not inferior to him in personal valour'. And if he was inferior to the Maharana in chivalry, 'he was superior in circumspection, perseverance, judgment...'. "Sangha was a greater hero and a more chivalrous leader of men. Babar was a greater politician and a more skilful general". Probably Mr. Sarda regarded a discussion of the military genius displayed by Babar at Khanua beyond the scope of his work. When the army under Babar had lost faith in themselves, fancied death staring at them and were praying Babar was conceiving a wonderful stratagem. He adopted the Turkish *turugas*, massed all his guns in one place under cover, fired them as if of one calibre and broke the tide of advancing Hindus. The same method, used on a gigantic scale by the Germans, annihilated the Russian army before Warsaw.

When Babar and his companions were suing for peace and gaining time, when his army evinced, as Babar himself says, "universal discouragement", and 'total want of spirit', Sangha would not attack, for the enemy was not ready to accept battle. The Rajput ethics of war differed from the code of war of his ancient forefathers as much as the religion of a decadent period differs from the religion of the founder. The spirit was sacrificed to form. The ideal of the Rajput had come to be 'to die well in battle', 'not to win it'. It was glorious but it was a form of glorious degeneracy, the epitaph of which is "But for repeated instances of an ill judged humanity the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned" (Tod).

Ill-judged humanity is a sure feature of decadent society

The Maharana missed his Imperial crown and Hindustan's liberty. In the place of liberty to the Hindus the Maharana however won and bequeathed to them that moral empire of his name and honour which time will not destroy. And we must thank Mr. Sarda for reminding us of the same

K. P. JAYASWAL.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY by *Hirachand Liladhar Shaver* with an Introduction by L. D. Barnett, M.A., Litt. D. (London), Second Edition Pp. 55 Price Rs. 10

This little book forms the 5th number of the *Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala*, and offers in a suitable way an outline of the Jaina Philosophy

SRIKRISHNA, THE SOUL OF HUMANITY, A critical study of his life and genius, by A. S. Ramayah, Editor "Everyman's Review," published by K. A. Hebbel, Proprietor, The Kanara Press, Madras Pp. vii + 167 Price One Rupee

We are not glad to read it

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

A VEDIC READER FOR STUDENTS by *Arthur Anthony Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol College etc., etc., containing thirty Hymns of the Rigveda in the original Samhita and Pada Texts with Transliteration, Translation Explanatory Notes, Introduction, Vocabulary* Humphrey, Milford, Oxford University Press, 17 19 Elphinstone Circle, Bombay, 10 Eplanade, George Town, Madras Pp. viii + 263 Price Rs. 4

The author is too well known to require any introduction. Readers of this Review may remember his excellent *Vedic Grammar* for Students noticed by us. This reader is meant to be a companion volume to his aforesaid grammar. We know no Vedic Chrestomathy better than it. In every respect it is good and leaves nothing to be desired for the students

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

SANSKRIT.

BHASA'S (1) SVAPNASHYAMADATTA (2) MADHYAMAYALOGA (3) PANCHARATRA with the commentary of *Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri, Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, L. Ramaswami Sastri, Managing Proprietor, Shidhara Printing House, Trivandrum* Price Rs. 1-5-0, 0-8-0, 1-0-0, respectively

As the discoverer of the lost dramas of Bhasa Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri is now well known to the lovers of Sanskrit. We welcome his new commentaries which are worthy of him. They will greatly help the wide circulation of Bhasa's works

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-HINDI AND HINDI.

GANDHI HARIBHAI DEVAKARNA JAINA GRANTHA-MALA No. 1 *ARTHA-PRAKASHIKA or the Commentary in Hindi of the Mokshashastra by the late Pandit Sadasukhaji Kashlral*, pp. 543. Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 2-6, for Jainas Rs. 3-8 No. 2 *HARIVAMSA PURANA translated in Hindi by Pandit Gajadharlal Niyatirtha*, pp. 12 + 627 Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 4-8, for Jainas Rs. 6-2 Edited and published by Pandit Pannalal Buktal, General Secretary, Bharatiya Jaina-Siddhanta Prakashini Samithi, 9, Vishwakosa Lane, Baghbozar, Calcutta

In Jainism and particularly in Jaina philosophy *Tattvarthadigama-Sutras* hold an unique place. One intending to learn Jainism must read it. It has many commentaries in Sanskrit. The present work is a commentary in Hindi of those Sutras. It is elaborate and will undoubtedly be very useful to Hindi readers

Jaina Puranas in which *Harivamsa* is included are important not only for their expounding Jainism in its various aspects but also for the different versions of many stories and tales found in Brahmanic Puranas and Epics and other works. Among other things the book before us describes the family of Hari or Vadas, hence it is called *Harivamsa* like the Brahmanic one. The story of *Charudatta* in *Bhasa's Charudatta nataka* or *Sudraka's Urcchhisaktika* differs very widely from that found herein. Students of History will have ample food from these Jaina Puranas. The Hindi translation of the *Harivamsa* under notice reads well, but owing to the want of original Sanskrit we cannot say how far it is accurate

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

MARATHI

NATYA RAMAYAN AND NATYA BHARAT, MARATHI BOOKS 1 & 2 OF HOLKAR SARKAR BOOK SERIES, by Mr. Vasudev Gopind Apté, B.A., Editor Anand, each six annas Published by the Manager Anand, Poona City

The books are an attempt to put the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* in the continued dialogue form. The incidents are aptly chosen and described in an interesting manner. The dramatization of the *Bible Stories* and events in English History has secured a place in English Juvenile Literature long since but the experiment appears to have succeeded for the first time in an Indian language in these books. Mr. V. G. Apté's labours for providing suitable Marathi literature for young children are well known, and these new books of his would go a long way towards adding to his reputation. The get-up is good particularly in view of the present war conditions and the price is moderate. It may be possible to illustrate the books with pictures in normal times when they will also be more useful

D. B. R.

HINDI

GAREEBOON KA DOCTOR, IN HINDI by *Mr. Gopal Ramchandra Date, Vakil, Jammu, East Khandsish*, price Rs. 2

"Neem Hakeem, Khatre Jan"—"Half Doctor is Danger to Life," could not be better

by this book. The author describes twelve drugs and proceeds to show how they can cure no less than ninety-three diseases. Whether these lists exhaust all known drugs and diseases would be too much to say for a layman nor can much be written about the efficacy of the prescriptions, but the attempt to compress all knowledge of the medical science in two hundred and odd pages is apparently too bold. The language can more definitely be described to be very bad showing complete ignorance of the writer both of the idiom and the grammar of Hindi and the style is cumbersome. These may keep off readers from the contents of the book and serve as the thorny hedge which protects men from falling into a deep ditch of dirty water covered over with dried grass.

D B R

AKASUDANI by Bhagwati Manjukaishī Datta and annotated by Mr. Shrivindu. Published by the Shrivindu Mitra Mandal, Gorakhpur. Crown 8vo pp 76. Price—as 5.

These are some poems fit for being sung for entertainment. The notes to the poems may be said to be learned and exhaustive.

MRS. BESANT KA ANTIM PATRA published by the Home Rule League Office A B Road Cawnpore. Crown 8vo pp 12. Price—anna one.

This is a letter written by Mrs. Besant just before her internment. She left this letter behind while going to see the Governor of Madras, fearing that she might be interned then and there. The contents of the letter are very well known. The translation is faithful and good.

CHARU DATTA, by Mr. Broj Lal Mahajan. BA and printed by the Doaba Educational Press, Anarkali, Lahore and to be had of Messrs. Anandani and Sons Booksellers Lahore. Crown 8vo pp 75. Price—as 4.

This is a short novel. The plot is not very good but it has got some antique taste about it and there fore will not be found uninteresting. The description here and there is worth perusal.

UPASANA KHAND by Shrimati Rajrani, C o Shri Raj Narain Vakil, Jhansi. Devry 8vo pp 256. Price—as 14.

This is a comment on several selected lines of Tulsi Das's Ramayan. The comments are very instructive from the stand point from which they have been written. There is also an exhaustive discourse on the part of the author in which many quotations from the Ramayan have been given. The views of the book may be said to be old fashioned still they deserve attention. The modern ways of females have been criticised. In most of the reflections, the criticisms are partially correct. Considering the great value of the book, its price is very low.

SANJIBANI BOOTI PART I, by Mr. Satyadev published by the Manager Satya Grantha Mitra office Allahabad. Crown 8vo pp 136. Price—as 9.

Another of the well known books of Mr. Satyadev in which there are not much of his political and social views. It is meant for young boys and most of the pit falls which impede their progress have been graphically pointed out. The name of the book suits it well and it would really work the part of nectar for the juvenile readers who might have gone astray

or who might be on the path of going astray. The description is characteristic of the author and needs no comment beyond what has been said with respect to his previous books already reviewed. Its get up is nice.

HALIKA-VINAY by a Jain Mahila and published by Kumar Deendraprasad Jain Praram Mandir, Arrah. Crown 16mo pp 44. Price—as 2.

These are short and simple poems meant for being recited by small girls. The style is nice and suited to those for whom it is meant. The poems are undoubtedly very instructive and range over all the necessary subjects. They are about 19 or 20 in number.

SOOCHIPATRA of the books exhibited at the Seventh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Jubbulpore and published by its Reception Committee. Crown 8vo pp 104. Price—as three.

This is a collection of the names of the books that were exhibited on the 7th Hindi Sahitya-Sammelan which was held at Jubbulpore. To those who might desire a good collection of Hindi books, the publication is invaluable. All the necessary information has been given and there are very short reviews also. It may be said to be a sort of catalogue giving all the necessary details. A publication like this will be very useful for libraries.

ROMESH CHANDRA DUTTA, published by Pandita Onkarnath Bapna, at his Press at Allahabad. Crown 8vo pp 136. Price—as 5.

This is a life of Mr. R. C. Dutt and a very well written life indeed. We find that the series of the books is very useful and will supply a long felt want. There ought to be a large number of such biographies in the field. We give the publication all possible encouragement.

BOOKS ON THE SWARAJYA SERIES published by the "Pratap" office, Cawnpore. Prices of the tracts, annas three, two, and one according to the size.

These are several booklets of the Swarajya series. Most of them have reproduced thoughts of prominent Indian leaders. The tracts Nos. 2 and 3 reproduce speeches of the Honble Mr. Chintamani at the Jhansi Provincial Conference. The tract No. 5 in the same way reproduces the views of Balu Ambika Charan Mazumdar on Swarajya as set forth in the thirty first Indian National Congress which was held at Lucknow. The tract No. 6 similarly gives views of Pandit Jagat Narain. The tract No. 7 gives the memorable speech of the Honble Lantid Madan Mohan Malviya which was delivered on the 10th of August 1917 at the U P Special Congress sitting held at Refsabe Am Hall Lucknow. The tract No. 1 gives general views on the subject of self government. The tract No. 4 is a collection of very nice songs which are meant for being sung at national meetings.

M S.

GUJARATI

VADODARA NI SHARIRIK SUDHARANA ANE AROGYA MANDIR (वडोदरा नो शारीरिक सुधारणा अने चारीय मंदिर) by Prof. G. I. Manikrao, printed (cover only) at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp 60. Unpriced (1918).

The writer is the director of a well known gymnasium at Baroda, and is known all over Gujarat as one devoted to his art and profession. Such a person is not necessarily a good exponent of his art on paper, nor can he be always to the point. The book furnishes very discursive reading, its main purpose, the cult of physical exercise, takes up only a small portion of the contents.

HINDU DHARM NI BALPOTHI (हिंदु धर्म की बालपोथी) by Prof. Anandshanker Lapubhai Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. Published by the Director of Vernacular Education of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Cloth Cover, pp. 126. Price Rs. 11 (1918).

The Government of H. H. is to be doubly congratulated for the selection of the subject, and for the selection of its exponent. The book is a primer of Hindu Religion, intended for juveniles, a subject of vital necessity and interest at all times, and the exponent is Prof. Dhruva, than whom no other Gujarati could have done better justice to the subject. By a skilful arrangement, he takes the young student, from the very primary and simple elements of our religion to its highly developed form, Vedant, by such easy stages, and in such an interesting way, that one hardly feels that one is slowly gliding into one stage from another. Hindu religion—or rather religions—because Buddhism and Jainism also find a place in this book—is presented by him in its conservative or orthodox aspect as in daily life, he has refrained from assuming the necktie and the collar, so here too, he has deliberately refrained from allowing his exposition to be diverted in any way by the influence of modern times, and has avoided the fashion of the West. Being fully saturated with his subject, and being in addition a scholar with a highly developed genius for assimilation, he has been suc-

cessful in writing a book, which though avoiding all the pitfalls of a crude writer, while preserving intact the *corpus* of his subject, explains the alleged and obvious impossibilities of several Hindu beliefs in a very convincing manner. The book requires to be read and studied to fully appreciate the worth of the writer and his ability to harmonise things. In our opinion Prof. Dhruva has greatly added to his reputation for sobriety of thought, originality of thinking, and ability to say what he has got to say in a very attractive way, by this book.

(1) **PHIENOLOGY**, by Narmadashanker B. Pandya, printed at the Surat Jaina Engine Printing Press, Surat. Thick card board, pp. 108. Price Rs. 10 (1917).

(2) **PHYSIOGNOMY**, by the same author, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 254. Price Rs. 20-0 (1917).

The study of both these sciences is fascinating, and it is highly creditable to Mr. Pandya that living in such an out of the way place as Songhad Vyara and serving in the Postal Department as a Postmaster there, he has found leisure to pursue this hobby of his to such an extent as to publish the result of his studies in these two books. We are sure that to any one with leisure enough to look into the practical side of their contents, the works will furnish a reliable guide. The pictures which illustrate the writer's theses have not come out well, but then it is open to every student to select his own model.

Note—In the July (1918) issue of the Modern Review, at p. 40, column 1, in line 39 read, 'otherwise' instead of 'rather', in column 2, line 42, "man" instead of 'mass', and in line 48, "that" instead of "who".

K M J

GLEANINGS

Child Education in India

By E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

The national life of a people is embodied in the manner of its education. The schooling and apprenticeship which it evolves for the training and discipline of its youth are a mirror reflecting national ideals and aspirations, national aims and beliefs. By looking to the system of learning under which a student grows from childhood to maturity we discover the material from which his thought is fed, the purposes and relative values which his mind is trained to accept. The ideal education is a continuous development, building up the firm chain of succession, establishing harmoniously the sense of causation and sequence, the strength of united purpose and action and the value and importance of combination. Where national life is normal and consistent, we find educational methods correspondingly continuous and natural, expressing, as

well as forming, the temper of the people. Accepting this view of education as a national function, we recognise that the principles of education must be constantly challenged its practice constantly revised, according to the changing demands of the times. The lessons of recent experience have emphasised this necessity for vigilance, and the problems of education must be faced with equal regard for the needs of individual self-development, of vocational efficiency and of national service.

The need of wisdom and foresight in inaugurating revised educational methods in India is proportionately more urgent than with us, as the difficulties to be met are more intricate and complex. The system of school and college education which has the authority of official sanction, and constitutes the direct approach to public life and office, has hitherto been built up on English models. Hence the tendency, among those in whom the task of educational administration in British India is entrusted, has been

to discuss its problems on lines almost parallel with those of modern England, to assume similar difficulties and no others, and to search for similar solutions to those difficulties. Here, in England, the educational questions of the moment may seem to be debated almost exclusively with a view to school curricula and university courses, but it must be remembered that the years of 'nursery' and 'kindergarten' training when imagination is most vigorous, observation most acute, memory most retentive, are provided for by an inherited discipline which practical problems have never touched, and by a development which our national reawakening, combined with the more scientific methods of the modern teaching art, has splendidly enriched. The policy of education in India, which has accepted an exotic and arbitrary scheme as the basis of school and collegiate learning of necessity precludes any continuity of mental training between the stages of childhood and student life, and the preliminary period of child development has been, as a result, almost entirely neglected. Now this period is manifestly of the highest importance for all subsequent growth, since during these early years the faculties of sense must be awakened and disciplined, perceptions and powers of discrimination developed, direction given to mental habits which will determine the course they take during adolescence and adult life. What the preparing of the soil is in horticulture—and without it all later effort may be in great measure unproductive—that is the training of the child, at home and in the class-room, in lesson and in game, in the higher culture of human development.

Experience and observation of the particular needs of child training have led, in practically every country of the West, to similar conclusions. Lessons of obedience can begin with infancy and a wise mother or trained nurse can encourage in the infant, even before it can speak, rudimentary instincts of regularity, method and self-control, as well as intelligent response to certain outside influences and impressions. Recognition of the rights of others can be implanted in babyhood, system may be observed in games as well as in the daily routine of living. In the next stage the child's restless mental and bodily activity is regulated and developed by occupations that interest and hold the attention. The most recent cultivation of music as an active experience—a rediscovery of the true and original purposes of the musical art—is now becoming recognised as an aesthetic discipline and culture of the widest influence. Eye and ear are further trained in drawing and nature-study, and manual dexterity is acquired in many practical branches of handicraft. The vast literature of childhood, ranging from the simpler stories and rhymes of legend or fancy, through epic tales of valour and romance, to the striving, suffering and accomplishment of saints or heroes, peoples the child's mind with ideas of permanent value, gives understanding of human nature and conduct, and implants the conception of honour and self-sacrifice. So trained, the child of, say, from seven to nine years of age, who may perhaps have learned no actual lessons, has progressed far in culture and education, has acquired a standard (though not yet conscious) in art, literature, and conduct, and is truly prepared, in the coming years of school life, not merely to learn but to discriminate, select, and use his individual judgment. These are critical years of infant and child life, not merely in the homes of the wealthy but, more or less, in every representative class of life. The teacher may be

mother, nurse, governess or a school-mistress, but the lessons are of the same kind.

Now, what is the provision made for the corresponding years of childhood in India? The course and routine of childhood is necessarily determined by the conditions of home life, and the life of the Indian home is distracted at the present day by a tremendous unsettlement. There exists no uniformity in upbringing, no accepted standard, no common aim scientifically pursued. With few exceptions, the only children trained systematically in infancy and earlier childhood (apart from the scattered girls who attend Christian missionary institutions to their earliest years) are those who are brought under the influence of certain reforming bodies of recent growth, which wisely seek to disseminate their propaganda through a social and religious training along national lines. Until recently there existed a very definite idea of home-education more adapted, perhaps to developing the qualities of reverence, dignity, patience, kindness—the true honoured virtues of Indian culture—than to training individual powers, or imparting knowledge, other than the traditional lore of the ancient epics. But this tradition has become less and less operative as the home has come to be, within the last generation or so, increasingly out of sympathy with the aims and methods of scholastic training along Western lines, and with all the factors that determine success or prosperity in modern active life. At the present day, the best representative traditions of the home have been largely undermined by bewilderment and indifference—the failure of the past to deal adequately with its own problems, and the apathy of the present, where security imposed from without has robbed the people of all incentive towards national growth and progress. Among the poorer agricultural classes—the vast majority of India's population—whom state education has hardly touched, and upon whom their own traditional culture is fast losing its hold, the child grows up in utter ignorance, neglected in body and mind, unreasoning and unthinking, influenced mainly by the cruder superstitions of past ages, the bonis of caste, and the baseful customs of ancient and tyrannous convention.

The old Sanskrit and Koranic learning, which formed the guiding principle of thought and the source of mind culture, which inspired the ideals and moulded the manners of every age and class, was an influence of more consistent and universal appeal than anything which our bric-à-brac and more chequered history has enabled us to develop. The advent of new ideas from the West would not, by themselves, have dispossessed this ancient education, even though its vitality had sunk to a low ebb; but the new orientation which an English government of necessity brought with it, introducing new purposes, new methods, new values, into every department of human life, meant a hopeless break-up of the old regime. Moreover, the experiment of modern Western education, imposed upon certain sections of the male population, between certain stages of their development, introduced, as it was, partially, arbitrarily, and with little reference to the events and surroundings of daily life, was bound to lead to the present chaos and confusion. Thus the home continually robbed of purpose and meaning, because unrelated to the needs of to-day, while education widens the gulf, by imparting to the schoolboy lessons of which the subjects lack that harmony of sequence and the method which could give them a living meaning,

imparting them moreover, in a foreign tongue, which he but seldom wholly masters. The language of his infancy remains to him therefore, more often than not, a mere patois for domestic needs; and the language which he acquires in school-days and for public life, may be no more than a pedagogic speech adapting itself but clumsily to the expression of his thoughts. In such surroundings the Indian child of the present day can have few of the benefits of modern system, of scientific or psychological experience in its early up-bringing while the old fashioned discipline of traditional culture may scarcely be regarded as an active or a living influence.

In no country in the world, perhaps except India do we find this strange anomaly of the Old and the New continuing side by side within the same house, the same family, often the same individual (for early influence is strong), separate unrecosiled in perpetual silent warfare one with another. Moreover, conflict and antagonism between the affairs of the outer world of work and business, and the administration of the home, with its ceremonies of religion its marriage customs, its complex social structure is bound to persist so long as women live a life apart untutored and untrained. The problems of India's future progress are necessarily bound up with the education of its women and must find their ultimate solution inside the home by men and women in co-operation. The true traditions of Indian womanhood will readily concede to woman her place in the evolution of intellectual and spiritual culture and history confirms it as the revival of a lost ideal, realised in the days of India's greatness and firmly established in her social order. If primary education became universal, the same for boy and girl alike, for rich and poor for every caste and community, assimilation would inevitably take place, and the situation might become normal almost within one generation. But an educational reform on so large a scale is a matter for legislation, and lies outside my argument.

Meantime by what methods can Indian reformers best counter the prevalent disorder of mind and spirit which pervades the home? How can they best secure to the infant life of to-day that robustness and sanity of development so vitally necessary to the generation which must solve in practical experience the problems and theories of to-day? For India is no longer helpless passive, inert. The restless vigour of her new awakening has made trial of its forces in countless different experiments during the last decade or more; but the gradual rise of the spirit of nationality is now claiming all these energies for a single united purpose. Every department of life and thought is stirring to fresh activity; and the vitality of its promise is most surely proved by the spirit of devotion and self sacrifice which the new creed everywhere arouses. The movement is alive, beyond all question, among its leaders and supporters are men of the widest range of thought and study, advanced thinkers mentally at grips with problems and difficulties by which we of the West are never faced—men who take a passionate pride in their country and the great heritage of its past, who yet realise the obstacles it must surmount before it can become emancipated and play its part in active modern life.

Above all, it is necessary to secure that continuity between past and future without which no effort can boast a stable foundation. The necessity for continuous growth and evolution has not always been recognised in Europe, but it has never been defied

with impunity. In India the principle of growth from within is even more fundamentally important, by reason of her long antecedent civilisation and the strong instinct of conservatism in the life of every class. The New Renaissance of the East is a movement of the widest possible scope. Elements of the successive waves which came to Europe in the advent of the New Learning, the Reformation of the 16th century, and the national revival of the 19th, are all present in the quickening of Young India of today. The course which this movement will take is as yet undetermined, we only know that everything which India's past civilisation has accumulated of literature, art, music, and spiritual culture, has felt the stimulus of new life, and will play its part in the moulding of New India out of the present turmoil.

The practical results of the modern Nationalist revival in Europe are now incarnated in the education of the child of this generation; and the lessons of national growth and evolution are thus secured to future generations by being implanted upon the child imagination during its most impressionable years. The influences of childhood are without doubt, the most permanent and indelible. Even accidental impressions received at this period have a tendency to dominate subconscious thought and so to determine action as modern psychology confirms. The old Jesuit adage, has recognised. The need, therefore, of a childhood training which shall embody the nation's ideals is clearly of the first necessity for India's future progress. This nurture and training of the child is normally the province of the home and properly the work of women. But, until the home is prepared to perform its part, devoted reformers can do much to enable modern educational science to utilise the resources of India's national heritage for the mental and physical culture of young children. There are signs that such a change is already coming.

In recent years, and for the first time, a children's literature is slowly growing up in Bengal—a literature of Indian tales and legends illustrated with Indian pictures. But the beginnings are still small and local and the need is national. This task must not be postponed to some more convenient season or relegated to the leisure moments of busy men, to be dealt with when the claims of public office and of affairs have been satisfied. The mind of the child is unceasingly active and receptive, his hunger for knowledge about the world he lives in constant, and should be wisely fed. The world of his story, literature and legend is full of woodland and movement, adventure and romance. The stories they yield must be told with skill and sympathy, simply and with sincerity. The wonders of nature, the life of forest, plain and river, of bird and beast, of tree and flower, are the intimate comrades of childhood. Vision and understanding are needed to interpret even the outer meaning of these, to explain their forms and phases, their purpose and development, and their relation to human life. Colour and song—innate expressions of Indian aesthetic genius—and the rhythm of ordered movement as well as of sound, have been too long banished from so-called practical life. These must become considered agents in awakening and training the perceptions and faculties of childhood. All the elements in short, which will take their share in the social reconstruction of the future, must be brought together in harmonious combination to form the environment of the child of to-day.

The narrow pedantry of the 19th century, which

taught by rule and rote, by weary memorising of dead formulae, together with the Spencerian doctrines and materialistic codes of the period, have ceased to be a danger to us in the West. A wave of Hellenism, which always brings with it a return to nature and new life has delivered us from that particular bondage. But a late outcrop, transplanted by Macaulay and his early Victorian associates still flourishes in India, in school and college, in the thought and conversation of the 'literate classes'. Deliverance must come to India through her own effort, by an ardent cultivation of the ancient arts, the ancient learning and wisdom, along the lines which modern educational and psychological science has discovered for our use in such a way as to sow the seeds of a sturdy and self-reliant national growth in the fertile soil of childhood a training-ground.

By such means it is possible to awaken living interests, to appeal to inborn instincts and inherited associations, and thereby to train a character which shall discover both purpose and aspiration in the land of its birth. For each nation must inevitably find growth direction and energy from within before it can realise its true destiny, and bring to the common treasure-house of the world civilisations the gift of its own particular and distinctive genius. For three generations or more, under the security of the 'Pax Britannica', the national art of India has declined; education has been perverted; activity deflected from its normal course; thought has become atrophied, culture is suspended. The chastisement of our peace is upon them.

The civilisation of India has dwindled, during this period, to a memory, its cults and ceremonies to a lifeless observance, its motives and practice of daily life are sought from without. But for the jealous custody of their heritage by the women—at all times and in all countries the natural guardians of national culture—even the memory might have taken its place with the history of the past, and the links of the chain have been severed beyond all possibility of reunion. For the effort to revive a disused speech of an obsolete custom has never yet produced a national result, its utmost achievement is to stimulate interest and research among the learned, and to provide material for antiquarian discussion. India's civilisation however, is not dead but dormant and the spell of its long sleep is at last being broken. The renaissance of the present day seeks inspiration and guidance at its source. But with the reaction against the passive inertia of generations comes a certain danger from emotionalism—the mesmerism of bygone glories and the tendency to perpetuate past failings and ignorance because they form a part of sacred tradition. As it is the province of woman to guard and to preserve, so it must be the task of enlightened women to select that which is worthy of preservation and to reject all that is no longer relevant. It is theirs to save and defend the vital element in tradition, the living heritage of faith and understanding, the special aspect of truth and beauty which finds separate embodiment in every people, grows with their growth and progresses with their progress.

With the awakening of a national consciousness, the motives for national reform have now become insistent. The outward expression of these motives—a symptom of all pioneer work—remains hitherto isolated and spasmodic. The tendency to theorise and debate, to discuss political actions and reactions, to deal with symptoms and externals, is still some- what exaggerated. It is in the nurseries of to-day that the forces must be fostered and organised which

will hereafter work out the regeneration of India in harmony and co-operation, and this child's nurture should be made the first and permanent charge upon the time, energy and expenditure of all the reforming zeal which now seeks an outlet.

Finally, we must remember that, though the building up of India's future in the light of the present national revival must uncontestedly be planned and carried out by Indians and for Indians, the experience touches not India alone but all mankind. The world at large will be not only spectator but partaker of its results. When the light of Classic thought and Classic culture—the rediscovered treasures of Hellenic genius—dawned upon the darkened understanding of mediæval Europe, the day of a new era was born, and modern civilisation came into being. So, to complete the cycle, the impulse of modern thought and modern progress was carried in the last century to the Classic East. The normal effects of such a contact were, for the time being, delayed through artifice and experiment on the part of Anglo-Indian opinion. The 'Orientalists' would hear of no contamination of the new found treasures of Eastern learning, the 'Anglicists' had no thought but to clean the slate and inscribe upon it the writing of the West. In the event, India has, to the outward eye, lain dormant under the imposition of an alien culture, substituted for her own, but never adapted to her needs. Yet the fruit of an unwilling union was maturing in spite of conflict and reluctance; and the rebirth of to-day however ardently national in form, owes its incentive to the direct influence of the West upon the East.

Throughout all recorded history the great civilisations of East and West have held singularly aloof from one another in all their utmost experiences. Conquest, invasion, and trade have effected an intercourse between the two in external dealings which has but deepened the instincts of mutual reserve. To-day we must learn a new lesson—that a freer interchange of thought and ideas between different peoples endangers nothing of permanent value, and obliterates only those characteristics which accident has fostered, while enriching the elements of their several strength. In its response to the stimulus of an outside influence, the culture of a people, no less than the character of an individual, can best realise its own purposes and powers and achieve its highest self-development. Therefore, if the destinies of East and West are knit together at the present day, and for so long as the partnership may continue, let each see to it that the union may be productive of the best results, without compromise of sentiment or of conviction on either side, and lay the foundations of a larger development and a wider achievement than the world has yet witnessed.

Quarterly Review, London, April, 1918

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

The subject of this sketch is one of the most eminent Indians of our time. His many qualities of head and heart are inherited from his father, Babu Shama Charan Basu who soon after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849 came to Lahore and, after filling the Head Mastership of the school which was started under the auspices of the American Mission there, entered Government service.

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu was about six years old—for he was born on the 20th March 1861

—when his father died. His education therefore had to be looked after by his mother. In his boyhood he gave proof of his remarkable intelligence and his academic career was a very brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University held in December 1876 with great distinction standing first in the Punjab and third in order of merit in the University and was awarded a gold medal books worth 50 rupees and the first scholarship in the province. He prosecuted his further studies in the Lahore Government College from which he passed the First Examination in Arts in the first division in 1878 standing again first in the province. He took his B.A. degree in the first division in January 1881 and then joined the Training College for Teachers which had been then recently established at Lahore. He passed the Final Examination—an examination corresponding to the L.T. Examination of our universities in these days—in the first division in 1882 and was appointed officiating second master of the Lahore District High School from which he had passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. While serving as a teacher in this school he studied law and appeared in January 1883 in the Vakildar Examination of the Allahabad High Court which he passed with distinction.

Early in 1883 before the result of the Law Examination was out there was established a Model School at Lahore in connection with the Training College of which he was appointed Head Master. His success as a teacher and the respect shown to him by his pupils pointed him out as the fit person for appointment to this post after only a few months service in the Educational Department. He was the first Head Master of the first model school in India.

When the result of his law examination was out he left the Educational Department and came to Meerut to practise his profession. After about three years practice in the District Law Courts there he came to Allahabad in 1886 to join the High Court bar. In his student days Mr. Sr. Chandra had learnt Mr. P. T. Man's system of shorthand and phonography which stood him in good stead at this time for it was due to it that he was appointed Judgment Reporter in the High Court. As a shorthand reporter Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra was when he was in practice singularly adept. Regarding his efficiency in shorthand writing Mrs. Anne Besant bears the following testimony:—I am indebted to Babu Sris Chandra Basu Munsif of Benares for the



The Late Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu

wonderfully accurate report which he most kindly took of the documents. I have been reported by the best London men but have never sent a report to the press which less correct than that supplied by my amateur friend.

Babu Sris Chandra always has tried to master the subject he has taken in hand. When he made up his mind to master Hindu Law translations in English of a few Hindu Law books did not satisfy him. He turned to the original authorities to study the subject. But the difficulty that he had to encounter was his ignorance of Sanskrit. When he settled down to practice he commenced its study. He found out for himself what the late Right Hon. Professor Max Müller wrote to him many years afterwards namely that no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Pāṇini.

He took therefore to the study of Pāṇini. The difficulty of Pāṇini is well known to

scholars Students of the subject at Benares spend a dozen or more years in mastering it In 1891, while still practising at the Allahabad High Court, he published the first chapter of the first book of Panini with its English translation and a commentary and copious explanatory notes. The publication was welcomed by leading Sanskrit scholars all over the world Professor Max Muller who had then grown grey in the study of Sanskrit wrote to the author—

"From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Panini's Sūtras and the commentaries"

It is not necessary to give the opinions of other well known Sanskrit scholars of Europe and America But he found that he could not complete the self-imposed task satisfactorily, as the practice of his profession stood in his way of doing so Either he should give up Panini or the practice of law The edition of Panini which he was bringing out, was meant to pave the way not only to the study of Hindu Law but of all the higher branches of Sanskrit learning Remembering that no great cause has ever been achieved without sacrifice, he gave up the practice of his profession and entered the Provincial Judicial Service to which the Government was pleased to appoint him as a second grade Munsif and posted him to Ghazipur He joined the service on the 11th April, 1892

The Publication of his translation of Panini was delayed by many causes over which he had no control He did not find that leisure in the service to the expectation of which he had given up the profession At Ghazipur he had to try a very complicated case of Mahomedan Law Can the Wahabys pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis? That was the dispute between the litigious parties who sought justice at his hands Extensive reading of almost the whole literature of Mahomedan jurisprudence in the original Arabic—for which he had to get books published outside India, in Mahomedan countries such as Egypt and Persia took him nearly a year to decide this important case It is a decision which is of great value to Indian lawyers for it has settled, once for all, a very moot point of Mahomedan Law

In the beginning of 1893 he was transferred to Benares and here he saw more prospect of completing the translation and publication of Panini's Grammar The work was completed towards the close of the year 1893 Professor Max Muller sent his congratulations to the author in the warmest language He wrote—"Allow me to congratulate you on your successful termination of Panini's Grammar It was a great undertaking and you have done your part of the work admirably I say once more what should I have given for such an edition of Panini when I was young and how much time it would have saved me and others Whatever people may say, no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Panini"

A portion of this work has been prescribed as a text book in the M. A. Examination of the London University It is the only instance of an Indian author's work finding a place in the curriculum of studies in the highest examination of an European University

The Siddhanta Kaumudi of Bhattoji Dikshita in which Panini's aphorisms are rationally arranged is studied by some students of Sanskrit almost all over India. The translation of this important work was taken in hand by the late Professor Horace

Hayman Wilson the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and it was advertised by the Oriental Translation Fund as under preparation more than three quarters of a century ago But it was never published Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu, by completing the translation of this important work, has placed Sanskritists under great obligation to him

The study of Hindu Law not only demands a very efficient knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, but also of Hindu Philosophy, Upanishads, the Vedas, the Puranas, and even the Tantras How carefully Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu has studied these different branches of Sanskrit learning is evident from his Catechism of Hinduism which was published in 1899 The "Daily Practice of the Hindus" from his pen also is an evidence of his mastery of Hindu philosophy and learning

At his suggestion was started the important and well known series of the Sacred Books of the Hindus by the Panini Office of Allahabad and to this series he has contributed the translations of Isa Kena, Katha, Prasna Mondaka Mandukya and Chandogya Upanishads with the Commentary of Madhva, the Vedanta Sutra with the Commentary of Baladeva and two sections of Yajna Valka Smṛiti with the Commentary known as Vṛkashara and notes from the gloss Balambhatti All these works have been very favourably spoken of by competent Sanskrit scholars of the East and the West

Although Sri Chandra Basu's great ambition was to achieve a thorough mastery of Hindu Law in which as shown above he has remarkably succeeded, the study of religions has been very dear to him He has devoted much of his time to the comparative study of religions Like the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he has studied the religious scriptures of the principal faiths of India from their original sources A thorough master of Sanskrit and Arabic, the study of the Sacred Books of the Hindus and Mahomedans in the original did not present any difficulty to him But he had to learn Hebrew and Greek to understand the Old and New Testaments of the Christians

His creditable knowledge of Latin, French and German shows the interest he has also taken in comparative philology

Serious scholars are generally known to be devoid of what is called "wit and humour" But his "Folk Tales of Hindusthan" shows how cleverly he can wield his pen for writing stories interesting and entertaining to the old and the young alike These stories have been published by him under the pseudonym of Shuk Chhilli In reviewing them, the late Mr Stead wrote in the Review of Reviews for October, 1917—"Stories of a type that recall the delightful romances of the Arabian Nights" We may safely predict that like the Arabian Nights entertainments these stories will be eagerly read in ages to come by all classes of people These have already been translated into Bengali and their translations in some other vernaculars are in course of preparation

Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu has also done a good deal in the cause of education While practising his profession at Allahabad he found that there was no school for the education of Indian girls there The only school which existed at that time was conducted by the Zenana Mission whose aim was conversion A girls school was urgently needed and he worked hard to establish it It was opened on the New Year's Day of 1888 It was the first school of its kind in Allahabad and is still in existence

He was Sub-judge of Bareilly when His Majesty King Emperor Edward VII breathed his last. As a fitting memorial to our late beloved Sovereign, he suggested to the public the establishment of a school bearing the Emperor's name. He has been instrumental in bringing this school into existence.

Sris Chandra Basu takes great interest in the Central Hindu College, of which he has been a trustee and a member of the managing committee ever since its foundation and his connection with the Theosophical Society dates from 1880.

His 'Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy,' 'Shiva Samhita,' 'Gheranda Samhita,' 'Three Truths of Theosophy,' 'Compass of Truth,' and introductions to Mr Ram Prasad's translation of Yoga Sūtras of Patanjali, and Mr Ernest Wood's translation of the Garuda Purana show how his

active mind is in eager pursuit of realising the true nature of the higher self.

Public honours and distinctions do not, as a rule, come to those who do not seek for them. Yet he has been their recipient without in any way soliciting for them. In 1900, he was nominated by Government a Fellow of the Allahabad University. In recognition of his services as an able judicial officer, he was created a *Kai Bahadur* by the Government of India on the Coronation Day of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor George V. He is also a recipient of the Coronation Durbar Medal. For a man of his retiring nature, a scholar and thinker, these distinctions show the esteem in which he is held by the Government whom he and his family have most loyally served for two generations—*The Pioneer*, December 22 1912.

NEPALESE LIFE AND THOUGHT FROM THE BENGALI STANDPOINT

NEPAL IS INHABITED BY MANY NATIONS

FIRST of all, if by the word "Nepalese" we mean simply an inhabitant of the territory of Nepal we are quite correct. But if by that term we understand a homogeneous people with one religion, one language, one set of manners and customs and the same habits of life and thought, we are seriously mistaken. In Bengal and Upper India—in fact in almost every province of India—the spoken dialect differs in different districts, but it is understood all over the province. It is difficult for one to believe me when I say that an inhabitant of the Nepal territory may very often have a neighbour not a syllable of whose conversation he is able to understand. Thus, the Limboo, whose home lies between the Mechi and the Arūn rivers in Eastern Nepal, has a dialect different from that of the Kirātis who occupy the trans Arūn region. And the Newars, the Mangars, the Gūrngs, the Yakhas (Sanskrit Yakshas), the Sunwars, the Tamangs, &c., have each a separate dialect, a separate form of worship, separate manners and customs and separate habits of life. There is of course a lingua franca for the whole of Nepal which is understood all over the territory. This is the language of the Brahmins and Chhetris, usually known as Khas Kura or the dialect of the Khās or Chhetris.

The following types of physiognomy

are found among the different castes of the Nepalese —

A. LONG-NOSED TYPE (with long nose, big eyes and tall stature)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1 Brahman (Upadhyaya) | } Higher castes Do not drink wine |
| 2 Jaisi Brahman (a mixed caste) | |
| 3 Thakuri (a high class Chhetri) | |
| 4 Chhetri | |
| 5 Newar (Clerk and trader) | } Middle in rank and clean caste, Unclean lower castes Drink wine |
| 6 Kami (Smith) | |
| 7 Sarki (Cobbler) | |
| 8 Dami (Tailor) | |

B. MEDIUM TYPE (with nose, eyes and stature intermediate between types A and C)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Mangar (Soldier class in Nepal) | } Clean castes, Drink wine |
| 2 Gurungs (Shepherds) | |
| 3 Timangs (Nepalese Bhut) | |

C. MONGOLIAN TYPE (with flat nose, small oblique eyes and short stature)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1 Limboo | } Of Eastern Nepal Clean castes Drink wine |
| 2 Jindar or Kirati | |
| 3 Yakhi (Sans Yaksha) | |

MENTAL AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE

Type A

Intelligent
Enterprising.
Shrewd.
Thrifty

a—Sable leader, holding all the high offices in Nepal

Language same except that of the Newars

N.B. (i) The Newars are the most intelligent of this type. (ii) All the unclean castes (i.e. those whose water is not drunk by the higher castes) are included in this type

Type B

Intelligence inferior



Type A Nepalese

Enterprising
Improvement
No body than type A.
Each of these has a separate diet

In intelligence inferior to that of types A and I
Enterprise
Improvement
Very hardy with a fighting spirit
Each has a separate diet
Intermarriage allowed between types

FACTORS OF UNITY AMONG THE NEPALESE

A foreigner is therefore likely to err in his estimate of the tone of Nepalese life and thought even when he directly comes in contact with them as he is liable to generalize from specific instances of one class of Nepalese. Yet there are some predominant factors tending to unite these rather heterogeneous races. Let us notice them as briefly as possible.

(1) The political factor

In the year 1769 A.D. a Gurkha chief of Western Nepal named Prithvi Narayan conquered the valley of Nepal then occupied by the Newar kings. He subsequently extended his conquest to Eastern Nepal bringing under subjection after a continuous and severe struggle the brave and hardy Kirats and Limboos of Eastern Nepal. Khas Kura or the dialect of the



Type B of the Nepalese



Type C of the Nepalese.

Chhetris, has gained currency in Nepal since then.

(ii) Common religion.

The evolution of Hinduism in the Nepal of today is worth a careful study. It is interesting to note that the whole of Eastern Nepal, which formerly professed Lamaism in some form or other, has adopted Hinduism, beneath the venter of which Lamaism is still traceable. The problem of the lower castes in Bengal still remains practically unsolved. But in Nepal it has been solved by the ruler. There, the Lamaists have not only been brought within the pale of Hinduism but water touched by them can be freely used by all the higher castes. This is mainly due to the influence of the ruler of Nepal over the Nepalese society. Through this influence even the Bhutias and Lepchas of Nepal have been admitted into the rank of clean castes whose water can be used by all the higher castes. He exerts an influence over the Nepalese even outside the Nepal territory. By the law of Nepal a criminal may lose his caste by way of punishment for a very serious offence.



Type C.

Sardar Bahadur Bhimadall Dewan,
Retired Dy. Suptd. of Police.

Thus, the people of Nepal feel that they are bound by a common cord of unity. Such proverbs as

1. खातु त एकद सुटि, बसतु त नेपालद ।

Let me stay in Nepal even though I may have just a handful of food to eat.

2. अरु देशको दुध मास र नेपाल को सिद्ध भात ।

Rice and milk of other places equal nettle-curry and rice of Nepal. clearly show how they are fond—and even proud—of their mother country.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEPALESE LIFE.

The Nepalese has some general characteristics which are worth

Firstly, he is brave and likes to be called so. Over 75 per cent of the Nepalese names bear the words **वीर** or **बाहादुर**.

e.g. दुर्धर	दुर्धर
दुर्धवाहादुर	दुर्धवाहादुर
दुर्धवीर	यमवीर
दुर्धवाहादुर	यमवाहादुर
रघवीर	
रघवाहादुर	

So very fond are the people of the word **वीर** that they apply it to almost every form of praise e.g. praise for generosity, honesty, charity, kindness etc. A form of salutation in Nepal is **जय देवो**. Give me victory.

Secondly the next virtue in a Nepalese is his spirit of obedience. Visitors to Darjeeling often experience it. When a passer-by wants a Nepalese to pluck a wild flower or orchid for him from a difficult place the request is readily complied with. The best example of this habit of obedience is found in the jails of Nepal. The prisoners are sometimes sent on business without a guard to distances involving two to three days' journey and it is expected that these prisoners would willingly return to the jail and strange to say, they do actually return there. The political incidents connected with the career of General Bhim Singh afford another striking example of the obedience of the soldiers to the power that be. Yet one feels that this is an honourable sort of obedience free from that mean and obsequious slavishness which is often so disgusting.

Thirdly the Nepalese has a dashing spirit. He is hardy, energetic and enterprising. His active habit is apparent to any casual observer who sees him only walking along the streets of Darjeeling. Lords of one and-a-half to two maunds are often carried by them from a distance of 50 miles across a mountainous region without any good road. In the forests of Assam may be seen a number of Nepalese keeping large herds of buffaloes which yield them good incomes. The available jungle lands of the Khampong subdivision in Darjeeling have been reclaimed mainly by Nepalese labour and energy. The Nepalese immigrants have settled also in Burma and Bhutan. In the hill portion of the Darjeeling district the Nepalese popu-

lation by far preponderates over others. Over half the population of the district including the Terai (where the bulk of the people are non-Nepalese) is Nepalese. In the polyglot district of Darjeeling Nepalese has assumed the position of lingua franca. All walks of life in Darjeeling ranging from the tea garden coolie to the Sub-Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Superintendent of Police the Nepalese are in possession. At present there is a sprinkling of graduates and undergraduates and a few matriculates among them and the need of education at least from the vocational point of view is being felt. As an instance of Nepalese enterprise I may quote that of a Nepalese tea garden coolie at Kurseong who amassed about ten thousand rupees by dairy farming in Burma. Such instances can be very easily multiplied.

Some of the ancient customs that linger among the Nepalese of to-day are those of female liberty and Brahman teachers giving free tuition to scholars residing with them both the teachers and the scholars being supported by free grants of land from the State. A thriving institution of this kind may be seen at Dingla on the Arun river near Bhojpur.

SLAVERY IN NEPAL

It may cause the refined taste of the twentieth century to shudder to hear that slavery actually exists in Nepal and to know that human beings are bought and sold there. Yet one needs being undeceived if one expects to see the horrible scene of a Brazilian slave market repeated in Nepal. The slaves are called **Kamara** (**कमारा**) and **Kamari** (**कमारो**)—most probably the colloquial forms of **कुमार** and **कुमारो**. They live with their masters in the same house or compound and are well fed and clad and enjoy more comforts than the average workman in Nepal. The master bears the expense of marrying his **Kamara** to a **Kamari** bought for the purpose. Of course he does so out of economic consideration—to add to his live stock. The slave has a caste corresponding to that of his master. Sometimes a slave is given liberty by his master. A slave thus liberated by a Chhetri master is called a **Khōsa**. In the next generation the **Khōsa** becomes a **Gharti** and in the third generation the family name of the master, namely Chhetri, is assumed. The evolution is rather interesting but such a family occupies a comparatively

countrymen but the fashion obtains both among the Bengali and the Nepalese

(2) RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES

(a) Worship of *Sakti* in different forms, such as *Kali Durga Jagaddhatrī*, &c., prevails mainly in North-eastern India only. In other parts of India the object of national worship is generally some *god* as distinguished from a *goddess*. In Nepal the goddess *Sakti* is worshipped in her different forms of *Kali Durga Gajeswari* &c. The *Durga Puja* is the greatest national festival among the Bengalis and the Nepalese only. In Nepal and Bengal there is an abnormal consumption of peacocks during this festival in autumn. No Indian except the Bengali and the Nepalese sacrifices a buffalo to a goddess and no Indian except the Bengalis and Nepalese of certain castes eats its flesh.

(b) If the Bengali and the Nepalese agree in observing their greatest national festival they also do so in some minor festivals in a remarkable manner. The *Bhratridwitiya* festival is celebrated both by the Nepalese and Bengali on the 2nd day after the new moon following the *Durgapuja* and it involves substantially the same rites in both the cases. This ceremony is not observed in Upper India.

(3) IDEAS EXPRESSED IN PROVERBS

National thought in every country is reflected in its proverbs. It is remarkable therefore, how a large number of Nepalese proverbs are also current in Bengal although they are not so much in use in Bihar or the United Provinces. I would draw the attention of the reader to a few of them here, viz.

(1) *আত্মক হাথ লগানায়। আপন হাত ভাঙ্গাথ।*

One may take the lion's share when food is served with one's own hand.

(2) *আত্মকি খাইকী ঘাওত মা খাই মিহঁ। খবান সপিলে ডুবে মরি ডান।*

One falls into the pit dug by oneself.

(3) *হলকী মুখজি ভগাকী বার।*

To speak about heaven belongs *Indra* (who is the king of heaven).

(4) *তলকী মাছ তুখী যে বাইটা পানার সেটাই বড়।*

The fish missed by the angler is big.

(5) *ছায়াছায়া ইক পকে ম্যা? বেল পাবলে কাগের কি?*

It is no good to a crow when the *bael* fruit ripens.

(6) *ছানকী দাখ দানী থনা কাম পহি দুকুর্ক। কাগে বান নিয়ে গেল শুনে কাগের শিহনে দৌড়।*

To run after a crow believing it has taken away the ear, i.e., to depend too much on guess.

(7) *কুয়াকী মাঝা মাঝায়।*

A frog in a well is always there.

(8) *ঘর বাড়ি বিয়। গুরুমারি বিয়।*

To acquire learning by beating the preceptor.

(9) *বির মুখকী পমিকী বট।*

A slippery tongue with a wicked heart.

(10) *জর ময়খ খায় লব ময়খ খায়। বতকণ খায় ততকণ খায়।*

There is hope of life so long as there is breath.

(11) *অরকী ঘর মা মুঠা হুজ তরকী দাত ছাওয়াব।*

A millionaire in whose house the mice are crying (ironical).

(12) *জাতকী বঁচী জাত।*

One's own caste people are one's enemy.

(13) *এক মাঘলী জাহী লান্দহল। এক মাঘে বাড়ি পালায় না।*

Winter does not end with one *magh* (the coldest month of the year).

(14) *বন ছকী ময়খলী ইখব মন ছকী ছতখলী ইখব ন।*

Every one sees when a forest is on fire but none sees when the mind is burning (with grief).

(15) *বদকী মাঘলী খায়ব ন খায়ব মনকী মাঘলী খায়ব মজ।*

The tiger in the forest may not eat one but the tiger in the mind (imagination) does so.

(4) POPULARITY OF MAHABHARAT

It is noteworthy that *Ramayana* is more widely known in Upper India than *Mahabharat* and over 75 per cent of the *Hindu* names in Upper India bear the word *Ram*. But even the common facts of *Mahabharat* are not so widely known there. But in Bengal and Nepal *Mahabharat* is as widely known as *Ramayana*.

(5) LINGUISTIC COINCIDENCES

The genius and drift of Bengali and Nepalese seem to be singularly similar.

We may notice the following points in this connection—

(a) The vocal organs of the people of a country become habitually adapted to the utterance of its language. So the Bengali tongue, in spite of its marvellous capacity for distinct articulation is not suitable for many of the Indian vernaculars—not to speak of a foreign tongue. The letters ক, ঙ, ট, ড, ণ and their aspirates খ, গ, ঙ, ট, ড, ণ are often confounded by the average Englishman and the opposite mistake is generally committed by most of us in pronouncing the English consonants. The vocal habit is ingrained in our very constitution—the whole muscular and nervous system. Now, the Bengali and the Nepalese can pick up each other's language with remarkable facility. The average educated Nepalese feels quite at ease in speaking Bengali and generally speaks it with great fluency. He speaks it with far more ease and grace than the average educated Bihari. On the other hand a Bengali picks up Nepalese more quickly than the average Bihari does, or more quickly than the Bengali can pick up Hindi. What I mean to suggest here is the probability of similar adjustments of the vocal organs of the Bengali and the Nepalese peoples. When I first came to the Darjeeling district the words passing between two quarrelling Nepalese women struck me as those exchanged by two quarrelling Bengali women, showing that the vocal expressions of the weaker sex of the two countries in a state of violent emotion are alike.

(b) In order to understand another linguistic similarity I would invite the attention of the reader to one feature of the Urdu language in which the terminal *kh* is always sounded against the omission of this sound in Hindi. Thus in Urdu we do not say *khun* or *khun* but *khun* and *khun*. I very vividly remember the exclamation of an Urdu Brahman when admiring an image of the goddess Saraswati:

"কেন্দ্র খ চৌক খ ছাঁ খ ন কহিলা নদ্বা ত
তরু, তরু, খ।"

So in Hindi, the words *khun* and *khun* are pronounced as *khun* and *khun*. The Nepalese and Bengali languages are accommodating enough either to keep or to drop the sound of final *kh*.

(c) Both in colloquial Nepalese and Bengali the final *kh* or *kh* is changed into *h*.
E.g.,

Nepalese

দাম	দামে
হর্ষ	হর্ষে
অস্তর	অস্তরে
বর্ষ	বর্ষে
কাল	কালে
রূপ (বাহ্যিক)	রূপে
চতুর	চতুরে

(d) The following among other words of the Nepalese language are also used sometimes with a slight change in Bengali:

বিয়া (marriage)	নির (a friend) used in a slightly different sense in Bengali
গাথী (companion)	
শীতল (cool)	
জল (water)	বিপত্তি (danger)
স্নিহি (love)	বন (forest)
মাতা (affection)	মুখ (face)
মিঠা (tasteful)	আগ (Sanskrit = body)
আশীষ (blessing)	যাত্রা { starting
কেশ (hair)	{ a singing party
স্বৈত (white)	বালাক (child, in Bengali the word indicates male sex only)
হরিণ (Sanskrit = deer)	
কাঁড়া (thorn Bengali কাটা)	

The inflection "h" added to a verbal root is the sign of the Nepalese infinitive mood.

বিস্ময় (Sanskrit = wonder) পীড়াউহ (Bengali = পীড়া দেওয়া)

We may account for Sanskrit words used by two Sanskritized Indian vernaculars—though it is noteworthy that most of these words do not occur in Hindi—but how are we to explain the use of words of non-Sanskritic origin in the two languages?

The following are some of such words

Nepalese	Bengali
হাই উঠা	হাই তোলা
মুকু	মুকুয়া বাঁকা
বোকা	বোকা
চোপা মগ	চোপা (মুখ) বন্ধ করা
বাতি নিলা	বাতি নিতান

ধেৰ	ঢেৰ
মলু (fried Indian corn)	মলুখে (fried rice in some district)
মাদো	মাঁদো
ঘৰ	ঘৰ
ঘৰ ছুবেই (ব = ৮)	ঘৰ ছাবাই
বাতাস	বাঁতাস
বপাল {hair lot	বপাল (lot)
গৰু (bull)	গৰু (cow or bull)
কাথ	কাথ
দাছ	দাখা
দিদি	দিদি
বা	বাৰা
আমা	মা
মামা	মামা
খন্ডা	খন্ডা
বিহান্ (morning)	বিহান্ (morning)
বেলুকা	বিকাণ

(e) The interrogative particle কি is used in both Bengali and Nepalese

(f) The verbal inflection ইন্ is used in both the languages

(g) The pronouns of the two languages are also somewhat alike; e.g.,

Nepalese	Bengali
মো	আমি
তপাই	আপনি
তিনি	তুমি
তো	তুই
তিহো	{তিনি সে

(h) A Nepalese manuscript written about the 12th century A.D. has been brought from Nepal by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, the script of which bears a strong resemblance to the Bengali alphabet.

Mahakal Lodge,
Darjeeling
The 24th June, 1917. } SUKHARANJAN BOSE,
Assistant Master,
Darjeeling High School.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

English Education.

M. E. Sadler contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for May a thoughtful article in the course of which he reviews the two currents in public feeling about English Education.

On the one hand there is a just sense of pride in the rapid development of our secondary schools both for boys and girls, as well as of our Universities and of the institutions which give advanced instruction in science as applied to industries. The whole outlook for secondary and advanced education is brighter than it has been before. This far reaching change has been brought about in the course of twenty years.

On the other hand, there is a feeling of disappointment with some of the results of the elementary schools. Employers complain that boys are not so accurate as boys used to be when education cost less and school life was shorter. There is also a good deal of concern at the want of sustained interest in serious things which is shown by the great majority of young people who have recently left the elementary schools.

The debt which England owes to its elementary schools is thus set forth:

Careful observers note an increased orderliness in English crowds. There is more self-command, less roughness, a stronger feeling for public order. Again, not a week passes without record in the newspapers of some noble deed of courage or heroism, done without hope of reward but in unflinching and ready obedience to the claims of duty and human brotherhood, by some man or woman obscure in station but quick to respond in the hour of sudden need to a call which may entail injury or death. For this also the nation's gratitude is due in part to the influence of the schools and of devoted teachers working in them. Further the good sense and good temper of the Boy Scouts show what excellent material the elementary schools are turning out, and how ready are great numbers of their former pupils to throw themselves with energy and obedience into an attractive form of self training and of corporate service. Lastly, there have gone forward from the elementary schools during the last twenty years a large and increasing number of boys and girls who have won distinction at secondary schools.

remarkable thinkers, but no high fame for thinking, many of the most famous names in science, but no national scientific culture. Still in these fields there has been remarkable accomplishment and the influence on European thought has been occasionally considerable and sometimes capital. But when finally we turn to the business of practical life, there is an unqualified preeminence in mechanical science and invention, in politics, in commerce and industry, in colonisation, travel, exploration, in the domination of earth and the exploitation of its riches England has been, till late, largely, sometimes entirely the world's leader, the shaper of its motives and the creator of its forms.

This peculiar distribution of the national capacities finds its root in certain racial characteristics. We have first the dominant Anglo-Saxon strain quickened, lightened and given force, power and initiative by the Scandinavian and Celtic elements. This mixture has made a national mind remarkably dynamic and practical, with all the Teutonic strength, patience, industry, but liberated from the Teutonic heaviness and crudity, yet retaining enough not to be too light of balance or too sensitive to the shocks of life, therefore, a nation easily first in practical intelligence and practical dealing with the facts and difficulties of life. Not, be it noted, by any power of clear intellectual thought or by force of imagination or intellectual intuition, but rather by a strong vital instinct, a sort of tentative dynamic intuition. No spirituality, but a robust ethical turn, no innate power of the word, but a strong turn for action; no fine play of emotion or quickness of sympathy, but an abundant energy and force of will. This is one element of the national mind, the other is the submerged, half-resistant Celtic, gifted with precisely the opposite qualities, inherent spirituality, the gift of the word, the rapid and brilliant imagination, the quick and luminous intelligence, the strong emotional force and sympathy, the natural love of the things of the mind and still more of those beyond the mind, left to it from an old forgotten culture in its blood which contained an ancient mystical tradition. From the ferment of these two elements arise both the greatness and the limitations of English poetry.

Co-operation Among Factory Workers

Vithaldas D. Thackersey writes in the Bombay *Co-operative Quarterly* for June to point out the difficulties in the way of forming and successfully managing co-operative societies among mill-hands of Bombay. Says he.

The first difficulty is the apathy displayed by those entrusted with the internal management of the mills. The manager has enormous responsibilities to discharge, and his whole time is taken up with important work. He has neither the time nor the patience to attend to the slow and tedious work of a co-operative society, and, therefore, he is indifferent about it. The persons who have got the largest amount of influence with the work people are the jobbers in the various departments, and the jobbers invariably lend their own money at high rates of interest, generally about one anna per rupee per month to the men in their departments, and they naturally would never encourage their work people to

join a co-operative society. Then the mill hands have a tendency to change their place of work. This is due partly to the practice of returning to the native villages very frequently. There is, therefore, hardly any personal sympathy between the workmen and the departmental manager, which can be the outcome only of many years of mutual contact. In some cases the friends or proteges of some head clerk or a jobber lend money to mill hands, and they do their best to discourage the movement. The main trouble, of course, is that the men themselves are illiterate and ignorant and do not understand or appreciate the benefits of co-operation, and are, therefore, easily led away by others who have got their own axes to grind.

Regarding the heavy indebtedness of the mill hands though they are among the best paid laborers in the city, the total income of many families ranging from Rs. 35 to Rs. 45, Mr. Thackersey observes:

The first cause is the irregularity the average workman shows at his work. There is then the worker's love of his home in the Kankar villages where he invariably owns a piece of land and where the elders of his family stay. In order to pay taxes on his holding, which does not in all cases have a sufficient margin for the assessment, and to maintain the other members of his family, he regularly sends a portion of his earnings, and once in two years he takes a long holiday from his work. Even while in Bombay he hardly works twenty days in the month, and the increase of salary in recent years instead of raising his standard of living has only made him more irregular in his work. Another prominent cause of his indebtedness is the habit of spending money on drink for which ample facilities always exist near the place of work, so that as soon as the workman leaves the factory after a full day's work it is difficult for him to resist the temptation of the grog-shops which are to be seen here, there, and everywhere. The workman has also to incur heavy debts for meeting the expenses of marriages and other quasi-religious ceremonies in the family. Finally, as the money-lenders in Bombay to whom he is indebted are also grain dealers, these dealers take full advantage of their client's weakness and obtain the utmost possible profit in fixing the prices of articles of daily consumption supplied to him in anticipation of the receipt of his wages.

The writer is of opinion that with a proper organisation it is possible to do a great deal and makes the following concrete proposals for consideration:

Such of the mill owners as would like to assist their employees should combine and agree to help them to the best of their ability. A central organisation should be established for the purpose of organising and thereafter supervising the co-operative societies in different mills. The organisation should consist of a full-time paid agency with a large staff trained in propagandist work and in the routine administration of the co-operative societies, and the duty of the workers of this organisation would be to visit the mills, explain the objects of the movement and with the help of the managers try to form societies in the different departments or in convenient

groups. They should select intelligent leaders, who may have influence with the working people as members of the managing committees, attend the meetings of the managing committees, guide them in the matter of sanctioning loans, assist in keeping accounts, and otherwise train the members to manage their own affairs in the near future. Other social work may also be undertaken. On Sundays and holidays the organisers may arrange for meetings, or sports, or *Kirtans*. With the support of the

residents of the locality in which they carry on work and other influential persons the organisers might approach Government to remove the sources of temptation which at present exist under the policy of providing grog shops near the homes of the mill hands. They should assist in providing tea or coffee shops at convenient centres in open compounds. To these places of recreation the work people may possibly be attracted if proper efforts are made.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Democracy and Leadership

In the course of a short but thoughtful article contributed to the *New Witness* Cecil Chesterton examines the hypotnesis that "the modern world has so interpreted democracy as to make its ideal a dead level of mere *similarity* wherein genius and especially the genius for leadership finds no scope." Says he:

If our poverty in great leadership was due to democracy or even to a misunderstanding of democracy, we should expect to find it appearing only where democracy exists or where, at least, a profession of democracy is made. Yet, it shows itself most markedly not only in England, where an oligarchy rules under the thinnest of democratic pretenses, but in Germany, where even the pretense is abandoned and democracy even as an ideal is despised.

Considering all that was involved in the Medieval conception of a King—the Sacramental Man who summed up a nation—the writer observes:

That they were all born men of genius is quite incredible. Genius is an accident. It cannot be bred on stud farm principles, though no doubt plenty of exponents of "Modern Thought" would be ready enough to make the attempt. These Kings were just ordinary men picked out at random, but they were expected to become something more than men, something enormous and almost supernatural, true representatives, incarnations of the national will. The extent to which so amazing a demand was met is a proof of how much it is in ordinary men to be when extraordinary things are asked of them. In a word, it is a proof of the democratic thesis.

Medieval Monarchy has everywhere disappeared from Europe. The crowned officials who appear as figure-heads for the English plutocracy or the Prussian bureaucracy have no claim of such representative character as belonged to the anointed ruler of the thirteenth century. France, removing the Crown, has created a similar official figure head called "President," and has carefully kept the appointment a

gratuity at the disposal of the professional Parliamentarians. Only in one place, and that a place where even the memory of the Middle Ages had never been, do we find something like the Medieval idea of a personal ruler incarnating a nation. We find it in the great Elective Monarchy founded by Andrew Jackson. And there, we find the Medieval miracle repeated, the ordinary man becoming extraordinary because it is demanded of him that he shall be not a man but a Nation.

If the popular will be indeed the real inspiration of leadership, why has it so largely failed the modern world? It is because "Modernism" ends logically and ultimately in Materialism and Materialism is the denial of will.

Paying Calls in August

The following satire translated by Arthur Waley from the Chinese of Ch'eng Hsiao (3rd cent. A.D.) appears in the *New Statesman*.

When I was young, throughout the hot season
There were no carriages driving about the roads
People shut their doors and lay down in the cool
Or if they went out, it was not to pay calls.
Nowadays—ill bred, ignorant fellows
When they feel the heat, make for a friend's house.
The unfortunate host, when he hears someone

coming,
Scowls and frowns, but can think of no escape.
"There's nothing for it but to rise and go to

the door,"
And in his comfortable chair he groans and sighs.
The conversation does not end quickly:
Prattling and babbling, what a lot he says!
Only when one is almost dead with fatigue
He asks at last "if one isn't finding him tiring"
(One's arm is almost in half with continual

fanning:
The sweat is pouring down one's neck in streams)
Do not say that this is a small matter,
I consider the practice a blot on our social life.
I therefore caution all wise men
That August visitors should not be admitted.

Chinese Art

A very interesting article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Gerald Willoughby-Meade gives us a good deal of information about Chinese art. We read

What are the Chinese laws of design and how do the Chinese obey them? In the works of Hsieh Ho, as translated by Professor Herbert Giles, they are thus expressed

- 1 Rhythmic vitality
- 2 Anatomical structure
- 3 Conformity with Nature
- 4 Suitability of colouring
- 5 Artistic composition
- 6 Finish

To make these more generally intelligible, Mr Laurence Binyon has paraphrased them as below

1. The spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life
2. The art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms
4. Appropriate distribution of the colours
5. Composition and subordination, or grouping according to the hierarchy of things
6. The transmission of classic models

A grotesque effect is much heightened by a superb colour contrast, and fine tinting will often redeem a design in our eyes, from ugliness and make it merely quaint

Correct composition is evidently thought much of by the Chinese also. Their way of arranging the component parts of a design is sufficiently well marked to catch the most untrained eye. We can see that it is intentional, even when we disagree with it, it may appear perverse, but it is clearly not due to clumsiness or carelessness.

In Chinese art "rhythmic vitality" will be found to be the supreme and universal criterion. The others are subsidiary, and may sometimes be disregarded.

A design whatever its subject, must show a justness, an equilibrium, a balance of forces, as in a living thing. Our monster or demon, our fungus or rock, must embody an equation of oddities: a congruity of form, of position, and of symbolic meaning, sufficient to endow it with personal life, even possible to the artist's idea is thus made clear and communicated to the spectator. By this means the weird and the impossible are animated by an uncanny life of their own, they are made to give—apart from skilful composition—the impression that they are the offspring of a living mental image.

Much Chinese work is and should be, to us, "grotesque."

As examples let me mention the following

We have the *A'uei*, a conventional dragon form found on the bronzes of the Chou Period, this creature being supposed to exercise a restraining influence against the sin of greed.

Then there is the *Tao t'ieh*, translated by Dr Legge as "goblin," standing for an embodiment of, and warning against, the vices of sensuality and avarice.

A kind of primitive dragon without horns or scales, *sh' sh' lang*, is still frequently reproduced

The *Tan* designated by the character for 'avarice,' is painted on the screen wall in front of *Yamen*, no doubt as a warning to officials.

The phoenix called *feng* or *chu niao*, a modified pheasant, associated with warm sunshine and abundant harvests.

The unicorn, *chi lin*, a quadruped difficult to connect with any known animal. It was believed to appear on excessively rare and very auspicious occasions and to show absolute benevolence to all living things.

The white tiger, who presided over the western quarter of the heavens; the tortoise entwined with a snake, the northern emblem; the three-legged crow, imagined to dwell in the sun; the poodle like lion, a semi-Buddhist animal, guardian of the law and of sacred edifices; the dragon horse, and more especially the many varieties of true dragon, must be cited.

How deeply and widely the dragon tradition has influenced Chinese life is shown even in landscape-gardening. The zigzag bridge is supposed to typify the dragon; trees and shrubs are trimmed into the shape of dragons; ponds are laid out in reptilian shapes; the trunks of dwarfed and warped trees are likened to dragons. Other grotesque effects, in door and wall, are largely animistic, evil spirits are said to be baffled by unexpected screens and devious paths; they are exorcised by suddenly coming upon the pious but threatening effigies of guardian genius.

Grotesqueness, here, is more than an artistic fashion; it is almost a prayer.

The love of the marvellous, being universal, will be found among the Chinese to the same extent, at least, as elsewhere. In fact, one might expect it to be more pronounced. Beneath the grave, impassive demeanour inculcated by good manners, the Chinese undoubtedly conceals a very intense nature, a capacity for the most violent emotion, and an imagination teeming with the weirdest fancies. His language is rich in superlatives and in words expressive of emotion, and if art is, after all, self-expression, must one not expect to find that a man possessed of a highly emphatic tongue will be inclined to overstate his impression when his brush is in his hand?

The Taoists have been, in certain ways, the architects of Chinese "grotesque" art.

As quietists and contemplatives, their influence showed itself in the ascetic sobriety of colour notable in the work of the great Sung masters. They believed that their sages, by retiring to the wilds and living on weird and unnatural food, could attain a certain physical immortality, like the gnarled trees and jagged peaks with which they foregrounded. Hence they are portrayed as wrinkled and seamed like oakbark, and datelessly old, placidly gazing at the cloud or the waterfall, considering the grace of the flying stork, or the shimmering of the moon upon a mountain lake. The lonely traveller is said to have come upon them suddenly, in the fastnesses of the hills, rooted like ancient trees, or looming, ghostly, through the mists.

Buddhism completely overshadowed, if it did not displace—at any rate in the heyday of its glory—the "grotesque" element altogether.

The effect of Buddhism, on Chinese Art was twofold. In the beginning we find serene and dignified statues and lonesome landscapes, devoid altogether of anything grotesque; later with the action and

reaction between Buddhism and the older beliefs, the goblin humour of the Chinese artist reasserted itself, finding a wider and richer field of fancy than before.

Most Chinese artists have as much opportunity as the Greeks had of studying the nude. The spare but well knit coolie is in evidence everywhere, scantily clad, and getting the very most out of his muscles in the exercise of his daily toil. But if he ever was studied, is a problem, there is little evidence of it. The peasant, in a European picture, is always hand some and better proportioned than the real toiler could possibly be, the Chinese boatman or tricker, on the other hand, is often a striking figure, climbing cliffs like a cat, or steering—tense with vigilance and muscular strain—through a dangerous rapid. But where do we find his picture?

The commonest theory is that Chinese artists find the human form too symmetrical to be interesting.

Another theory would attribute to Buddhist influence the treatment of the human form as being neither more nor less important than any other phase or semblance of being.

With a choice of subjects ranging from gods and demons to stones and grasses, we also find that the human form, as a subject of art, was deliberately classed below landscape in the writings of Chinese critics of rank.

A human form, therefore, when used for the purpose of expressing an idea, was compelled to assume a shape or attitude associated by long usage with that idea, and the result, in our eyes, is "grotesque."

Whatever may be the true explanation of this belittling of the human and glorification of the non-human element in Chinese art, there is reason to think that, like other sources of the grotesque, it is a racial peculiarity.

Certain of the greatest Chinese artists, have not left a single picture of a human being, the work of others is represented only by quaint and whimsical studies of aged men or monsters.

The idea that such men could not have drawn or carved fine human forms is, of course, preposterous. The early Buddhist religious works are proofs of their power. The birds, fishes, and flowers of the best schools are as real as they are dignified, the men who drew them could have drawn anything they had a mind to.

Even in the relics of Han art left to us we have truly naturalistic horses and birds, but the human figures are often deliberately distorted, though whether for mythological or merely decorative reasons is not quite clear to the writer.

In two words, Western art lends itself to the "literal" and Far Eastern art to the "literary" and if the thing drawn by the Chinese artist does not express his idea without alteration, he simply alters it until it does. Thus, for good or ill, his treatment tends, of necessity, towards the "grotesque" in many instances.

Daring and correct, however, as the great Chinese art-workers have been in the use of colour, powerful as they have been in composition, the one outstanding feature of all their work has been this—facility in the treatment of line. Freedom, even license, in the use of line may not always please the eye, especially of a European; but it is not the failing of a tyro—it is the whim of a master. To say the least of it, no man

who does not know his tools well will dare to juggle with them.

The grotesque, then, holds a considerable place in Chinese art. For the reasons given, I submit that it holds that place rightly, it expresses a national peculiarity, it meets a national need, it shows itself as the outcome of a national gift. It evidences skill, perseverance, and humour, it evidences a cheerful recognition of the shadows of life, as well as of its high lights—it provides a foil to the drab poverty and cast iron etiquette of everyday existence; it preserves from oblivion numberless traditions valuable to the student and the historian.

Morality and Convention

Writing in the *Hibbert Journal* H. L. Stewart offers a defence of what is known by the term "convention." Says he:

Those who speak with scorn of conventional morality seem to have before their minds a sort of unnatural perversion, a system which did not grow but was rather manufactured, a code either imposed by senseless authority from without or invented with more or less sinister purpose from within. They think of it as at the best, unreflective prejudice; at the worst, a deliberate pretense under which one part of society makes pariahs of another part. The blame for this imposture is placed upon some order which the critic specially dislikes—the clergy, the aristocrats, the capitalists. Just now an intellectual circle of unique refinement specializes in denision of the middle class, to whose moral notions the epithet "smug" is applied with great success.

Nine tenths of the theoretical attacks upon Convention turn upon an ambiguity in the word. They are attacks upon a phantasm, and if imposture has been at work at all it has appeared mainly in the skull with which our critics first falsify the pedigree of common morals and then hold up the poor progeny to contempt. "Convention" means agreement, and hence ought to imply freedom of choice. It even suggests an element of caprice, for the more capricious a choice has been, the more appropriate do we regard the epithet "conventional" as applied to the arrangement which has been its outcome. Thus we speak of the conventional procedure of law, but not of the conventional processes of digestion, for the latter are imposed by necessity, while the former—though they are at least believed to have a basis in reason—might within very wide limits have been varied by human preference. Most fitting of all is the use of the word when we have before us such a scheme as the alphabet or a scientific nomenclature, for although even these are not wholly arbitrary, they come as close as we can get to a sheer creation of will, a product whose value consists in its general acceptance, and which, if it had been otherwise constructed, would have been equally serviceable provided it were adopted with equal unanimity.

"Most of our ideas about right and wrong are conventional," say the novelists. On the contrary, it is very hard indeed to find any of those ideas to which we can accurately apply such an epithet. They are for the most part the workings of unconscious reason. The modern Communist, I suppose, will stigmatize

conventional most of our received notions about property. But he will have to confess that from the beginning of time every man has been granted a right to the exclusive possession of some things, and that, while no primitive conference of the species settled which these were to be, their progressive assignment and delimitation have followed lines which may have been wrong but which at least were not arbitrary. They were laid down under the pressure of social needs and feelings. I for one am ready to admit that they were often laid down amiss, and that many of them are amiss still. But the fault did not lie in subservience to "Convention" and in omitting to appeal to "Nature." For in the same sense in which Nature authenticates, let us say, the right to life, she authenticates that order by which life in society may expand. Few will claim that each person as such has an indefensible right to live. The hangman, although we may call him in the abusive sense, a conventional institution, is in a truer sense a genuinely natural one. He is an official who, not through wanton cruelty, still less from stupid caprice but for purposes that are deemed socially urgent, has been appointed and is maintained. Whether we should keep him depends on what we think of these purposes and of his effectiveness for carrying them out. The gradually formed sentiment on such things which, we are told, it is essential to shake, is thus no mere adhesion to prejudice. It is crystallized experience. If it could be so shaken as to have its whole basis destroyed—and unfortunately it cannot,—the new structure would be built upon the same sort of principles, for mankind has no other.

But the writer does not deny the educative value of dramas and imaginative literature in general which "seek to establish a sort of moral equality," as will be apparent from the following lines.

The successful drama at present is one that presents human character as much more uniform than our ancestors supposed. It seeks to establish a sort of moral equality even if it must level down rather than levelling up, and the democratic sentiment is at once conciliated. We like to feel that if the secrets of all hearts were disclosed, accuser, accused, judge and jurymen would not be so very different, that, in short, as the old lines have it,

There is so much good in the worst of us,

And so much bad in the best of us,

That it still becomes any one of us

To look down on the rest of us.

Now, I am far from minimizing the educative value which belongs to these artistic presentations when they are skilfully and earnestly executed. Much genuine concern is abroad about social injustices and how to remedy them. And the authors of imaginative literature, especially since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, have held a sort of prescriptive right to operate thus upon the conscience of the public. It is probable that in no other way could the poignancy of a situation be brought home with such general effectiveness.

Uses of Wood Pulp and Paper.

With the progress of time wood pulp and paper are being requisitioned in an increasing degree to manufacture

many of the necessities of civilisation. The *Canadian Forestry Journal* makes mention of a host of such articles. We read:

Paper is largely used by anatomical mechanists to make artificial limbs; by telescope makers, by boot and shoe makers, by cap manufacturers, for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks and many of the tops which look like leather, by China and porcelain manufacturers, by doll makers and by ship builders, and again, in making optical instruments, in pictures and looking glasses, in portmanteaus, in Sheffield goods and tea pots. One manufacturer has made panels for doors from paper, and he looks forward to making carriages of paper when the duty shall have been taken off. Paper pipes are actually made prepared with bitumen and capable of standing pressure of 300 pounds of water to the inch. Pulp and paper have furnished a rich field for exploitation, and in altogether new spheres of usefulness have arrived at a stage which may be said to guarantee their permanent serviceability. Now-a-days the public are familiar with artificial silk, coarse cloth, and fabrics closely resembling mercerized cotton produced from wood pulp fibres, and it is stating nothing new to say that ties and waist coats are being made from pulp and paper. As a matter of fact, both paper and pulp can now be formed into solid substances capable of competing with wood or iron in point of durability and elasticity and for some years past, treated by special methods, they have been converted into such articles as paper bottles, figures, ornaments, furniture, etc. Water proof coverings for walls and ceilings, parchment slates, flanges and manhole rings, paper wheels, roofing and boats, paper barrels, gas pipes, boxes and horse shoes are also no longer novelties. Probably one of the most valuable by-products of the manufacture of sulphite pulp is that of spirit from the waste, and particularly in Sweden, the distillation of alcohol from cellulose, bids fair to become an industry of considerable importance.

In the United States a heavy paper board for use in building operations is also made from waste sugar-cane and corn stalks. In a small mill at Koyasa, Kanagawa (Japan), water proof paper is now manufactured for shirt making.

Paper string and twine has within recent years come to be recognised as a valuable substitute for the ordinary variety. Paper string is now being made of such stoutness that it is suitable for tying up parcels of quite a fair size, and its manufacture is now being carried out in this country. Twine has been produced from paper in Germany for some years, the *Landmann* firm wraps of straw or white creped thin cellulose paper and the few mills making it are said to be unable to meet the demand.

Making artificial flowers from paper is not a new idea but it is probably not so well known that they are now being made of paper rendered non-inflammable by the moderate use of asbestos. The Japanese sunshade is, of course quite a familiar object, but the collapsible and storm proof paper umbrellas, devised for use in emergencies by an ingenious American, has not yet obtained wide favour.

Twisted or hardened paper is also being extensively employed at Sbeboyan, United States of America, in the manufacture of paper furniture, and bags and trucks of compressed paper are perhaps

somewhat better known than the paper jackets for sausages, which have been introduced on the other side of the Atlantic. Vulcanised fibre, which is simply paper treated with zinc chloride, is also being extensively used in the manufacture of tool handles, bobbins, tubes, etc., and paper binder twine, paper window shades, paper matting and paper floor coverings, the latter generally made with an admixture of cotton, are now widely used. Paper insulators are, of course, in comparatively common use, but it must be admitted that a paper chimney, of which we have heard, is something of a novelty. Paper cart wheels and paper boats are, however, no longer curiosities though it is stated that the paper boat is, indeed, a very substantial and serviceable craft.

It is now well known that Germany is using chemical pulp in place of cotton as a basis for the production of high explosives and a German military

surgeon goes so far as to say that not only cellulose wadding but mechanical wood pulp, wood flour, wood wool and wood felt have done good service as substitutes for cotton in making dressings while another authority states that for wound secretions, filter and blotting paper serves the purpose admirably. Cellulose wadding is used in dozens of forms as a substitute for cotton, and its employment is stated to be even more advantageous when loosely woven cotton wicks are substituted for closely woven wicks, particularly in spirit and petroleum lamp. There have also been stories of paper boots and paper socks worn by soldiers of the European battle fields and it is reported that paper beds, with paper sheets and pillow cases, are now being used in Germany by the poor, the mattresses being made of strong sheets of paper pasted together and filled with dry leaves of beech and oak trees.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Rector's Convocation Speech— A Rejoinder

I am glad that my short article under the above heading in the April number of the *Modern Review* has led to some fruitful discussion on the comparative merits of the Indian and European systems of philosophy in the July number just to hand. Let me state at the outset that in suggesting that the study of Indian philosophy should be deferred till the understanding of the Indian student is matured and his critical faculty developed by the study of western philosophy, it was not my intention to assert dogmatically that to follow the opposite course advocated by his Excellency the Rector would be sure to prove mischievous, all that I said was that the change might quite possibly be a change for the worse, and I proceeded to give some reasons for my apprehension. Only by introducing a course of Indian philosophy in the undergraduate classes, and watching the actual result for a series of years, can the truth or otherwise of my position be tested, and I quite see the force of the arguments advanced by Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee in favour of the early introduction of Indian philosophy in the curriculum of our colleges. In the last lines of Part I of his paper, however, Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee gives his whole case away when he says that the students whom he would teach Indian philosophy should already have had some training in the western system and some knowledge of western science. That is exactly what I plead for.

Part II of Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's paper is specially devoted to my article. The orthodox Pandit may adhere to a particular system of philosophy and think the other systems to be defective, but I was not thinking of the exceptional, and of the learned few, but of the average Hindu. If as Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee admits such Hindus recognise the direct working of the Divine Spirit in their philosophers, it seems that I was not far wrong when I said that we approach the study of philoso-

phical questions not with an open mind, but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought. Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee compares the Hindu attitude with the Christian regard for the Bible as divinely inspired. This is precisely what I meant when I said that we look upon Kapila and the other sages as canonised semi-divine saints. No one would be so foolish as to object to the Christian reading his Bible, as none would think of protesting against the Hindu reading the Vedas. But what I object to, and what western philosophers would object to, is to take up the study of philosophical questions in the uncritical spirit in which one studies his sacred scriptures. And one might also object to any books, believed to be revealed or semi-revealed, being prescribed for compulsory study by any section of students. My complaint was that 'philosophy which is the finest flower of universal human reason is too closely connected with religion in India to deserve the name in the full sense.' An Old Alumnus, criticising my article, says in the same issue of this magazine that 'if human reason plays a dominant part in any department of human activities, it is in the domain of philosophy.' I should substitute 'ought to play' for 'plays in the above extract, and thus read it is my own view, and I hold that in so far as Hindu philosophy leans on religion, which lives by faith and is guided by authority, it fails in its proper function *qua* philosophy, for to that extent it fails to afford adequate scope for the play of human reason. The same writer says that "for breadth, range and variety of thoughts embracing in its sweep the rankest materialism of Charvaka on the one side and the absolute idealism of Sankara on the other, no other single country's intellectual output, ancient or modern can compare with that of India." I admitted in my article that 'no other philosophical system is so habitually free from conventional limitations on discussion as to the origin of the universe and its Creator. Pantheism, Monism, Dualism, Atheism—all rival theories have fair field and no favour.' The little that I know of both the

indigenous and the Occidental systems of philosophy would not however permit me to enforce the un-restrained eulogy of An Old Alumnus. In the Indian systems, though the existence of God is freely disputed, the revelation of the Veda is always taken for granted and the opprobrious epithet of *Nastik* is reserved not for the atheist or agnostic but for the man who does not believe in the self-revelation and the infallibility of the Veda. There is an evident attempt in some schools of philosophy, to pander to popular prejudice in thus placing the Veda above criticism. Moreover, the mythology of the Hindus, with all its absurdities, is cited and alluded to and drawn upon for illustrations, often without a word of adverse comment, in the philosophies, the multitudinous gods and goddesses, the unmeaning ritual and ceremonial practices are taken at the valuation which is given to them by popular religion without any attempt at open dissent, though the logical outcome of the philosophical discussions may be antagonistic to a belief in them. The whole philosophy of the *Purva Mimamsa* proceeds on the assumption that salvation lies in the Vedic sacrifices which are all but extinct now and for which no rational justification can be found. The European philosopher writes with a rich background of thoughts, feelings ideas brilliant artistic, edifying, revealing a cultured imagination and a critical insight which constitute the essence of true education. Wise maxims, profound reflections, balanced judgments, eloquent dissertations on topics of general human interest, are interspersed in his writings. Sometimes there is even a wealth of local colouring, a poetic transfiguration of dry details. He not only deals with problems especially appertaining to his subject, but makes frequent excursions into adjacent realms and evokes our emotional sympathy with all the nobler aspects of human life and endeavour, as well as of art and nature, and in discussing cognate questions of other sciences, shows a breadth of knowledge which is alien to our philosophers. He plays in short, upon all the subtler influences which mould life and form character, and dwells habitually in an atmosphere which is at once elevated and practical, i.e., not too detached from the realities of life. In all these ways he presents 'a breadth, range and variety of thoughts' which go to the making of a truly liberal culture. Hindu philosophy is not so many-sided, nor, apart from its specific problems in which it shows an intellectual depth and keenness of vision not certainly excelled in the West, is it so well able to draw out the best, from the point of view of civic culture and social morality, in the average man who has no intention to retire to the hills to meditate on his release. Absence of originality among our students of philosophy is not, as An Old Alumnus seems to think, due to the fact that they do not study in the *Tols*. The best orthodox products lack the varied outlook, the general culture and the historic sense which a study of western literature alone can give, and without such liberal culture original thinking is next to impossible—only commentaries are possible. It is because Vivekananda and Rabindranath have both been saturated with such modern culture, that they could throw new light on Hindu civilisation and culture, and make the world listen to them. Both of them have extolled the spirituality of India, but both have denounced the superstitions, torpor and the ritual mongering which pass for spirituality in our midst. Vivekananda was a born fighter, and scoffed at nothing so much as at our popular religion of the Litchen as he called it. Rabindranath has, in his

Ichalagatan and numerous other pieces exposed, in his own masterly way, our slavery to custom and intellectual stagnation. As for the Navya Nyaya system of Navadvip, extolled by An Old Alumnus and also by his Excellency the Rector, I have not been able to learn anything systematic of it for want of a suitable text book, but the little that I have read does not inspire me with the hope that it will emancipate the Bengali mind from its thralldom to dead forms and formulas—rather the contrary. I shall however be glad to know more on the subject, if An Old Alumnus or any other writer will kindly take upon himself the task of elucidating its main principles and expounding the services it has rendered to the cause of philosophy, in the pages of this Review.

I claim to have made a first hand study, from the rationalistic standpoint, of almost all the Puranas, and I adhere most emphatically to my statement that there is everywhere in them a total confusion of what is ethically good and ethically bad. It would of course be absurd to say, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee construes me as saying that there is not one instance in the entire Pauranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. I never said so, and everywhere in the Puranas' cannot, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee knows, mean 'invariably and without a single exception'. On the contrary there are many beautiful stories, legends, and moral precepts in the Puranas, but considering their bulk and volume, these are far too few, and are altogether swept away by the mass of hocus pocus and positive obscenity to be found in them. What is more significant than this, the total obliteration of moral values does not seem to strike the Pauranic writer as singular, or evoke his condemnation. He is just as much at home in enunciating a high philosophical doctrine as in, perhaps in the very next passage, making the most filthy observation on the female sex, or in describing the illicit amours of some god or hero. If the latter are to be treated as interpolations, then the Puranas would have to be transformed beyond recognition. Now, what is the reason of this indifference to moral values? And what is the reason why, in spite of the different schools of philosophy freely criticising one another, all the sages are in some vague sort of way concerned by the popular imagination to this day as being equally infallible, and as having an equally profound grasp of the truth? The reason I attribute to the pantheistic tradition which is the very atmosphere we breathe. The conception of the 'unifying idealism of Asia' of which An Old Alumnus speaks, and which first dawned on the poetic vision of that great Japanese mystic Okakura who dreamt nobly of 'a single ancient Asiatic peace' which his countrymen are only too anxious to disavow, often means nothing better than the inability to see any distinction between the antinomies of life, between good and evil, theism and polytheism, between a life of action and a life of passive subjection, between reason and science on the one hand, and the practice of superstitious cults and adherence to unmeaning beliefs and customs on the other. This transition from one pole to the other, this bridging over the gulf which separates the two extremes, is effected by the convenient doctrine of *Adhikari-Bheda*, and the *Geeta* is called in to reconcile the different paths of faith, knowledge, and work. It is because at bottom we believe that all is one, that both good and bad proceed from the same source that every form of belief and practice, however grotesque, is suited to some stage of the soul's growth, that we tolerate every nuisance and are

proud of our tolerance. This tolerance of Hinduism is according to well known foreign writers, indistinguishable from indifference to truth, and makes our religion, according to other competent observers, a mass of contradictions. Our philosophers boldly challenge the existence of God, but lend the weight of their authority to current social prejudices, and visit deviations from the prescribed ritual with dire punishments. Control of passions is strongly advocated, but the breach of it among the sages, heroes and gods does not elicit any moral disapprobation. The 'unifying idealism' of Hinduism is maintained by its all-embracing universalism which permits it to be at once subtle and gross, spiritual and sensual, it is accommodating and elastic, so that the boldest philosophical speculation goes hand in hand with polytheism of the crudest variety. Ceremonial purity, as enjoined by our Samhitas is not personal cleanliness only, as Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks. We can see instances of such purity among the priestly class and widows; much of it is as unmeaning as the instinctive habits of the lower animals which were at one time useful but have in the course of evolution survived their utility, and some of it is positively injurious to health. The disregard of moral values and the tolerance of serious lapses from the standard of rectitude which may always be noticed in rural society, may legitimately be ascribed to the fundamental pantheistic conception, rooted in the mind, though not consciously thought out, that everything is, in the ultimate analysis, the sport of the Divine Mother, and so there is a justification for every shade of conduct. The non-moral character of much of our scriptural teaching has often been admired by Nietzsche and his school, as every reader of Nietzsche, Leo G. Sera, J. M. Kennedy and others, will admit. The ethical code of Gautama, Buddha and 'the super-imposed moral precepts of the Christian cult' which An Old Alumnus seems to disapprove, do not find favour with the advocates of the cult of the Super-man and the Will to Power. They prefer the all-embracing pantheism of Hindu philosophy which unifies all contradictions by finding a place for mutually antagonistic principles of conduct in its scheme of morals.

The distinction between striving for one's own salvation and that of his fellowmen, so far from being immaterial, as Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks, is fundamental of the two types of civilization, Indian and European. When God wanted to give Prithvi his deliverance from the wheel of life, he replied 'The sages, O Lord, lead a life of retirement, away from human habitations, actuated mostly by a desire for their own salvation, without thinking of the welfare of others. I, however, do not seek my own liberation, leaving other poor mortals to their fate.' (Srimadbhagabata, Skanda 7, Chapter 9). On the other hand, Positivism and humanity are according to G. L. Dickinson 'the dominant forms of thought and feeling in the West'.

* I maintain that the teaching of our philosophy is not virile and practical for the very reasons cited by An Old Alumnus to prove that it is so. As I have already said, it reduces all practical antagonisms into an all-embracing, and therefore ideal and fanciful, unity, and by making us tolerant of evil robs us of the energy and the incentive to combat it in the battlefields of life. The "all-comprehensive" character of our philosophic culture, again, instead of issuing in right conduct, which is the true test of a practical teaching, makes it possible for the highest products of the university

that I see before me to talk of the inexorable law of Karma and at the same time worship Saturn Satya Pir, or the Snake god in the firm belief that they will preserve their families from harm. Even a foreign observer like Sidney Low did not fail to observe that 'the educated Hindu sometimes recoils at the Higher Thought with the Lower Act in a startling fashion'. Undoubtedly Hindu philosophy has a most elevating effect on noble minds who can rightly understand its principles, as I freely admitted in my last article. An Old Alumnus cites the authority of Vivekananda to prove that Hindu philosophy is virile and practical. The apostle of neo-Hinduism was a nationalist to the core. He wanted Hindus to be 'heroes in the strife,' to make the world ring with their achievements to have confidence in themselves and in the uplifting power of their religion. Therefore he tried to show that Hindu religious philosophy does not necessarily tend to make men visionaries, and weak in action. It was a much needed lesson that Vivekananda taught his countrymen. He took Hinduism at its very best, and illuminated its doctrines from the vast storehouse of his knowledge and experience, and infused in the minds of his audience (most of his writings are reduced from his speeches) the contagious enthusiasm of his magnetic personality. It is because Vivekananda knew well enough wherein lay the weakness of Hinduism as popularly interpreted and understood that he was at such pains to remove it, and this is what his admirers are apt to forget remembering only the flattering eulogies which from patriotic motives, and to save the mind of the Hindu from sinking under the weight of its philosophic depression he freely introduced in his lectures. It is admitted on all hands, both by foreigners and Indians who boast of the spirituality of India, that the spirit of Indian philosophy has deeply permeated the masses. Had the teaching of our religious philosophy been virile and practical, why should we be reduced to this sad plight today? Contrasting Buddhism and Hinduism, Sir T. W. Holderness in his little but informing book says that Buddhism has in the main marked the character of the people that have come under its influence for good, and declares that "the Indian caste system and the degraded position consigned in Hinduism to women are impossible in a Buddhist country." "Those who believe Karma" truly says Sir John Woodroffe, "must know that the present conditions are due to the collective Indian Karma and not to the ruling Power or anything else. For had that Karma been good our Power would not have been here" (*Sakti and Shakti*). According to the same authority, few can be and few should attempt to be Yogis the path of Bhukti Mukti (enjoyment liberation) is the best path for by far the vast majority, and the Tantric doctrine of Shakti, which holds that man is a magazine of power, and not the doctrines of the orthodox philosophical systems, is needed to revivify us and 'give to the ignorant and to others whose activity is ill-directed the religious and metaphysical basis of which they now stand in need'. Karma takes away the incentive to action by being popularly understood to mean that in this life you will have to suffer the consequences of the deeds done in your past lives, but that by laying in a store of good acts you may ensure better consequences in future lives, though you may not be able to modify the present thereby. That is to say, however much you may strive you cannot enjoy the fruits of your good acts here and now, but such enjoyment, must

be deferred to future existences. This, I know, is a spiritual doctrine, and the Shastras may be made to tell a different story, but this is the popular belief, and it has undoubtedly the effect I have indicated. It is in vain that the Bhagavata (Skanda 3, chap. 30) says that heaven and hell are to be found on this earth and have no separate existence, or the Markandeya Purana (Ch. 21) lays down that fatalism works in a vicious circle for it inclines one to inaction and thus very inactivity prevents him from achieving the success which he could otherwise have attained. The Garuda Purana (Part 3, ch. iii) emphatically declares that he who has enterprise, intelligence, courage and energy is feared even by the gods and hence man should always try to achieve success in spite of Destiny. But fatalism has so deeply tinged the Hindu mind that it has left its mark even on the physiognomy and the movements of the people and one of the first impressions 'which soon possesses the traveller in India is that of the melancholy which hangs over both the land and its people' (Sir Frederick Treves). Alluding to the appalling waste of human life in India from infant mortality and preventable diseases Sir T. B. S. Illerness says that 'the resigned pessimism and quiet melancholy which characterise the religious and the mental outlook of the people, and which seem to brood over the landscape and infect the atmosphere are not without a physical basis.' Undoubtedly we have cause for depression in the high death rate which prevails in India, but one would be bold to say that our philosophies, by emphasising the miseries of life have not helped to drive the iron into the soul, and it is a permissible question to ask whether it is desirable to introduce such pessimistic teachings into the plastic minds of our young men in the formative stage of their growth naturally characterised by buoyancy and hope. For, these fatalistic and pessimistic ideas are so deeply rooted in the popular religious philosophy of the Hindus that they are difficult to eradicate from the minds even of those who pass for educated among us.

Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's criticism is quite fair and moderate in tone, except for one line where he compares my denunciation of Pauranic morals as 'almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.' I have myself fought many a good fight with the missionaries in the columns of our monthly magazines and have therefore the right to put in a word for this much abused class. There are of course missionaries and missionaries, and Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, if he has kept in touch with them, will have found a marked change in the tone and quality of their writings within the last decade or so. Missionaries are no longer impervious to the researches of Orientalists and Indologists both European and Indian, and to the results of a comparative study of religions, and they now write with greater sympathy and deeper knowledge, and therefore their writings can no longer be overlooked or ignored even though they contain observations which wound the self-love of the educated Hindu. Besides this the educated and liberal minded English missionary (the example of Mr Andrews and others will show that this is not a contradiction in terms, as we often contemptuously imagine) comes of a race which has an inherited tradition of culture, sobriety and restraint of balanced judgment and wide outlook which places him at an advantage in discussing systems of religion other than his own. Unless therefore he makes it a part of his profession to run down the Hindu religion and can admire and

appreciate our civilisation, his views are worth listening to, and I am not ashamed to confess that missionaries of this type have succeeded in throwing new light on some aspects of Hindu culture which had escaped my unaided observation.

Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee objects to my quoting foreign opinions 'whether our philosophy is good or bad.' 'We ought to see it for ourselves,' says he. His attitude marks a healthy reaction against that form of intellectual dependence which is part of our general political subjection, by reason of which we are apt to look up to the ruling race for approval of everything we say or do. I shall only observe in passing that I have noticed this peculiar mental trait more often among the orthodox in spite of their boasted independence of judgment than among those whom Mr Basanta Kumar Chatterjee calls 'progressives.' Indeed, this could not but be so, as the habit of mind which makes us subservient to Shastric authority and unwilling to examine foreign sources also makes us equally susceptible to the ruling authority. Nevertheless, seeing ourselves as others see us is almost as necessary as seeing for ourselves if we want to advance on right lines. What is required is that we must not surrender our right of judgment to anybody. Reason, not authority, whether Shastric or foreign, must be our guide. Cultured European travellers, highly trained English administrators, European Orientalists, have all reflected on the effect of our philosophical systems on the Indian character, and particularly on the melancholy lethargy, and feeling of resignation which characterise the Indian masses, without failing to recognise their vivid consciousness of the reality of the life beyond. It is the spectator who often sees most of the game. We, who live and move and have our being in the peculiar speculative atmosphere of India and have little firsthand knowledge of the rest of the world may not agree with these foreign writers, but this does not necessarily prove that they are wrong. We have indeed had enough of self-laudation and it would do us good to ponder why we occupy such a low place in the esteem of other nations and whether there may not be anything in our social and religious and philosophical systems to which it is due, and which is susceptible of improvement. Self-confidence is absolutely essential for our national regeneration, but it should not degenerate into an obstinate refusal to profit by the example of others. It would seem that the words of that learned Sanskrit scholar, Alberuni, are as true now as when they were written in the eleventh century:

"We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan or Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow minded as the present generation is." (Dr Sachau's translation)

An Old Alumnus reads the doom of the world in the unholy alliance of western science with militarism. Readers of this magazine will have noticed that the misapplication of science to base purposes is strongly denounced by western writers themselves. If

they have hitherto been unable to stem the tide, it is not because they fail to see the evil, as we so often do in the case of our own social diseases, but because no particular group of statesmen and no individual nation has complete control of the concatenation of circumstances which led to its abnormal growth. The shock of a world war was necessary to revivify those moral and spiritual forces which have brought home to the western nations the need of remodelling the structure of their society, with its competitive industrialism, on a nobler basis. Already the ground was somewhat prepared by socialists, philosophical anarchists, and other schools of democratic thought. The difference between the West and India lies in this: that when an evil is recognised to be such, the virile West makes a vigorous effort to throw it off from the body politic. Our political dependence is no doubt partly responsible for our inability to do so. But not only the ability, but even the honest desire, seems to be wanting among us. We prefer to lie supine in the presence of all the evils that afflict our social body and console ourselves with the thought that all is vanity, that good and evil have both their place in this world, and that in the end, and in God's own good time, though it may be some hence, things will somehow right themselves, and all will be well. The Yoga doctrine has stamped the conviction deep in our minds that till the present cycle of decadence is over, it is idle to try to strive for a better future. An Old Alumnus may rest assured that the West will not allow its fair handiwork to go to pieces before their eyes without making a mighty effort at all round reconstruction after the war is over. Already we hear of a League of Nations and other measures to banish war from this planet. If the West succeeds in keeping the demon of war off its gates even for a century, it will have performed a task never attempted in India before the advent of the British peace. The atmosphere of Europe was surcharged with electric currents, and the war was necessary to restore equilibrium and teach the European nations the moral dangers of excessive materialism. The West will know to look after itself, but what of us? There is sense in preaching to the West the dangers of excessive devotion to the material sciences, as Vivekananda and Rabindranath have done. But to preach to a nation of beggars in the same strain is either the very refinement of irony, or an egregious piece of foolish short-sightedness. We must live before we can speculate on the ultimate destiny of man. As Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar says with so much force and eloquence, when western scholars spoke of the pacifist and spiritualistic tendencies of the East the mesmerised Hindu fancied that probably he was being eulogised, but the young India of today does not feel any pride in the position of utter helplessness assigned to him. It has become necessary to remind ourselves, with Sir John Woodroffe, that 'it is absurd to talk as some do, as though India produced nothing but Sadhus, Yogis, Mahatmas, philosophers and the like. The life of India (I speak of the past) has displayed itself in all activities. It has meditated both as the man of religion and of philosophy, but it has also worked in every sphere of activity. It is significant of the variety of India's life that the same land of ascetic austerity produced the Kama Shastra (erotic scriptures) and kindred literature and art.'

An Old Alumnus in a grand finale to his excellent essay, with portions of which I am in complete agreement, looks forward to the advent of another

Avatar to teach us a new philosophy of life, based upon a broader interpretation of the ever-increasing facts that the progress of science is everyday bringing to light and for this mighty consummation he lays down, as an essential precondition, a far more general diffusion of the hidden riches of Indian philosophy through deep diving into the perennial springs itself. Deep diving into original sources is certainly necessary for the scholar, but a broader interpretation of scientific facts is possible to those only who have delved equally deeply into western science and scientific methods. The new Indian genius who will outshine Bergson must therefore have an adequate intellectual equipment, and the sun and substance of my humble plea was to provide the Indian student with the elements of such a broad modern culture before he plunges into the depths of Indian philosophy.

A word on Indian spirituality of which An Old Alumnus makes so much. Since writing my last article I have come across a book named 'Appearances' by G. Lowes Dickinson, whom Sir John Woodroffe calls an English writer of great insight. In this book Mr. Dickinson criticises American civilisation in a way which would delight the heart of an Old Alumnus. Nevertheless, he frequently contrasts the West (in which term he includes China and Japan, as their outlook on life is the same as that of Europe) with India, and his comparisons, based on personal experience of religious life in India, are instructive. The West stands for the energy of the world, for all in this vast nature, that is determinate and purposive, not passively repetitious. The religion of India refused all significance in the temporal world, took no account of society and its needs, it sought to destroy, not to develop, the sense and the power of individuality. It may or may not be the religion of a wise race, but it could never be that of a strong one. Melancholy, monotonous, austerity, a sense of perennial frost, spite of the light and heat, a purgatory of souls doing penance till the hour of deliverance shall strike this, I may add, is practically the sense in which India is described in all the Puranas as the Karmabhumi par excellence, unearthly, overearthly—this is the kind of impression left on Mr. Dickinson's mind by India, whereas in China, he found good temper, industry, intelligence, and nothing was abnormal or overstrained. The Indian does not believe in the process of time and experience, to him the world is phenomenal and unreal. Life is an evil—that is the root feeling in India. This spiritual attitude is probably an effect, rather than a cause, of an enfeebled grip on life. If conduct is to have any meaning, good and evil must be real in a real world. If they are held to be appearances, conduct becomes absurd. To regard evil as the sport of God is incompatible with the western view of religion, of which the irreducible minimum, according to the writer, is—'I believe in the ultimate distinction between good and evil, and in a real progress in a real time. I believe it to be my duty to increase good and diminish evil, I believe that in doing this I am serving the purpose of the world.' In summing up the views of Mr. Dickinson, I do not intend that they should be accepted as wholly true, but certainly they deserve to be studied as an instance of how a western thinker, who is fully conscious of the defects of his own civilisation, would regard our claim to be considered a spiritual nation. For myself, I feel convinced as a result of my study of Indian authorities, that of real spiri-

quality there has been no marked preponderance in India since historic times (the birth of Christ for instance), and that, had we really been as spiritually-minded as we claim to be, had even the *elite* of the people in India been just true and honest, in their social, political, moral and intellectual relations we should not have come to our present sad pass. We must not overlook the fact that the strong alone can afford to be just. My reading of Indian social history teaches me on the other hand that from the days of the Vedas and the Brahmanas, down to the days of the Puranas and much more so in later times, we have hankered for material joys and blessings as much as any other nation, these scriptures were full of prayers and invocations for success in the material sense. The Buddhist Jataka stories give us glimpses of a world in which religion and materialism were as intimately blended as in the Puranas. Our dramas according to H. I. Wilson reveal a society as refined as corrupt and as luxurious as any the West can show. The Mahabharata tells the tale of a race of people in whom the blood tingled in every vein with the joy of life and who placed success in this world before every other consideration. Sanskrit literature both sacred and secular is full of vivid delineations of the evils of poverty and the advantages of possessing wealth. It is only in parts of the Upanishads the different schools of philosophy and more explicitly in the Bhagavadgita that *Nishkama* as opposed to *Karma*—selfless as opposed to selfish action—was held up as the ideal of life. But even in the domain of philosophy we have the Barhaspatya (Charvaka) doctrine which according to Madhacharya is the only doctrine which the majority of living beings hold by; we have the Purusha Prakriti doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy and the doctrine of the union of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul of the Vedanta both of which being interpreted in a grossly material sense has furnished a pseudo philosophic justification for the sexual licenses of various religious sects thus showing that human nature in India in spite of her austere philosophies is just as materially inclined as the rest of the world, and lastly we have in the early middle ages the Rasasvara Daršana where the virtues of mercury and mica in rejuvenating the body are extolled, and a healthy body is rightly enough set up as the pre-requisite of philosophic studies and practices and attention is thus mainly confined to the gross material tabernacle of the soul. I have already mentioned the erotic scriptures and sculptures. We preach abnegation and renunciation but for centuries we have been fighting amongst our selves tooth and nail for our daily dwindling material possessions. We cannot sacrifice ourselves for great ideas nor achieve success on a scale conceived in the West, though our scriptures proclaim

racial temperament. It is this temperament, this attitude towards the realities of existence, which has got to be reshaped and co-ordinated with and adjusted to our needs in view of the growing complexity of the problem of national existence and progress and my appeal is, therefore, for a sane, sober, and pragmatic outlook on life, which suffused as much as you like by poetry, emotion, grandeur and nobility of sentiment, may yet retain its hold on reality and thus furnish us with a coign of vantage from which to fight for our place in the sun in the strenuous competition of the modern world.

JULY 3, 1918

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On The Study Of Indian Philosophy In Indian Universities

I have watched with interest the controversy in the pages of your valuable journal on the above subject. It seems to me that nearly all that may be said in favour of Lord Ronaldsday's speech has been brought out in the two notes published on the subject in your July number. It would be profitable, however, to make one or two more points. They both rise out of the Editorial comments in your April number. Do British students learn philosophy to begin with as *English* philosophy or *Anglican* philosophy, or *Christian* philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras etc neglecting modern philosophy? Questions like this reveal an ignorance of what is considered to be the proper study of philosophy at least in England. It is true that the English student does not learn English philosophy to begin with but he certainly begins with Greek philosophy in

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any respectable university. And nothing can be more proper since the greatest part of European civilisation is built up out of Greek culture. If we should appeal to the example of English universities for the study of English or European philosophy in preference to our own, we would have to admit that our civilisation has no basis of its own and that it has to seek a basis in European culture. Surely, this lies farthest from the intentions of the Editor at the time he penned these remarks. The principle observed in the procedure of Western universities is that in order to understand any subject properly one ought to go as far as possible to the root of the whole affair, as otherwise the context of everything that follows will be lost and the result will be only an inadequate comprehension. In these days of "practicality" even enlightened universities make little provision for such study. But a proper study of philosophy is still practicable at the premier English university—Oxford. I may add here that at least in that university an Indian student of philosophy who says he knows nothing of Indian philosophy in some form or other is not held in much esteem.

The editorial remarks complained of seem further to assume that the business of education is somehow to make the students assimilate the truth in a *jeune* form. This I fear has been the curse of the educational system in India. The aim of education or at least that much of it which one gets in a university, is not to teach the truth but only the way of looking for truth. In other words the object of education is to inform us about methods, not results. If truth could be grasped by any process of university education alone it would not be worth having. The Indian student has had always the idea presented to him that within a certain time he must acquire a certain amount of information, i.e. he must be able to reproduce that mass of information whenever called on to do so. In my opinion it makes little difference in the interests of true knowledge that the occasion when the reproduction takes place is not academic but some need of practical life. The informing ideal of a university should be knowledge for knowledge's sake. So long as this is the ideal there can be no indecent hurry to amass knowledge to find a short cut to truth. It is the observance or the falling away from this ideal that distinguishes the true from the merely commercial universities. He that runs can read the application to our universities. What is essential, then, is that our students should acquire as systematic a knowledge as possible of the methods of philosophical research and not merely get to know and acknowledge the system of philosophy in fashion. And if all this talk in other fields about what is and what is not suited to our national genius is not a farce it follows that the best means of acquiring the philosophical knowledge required is the study of our own systems of philosophy, however antiquated they may be. It has been asserted by some (I believe with a good deal of reason) that the Oriental and the Occidental methods of research are essentially different. If this is the case, surely it would be only proper that the Indian student should learn the Indian in preference to the European system.

The analogy attempted between Indian Philosophy and Indian Chemistry fails. The real reason for the neglect of Indian Chemistry lies in the science not having found translators and exponents of the eminence of Prof. Max Müller and his like. This is a regrettable fact still more regrettable is it that our

own sciences are neglected in the absence of foreign admirers. Most regrettable of all is the absence of sufficient inducement or scope for the study of Sanskrit in the present state of our university organisation. And indeed this is the only proper reply to His Lordship—that while we are profoundly thankful to him for his advice we cannot but regret our inability to adopt it, the present position of Indian languages being what it is in our educational system. We never lack good advice, but it is up to His Lordship to find means for the effective adoption of his advice.

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Editorial Note. I have not been able to understand why the Principal of Madura College has treated me to this long lecture. In the April number my object mainly was to indicate what in my opinion *beginners* in philosophy ought to study. I never said that Indian philosophy ought not to be studied by Indian students; on the contrary, I wrote "it would be best, as now, to make Hindu philosophy a subject of postgraduate study, for students whose critical faculty has somewhat matured." For the B.A. degree a student studying for honours in philosophy may be allowed to include in his *Sanskrit course* a philosophical text in the original.

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I beg to apologise for a grave mistake in my article on Calcutta University Reform in the July number, p. 17, column 1, paragraph 1, where it is asserted that the Hon. Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya opposed the proposal to allow the teachers of the affiliated colleges to elect a certain proportion of the Fellows. The real fact is that the Hon. ble. Doctor, on 18 March 1904, moved an amendment proposing that ten of the Fellows should be elected by the registered Heads of or Professors in institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers.

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All teachers serving the University directly who (the called) professors or lecturers were according to him, to have the franchise, but in the case of the affiliated colleges it was to be restricted to such teachers as were dignified with the title of professors, ('lecturers' being excluded here)

K. V. A.

II

[After the receipt of the communication from K. V. A. printed above, we received the contribution printed below—Ed., M. R.]

An article entitled 'Calcutta University Reform' was published in the last number of the Modern Review under your editorship. In that article statements have been allowed to appear which are manifestly untrue. Statements are made with an air of firsthand knowledge but they really portray absolutely the opposite of truth. An assertion is made that Sir Asutosh Mukherjee opposed in 1901 the proposal of extending the franchise to College Professors of electing representatives to the Senate of the Calcutta University. The writer of the article makes people believe that he has got the information from the Proceedings of the Governor General's Council but as a matter of fact it was Sir Asutosh Mukherjee himself who proposed that ten members of the Senate be elected by registered Heads of, or Professors in Institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers.

I give below some extracts from his speech when the amendment was before the Council.

(Pp. 151-53) 'I do not desire to conceal my deep regret that the Bill as amended, makes no provision for election by the constituency which I have named—a constituency which, in my opinion has the first and foremost claim on the University. If it be the object of the Bill to secure for the Universities an academic Senate and also to secure the closest possible co-operation between University and College authorities, I think that it is essential that the right of representation on the Senate should be conferred by statute upon those who carry on the educational work of the Colleges affiliated to University, and I regret to have to say that the omission to provide for such representation does in my judgment, appear to be a grave defect in the Bill. It seems clear to me that an election by the Faculties can in no sense and in no manner replace an election by teachers. As to the body of Graduates who will form our electorate, members of the teaching profession are in a hopeless minority. I venture to point out that we may well have an election by College Professors who, whatever their individual aims and interest may be, are united by one common tie, namely, that they have all devoted themselves to the carrying out of that educational work which it is the object of this Bill to promote. I further desire to point out that although teachers may be, and will be, nominated by the Chancellor, such nomination can hardly replace an election by teachers themselves. Indeed it would not be difficult to point out instances in which teachers of distinction, European and Indian, in Government service or in private employ, have not been put on the Senate for many long years, and the reason is not far to seek, such must be the inevitable consequence so long as we have teachers of eminence who are either unable or unwilling to press their claims upon the Government, so that appointment to the Senate may not be unduly delayed or indefinitely postponed. If the right of election is conferred upon teachers, these are precisely the men whose claims

are likely to be recognised by the electorate. My Lord, is there any doubt that the body of teachers we now possess or are likely to possess in future, whatever their shortcomings may be may safely be entrusted with the privilege of election? If there is any reasonable foundation for such doubt, I am afraid, My Lord, we are in a very bad way and no amount of legislation will be of any practical benefit. So far as I am concerned I affirm without the slightest hesitation that the College teachers we have at the present moment may be implicitly entrusted with the privilege of election. But the cardinal point of my scheme is not merely that there should be an election by registered College Professors, but that such an election should be made from amongst their own body. I do not entertain the slightest apprehension that an electorate like this, composed of Professors who are mostly Graduates of Indian or European Universities and who represent the interest of all the Colleges in the country will in any way abuse the privilege conferred upon them."

(Pp. 161-63) 'Five of my Honble colleagues have addressed the Council on my motion. Every one of them has belonged to the profession of teaching at some period of his life and so it is a source of unforgotten regret to me that four of them should have opposed my motion. I venture to point out that the real question is not whether the principle of election can be extended to this length or that length, but whether the constituency for whom I am pleading is qualified. Are our teachers throughout the country qualified to be trusted with the principle of election? If they are not, let us say so in unmistakable terms, and I add without hesitation that if that be our decision and if our teachers really deserve this want of confidence, the sooner we throw this Bill into the wastepaper basket the better for every one concerned. I adhere to the opinion that the practical objections which have been raised against my scheme are really of no weight and that the time has come when this experiment ought to be begun and I add without any hesitation that if the present Government do not make this experiment, the time will come when some future Viceroy, such as Lord Lansdowne, will do so, and that the credit will belong to some future Viceroy of putting this measure upon the Statute book."

(Imperial Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, 1904)

I request the favour of your giving this letter as much publicity as the original article, and as I have no desire to shelter myself in anonymity, I subscribe my name as

SATISCHANDRA BASU
PROFESSOR, VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE

Administration of Civil Justice—A Vindication

"Philosophy would wish to teach us that *admirari* is the highest wisdom. Yet in ancient times the power of admiring was the greatest blessing bestowed on mankind—of these pregnant words of the late professor Max Müller one is forcibly reminded on a perusal of certain remarks offered by a writer assuming the pseudonym of 'Justice' in the last June number of the *Modern Review* in the course of an article entitled "Administration of Justice in the Presidency of Bengal." The remarks referred to occur under the sub-head 'Civil Justice of the said article in which the whole body of Provincial Judi-

cial Service officers have come in for a goodly share of blows and bruises from 'Justice's judicial rod. The more serious of the charges levelled against the officers known as Munsifs are these—(1) That "some officers are so deficient in English that they cannot properly record the deposition of witnesses in that language and the result is that they leave out things which they cannot translate into English or write one thing for another. Some officers are found unable to write in English a proper judgment. (2) That owing to their being posted to places other than their own districts "not only are they (the munsifs) ignorant of the men appearing before them as suitors or witnesses but are also necessarily to some extent ignorant of their manners and customs and of local conditions. (3) That 'some officers show very lamentable ignorance of common principles of law and incapacity to understand easy facts'. (4) That 'many officers are ever anxious simply to hurry on in order to win credit by turning out the largest number of disposals within the shortest time and are unwilling to try cases with reasonable care and patience'. And (5) that the net result is that "litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling pure and simple. Good cases are lost, and bad cases or false ones won."

Now, though I hold no brief for the large body of officers in question who can certainly afford to pass over with silent contempt these puerile accusations and will doubtless survive these irritating pin pricks, in common fairness which is due to all, be they official or non official, I feel called upon to add a word or two under each of the heads of charge in order to enable the unprejudiced reader to judge for himself whether our Justice's pronouncement can be considered as characterised by soundness and maturity of views and justice to the parties concerned or, on the contrary, it betrays the same lack of reasonable care and patience, the same anxiety to hurry on, the same ignorance of the real conditions which in others he has anathematized with a pious indignation worthy of the Roman Pontiff. I take up the accusations in the order in which they have been stated above.

(1) It is well known that the Provincial Judicial Services are manned by M.A., B.L.S. of the Calcutta University, the High Court with which the appointments practically rest, always insisting upon the recruits possessing the M.A. degree, besides the B.L., or at least upon their having secured high place in the B.L. examination. If therefore the *ex cathedra* assertions of Mr Justice have to be accepted as gospel truths, one must be prepared for a wholesale condemnation not only of the Bengali graduates and their *Alma Mater* but also of the whole Bengali people as regards their mental and moral calibre and potentialities and therefore of their whole future as a race. And I doubt if there be any, with the honourable exception of Mr Justice of course, who would have the hardihood of thus branding, tarring and feathering a noble institution like our university and a whole race of men with equanimity. Mr Justice seems to have very conveniently forgotten that the thousand and one nameless little things of every day life of the common people that have usually to be narrated in minutest detail in our Law Courts and have to be rendered into English off hand as they are related are far removed from the 'things of beauty' that easily lend themselves to graceful poetical expression. In fact, I should think it would be no exaggeration to say that these dry as dust details would very often tax to the utmost the capacity of

the best cultured Indian scholar, seated at leisure in the serene atmosphere of his study and equipped on the right and left with tomes of lexicons and dictionaries to aid him at a pinch, to be faithfully translated into a foreign tongue like English whose intricacies of idioms spirit and shades of signification only very few among those who are not born Englishmen can master after a life long application. If therefore the deposition and judgments recorded in English by Bengali Munsifs are not literary masterpieces or always faithful translations the blame must not be laid at the door of these officers but of the natural human limitations and the system under which those officers have to work. I for one am an advocate of not only the evidence but also judgments being recorded in the vernacular, and that for more reasons than one which need not be entered into here.

(2) Are the manners and customs and local conditions of different districts of Bengal really so divergent as Mr Justice would have us believe? The testimony of experience and common sense however points to the contrary conclusion. Then again, if Judicial officers of a district be recruited from within its own bounds, as advocated by Mr Justice knowing human nature what it is one may well apprehend that the prescribed remedy would prove worse than the supposed malady.

(3) To support the conclusion of Mr Justice that some of these officers (who by the way, are the best products of our university representing the cream of the Bengali people) after some years of theoretical study and practical training in law and procedure are ignorant of the rudiments of law and unable to grasp 'easy facts,' something more than mere dogmatic assertion is required in order to carry any weight or conviction.

(4) & (5). Those who are acquainted with the working of the civil courts and the conditions under which the Judicial officers in this province have to work and therefore can judge with fairness and sympathy, would indignantly repudiate the insinuation that these officers deliberately and of their free will hurry on, simply to win the credit. For, who does not know that the persistent demand from above to hurry on and show the largest output hangs upon their devoted head like a veritable Damocles Sword and that quantity and not quality is the test of efficiency? And yet the number of officers who strive not only to satisfy their earthly Providence, i.e., their official merits but also their own conscience and the litigants are not as limited as Mr Justice seems to think. It really does one's heart good to see these hard tasked officers extort the unstarved encomiums from those who are not only competent to judge but not given to unmeasured praising or using words without careful weighing such as high Executive officers in charge of departmental portfolios. Judges of the High Court and even the Anglo Indian Press. The suggestion therefore that as a rule 'good cases are lost and bad or false ones won' calls for no serious consideration. I must not however be misunderstood. It is not my contention that these officers are one and all so many Daniels come to judgment. What I contend is, not that the present administration of civil justice is free from all blemishes and needs no improvement or reform, but that its defects, speaking generally, are attributable to the system and the policy thereof rather than to the personnel of the provincial service. Let the Government change its 'angle of vision', let considerations of justice pure and simple and not those of public finances be the sole motive of those

who frame the machinery of judicial administration —let the dead weight of constant fear of falling short of the inexorable test of *quantity* be removed and thereby allow a sense of self respect and real responsibility of a judicial independence to grow up and

lastly provide for the incentive to show better work by holding out better prospects better emoluments and quicker promotion and there will much of the real existing evils disappear, but not till then

FAIR PLAY

NOTES

A State Prisoner's Petition.

Early last month we received a copy of a petition submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council by one Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, a state prisoner now in Rajshahi Central Jail. It contains allegations of incredible cruelties and revolting ill treatment. One extract from it will suffice. The prisoner thus describes what happened on the fifth day after his arrest —

'That on the 5th day at about 5 p. m. I was again taken to the office at Kyd Street. There the officer (of the first day according to the proposal of an officer in European costume called and they four took me to the latrine. There one man took hold of my hands another head and the officer in European costume pressed my nostrils and the Methar put a commodious of urine mixed with stools and thrust and poured it all over my face. Then they kept me in my cell and did not allow me to have a wash. All these days I was not allowed to take my bath and got only 2 or 3 lachis for food and that too not every day.

We do not know whether this petition has reached the Viceroy's hands. If it has the public should be informed what has been done with it. If it has not it is to be hoped His Excellency will order it to be placed before him, and cause an *open* enquiry to be made.

Allegations of Torture

We cannot understand why Lord Ronaldshay spoke so triumphantly of the results of the *secret* enquiry made by two Government nominees, one a Government servant and the other a former Government servant, into the allegations of torture of political suspects placed before the Viceroy by Mrs. Annie Besant. The police were the party accused of unlawful and cruel conduct. And yet the men who were alleged to have been tortured were kept in police custody in a sort of solitary imprisonment before being placed before the

two members of the Committee for examination. After their examination, too, they were taken to their place of compulsory domicile under police escort. It does not appear from Lord Ronaldshay's statement that both the members of the committee thoroughly inspected the alleged place of torture, nor that any of them did so without the police coming to know beforehand that the place was going to be visited. It is surprising that any statesman should expect the public to place implicit reliance on the results of a *secret* enquiry conducted in the manner in which the one under discussion was. Considering that so many detenus, ex detenus and state prisoners have admittedly become insane, committed suicide, or died of preventable disease, one would, on the contrary, expect the Governor of Bengal to suspect that detenus and state prisoners were not treated as they ought to be.

Calcutta University Affairs

A time there was when whatever Sir Asutosh Mukherji wanted to be done was done by the Senate and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. That was not a desirable state of things. But it is equally undesirable that motions should be considered out of order for no other reason that we can see than that they were moved by Sir Asutosh. Such recently was the case with two of his motions. The present Vice-Chancellor is neither a greater lawyer nor a greater expert in University affairs, nor possessed of greater knowledge of how public meetings ought properly to be conducted, than Sir Asutosh. Why, again, were some educationists who were present at a recent Senate meeting with the knowledge and permission of the Registrar, told to leave the hall? They had acquired the right to be there on that occasion.

Jute Merchants and Cultivators.

At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta moved a resolution of which the object was to make the cultivators of jute sharers to some extent in the extraordinary good luck which has befallen the shareholders of jute mills. It is wellknown what enormous profits the latter have made. On the other hand, the cultivators of jute are worse off than before the war. The Bengal Government themselves say in a letter addressed to the Government of India :

"It is not accurate to say that the income of the cultivators in this province has risen since the war. On the contrary, they have been badly hit by the prevailing low prices of rice and jute, while confronted simultaneously with unusually high prices, noticeably for cloth, salt and kerosene oil."

Nevertheless Government could not accept Mr. Datta's resolution and do something for the cultivators of jute. Had the will existed to relieve their misery, the way could certainly have been found. One has only to consider what has been done in England. *The Review of Reviews* writes :—

"By the exercise of infinite patience and tact Mr. Prothero succeeded in carrying the Corn Production Act through a not too friendly House. By this Act minimum prices were fixed for wheat and oats for six years, a minimum wage guaranteed to agricultural workmen, and power given to the Board of Agriculture to enforce proper cultivation."

Why, then, was it beyond the power of the State in Bengal to devise some means to secure to the cultivators of jute a fair share of prosperity ?

The Internment Advisory Committee.

The following letter has been sent by the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal, to the Superintendents of Jails :—

The Advisory Committee which is to examine the cases of all prisoners under restraint in Bengal is now sitting, will you let the prisoners in your jail know that if they want to make a representation the committee will receive it if it complies with the following conditions :—

- (a) That it is in writing
- (b) That it is from the S. P. (State prisoner himself and is signed by him).
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the cases against him
- (d) That it is submitted through the censoring authority.

Any representation outside this will be discarded as irrelevant.

Any representation sent should be regarded as confidential and care should be taken that they are not directly or indirectly sent to the Press

The following letter has been addressed to the detenus by Superintendents of Police :—

The Advisory Committee which is now sitting and looking into your case amongst others are prepared to receive from you any representation you may wish to submit containing such additional facts bearing on the merits of your case which possibly you omitted from your previous statements. You must clearly understand that the Committee are only concerned with the main question whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that you have acted prejudicially to the safety of the state, and any representation you may have to make must be confined to this point. Representations regarding such matters as the treatment you are receiving while in detention or requests for transfer to a home domicile or release will not be considered : if you have any such grievances to bring to notice they should be addressed as usual to Government. On the other hand, if you have no such additional facts to represent which have not already been given in your previous statement, then to repeat them again now is clearly unnecessary. I would also make it clear to you that having more to say, the fact of your refraining from making a further representation now will in no way prejudice you.

The following are the conditions on which your representation will be received by the Advisory Committee :—

- (a) That it is in writing.
- (b) That it is from yourself and is signed by you.
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the case against you
- (d) That it is submitted through the usual censoring authority

When you have quite done with this letter will you please return it to the Sub-Inspector of Police with your signature on it in token of your having seen it. If you do not know English or sufficient English to understand the purport of this letter, the Sub-Inspector of Police has been directed to translate it to you and you are requested to sign this letter in token of his having done so.

There is no objection to the representations passing through the hands of the censoring authority, as that will convince the Committee that it has really come from a detenu or a state prisoner ; but there is nothing to show that the censoring authority will be bound to forward the representation to the Committee and that that authority will not omit or hold back any portion of it. It may be undesirable from the official point of view that the representations should not find their way to the Press ; but from the point of view of a detenu or a state prisoner, the publication in the Press of only the fact of his having made a representation might have served a good purpose. It would have enabled the Committee to ascertain whether they have got all the representations or not. During the trial of the Kutubdia detenus it came out that the C

dent of Police did not forward to Government all the letters and telegrams of the detenus. What is there to prevent some Superintendents of Police and of Jails from following a similar course now?

We are not told that the charges against detenus and state prisoners have been communicated to them. In the absence of definite knowledge of the case against them, what effective representations can they make? The representation from each person is to be 'confined to the merits of the case against him.' This presupposes that he knows the case. But does he? Even if every man had been told after his arrest what the case against him was, he ought again to have the opportunity of refreshing his memory. As the detenus and state prisoners cannot have legal help, the least that they are entitled to claim is to appear in person before the committee and tell the members all that they want to say. The members themselves may not be able to learn from the representations all that they require to know for the purpose of doing justice. They may want to ask questions in order to have additional information and this they ought to be placed in a position to do.

Mrs Fawcett's Ignorant Criticism

Mrs Fawcett has attacked the Indian National Congress and Home Rule Parties on the assumed ground that they are unsympathetic towards the political aspirations of Indian women. The real fact is that they are not at all unsympathetic. Women have always attended the Congress sessions as delegates, some have spoken there as delegates, a woman has presided over a session, another woman has presided over a provincial conference, and the Indian Home Rule League has hundreds of women members and active workers and has expressed itself in favour of women having the franchise on the same basis as men. The Indian Universities grant degrees to women, which is not the case with all British Universities.

But supposing all that Mrs Fawcett has assumed were really true that would not disqualify Indian men from having the franchise. After centuries of political freedom enjoyed by British men, British women got the vote only this year. British men had been during all these hundreds of years been opposed to women's political rights, but that did not make

them unfit for self-government. But it seems Indian men must be declared unfit for the least bit of political freedom unless they can at once prove that Indian women also are immediately to have with the men the rights which British men have to British women after a millennium! This sort of criticism is neither well informed nor honest.

A Cannibalistic Joke?

The following advertisement appeared in the *Statesman*, May 29, 1918, Dak Edition D B —

WANTED—The finely tanned skin of a German Champaign shade for making up into Ladies' Shoes. These skins are now of taintless in Paris and extensively used for the purpose above mentioned. Has anybody got one in Calcutta? Apply with price to Box 6042, Advt. Dept. "Statesman" C1907046.

Was it a joke? If so, it was not farther removed from cannibalism than is the flesh of a German from his skin.

Indo-British Association Lies

On May 6 last, Mr J. M. Parikh spoke on "Why India Wants Home Rule" at Caxton Hall, London. The following handbill of the Indo-British Association was circulated outside the Hall.

WHY INDIA WANTS HOME RULE."

Only a small minority wants Home Rule
millions have protested against Home Rule
and do not want it.
Write for the

TRUE FACTS AND VIEWS OF THE INDIAN MASSES
TO

INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION,
6 BROAD STREET PLACE, E.C.2

which has on record protests against Home Rule
from every province in India.

INDIA DOES NOT WANT HOME RULE.

On this India observes —

We always thought it was alleged that the millions of India were indifferent to politics. We challenge the Association to prove their claim that millions have protested against Home Rule and do not want it. But what on earth are the Association doing in the City? Is this another commercial speculation paid for by "big business" in India with a view to preserve the prescriptive rights of British commercial houses to exploit the raw materials of that country?

It is very unfair that the Sydenhamites should be allowed to carry on their sinister propaganda whilst Indians are prevented from visiting England to contradict their lies.

East Indian Railway—State versus Company Management

Letter No 188 F 16, dated Simla, the 4th 5th April, 1918, from the Secretary, Government of India, Railway Department (Railway Board) to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, runs as under —

"I am directed to refer again to the question of State and Company management of Indian railways which was raised in the Railway Board's letter No 188-F 16 of 27th June 1916. In your reply of 18th October 1916, your Chamber expressed their view as being strongly in favour of the continuance of the present system, namely management by a Company situate in London. The broad issue then placed before your Chamber was whether a system of State or Company management has the advantage under Indian conditions and an endeavour was made in an enclosure to our letter to state the arguments on both sides. A third alternative has been suggested to the Government of India, namely neither to retain the existing system intact nor to have recourse to State management but to have an Indian Company with a Board of Directors in India. The proposed Board, it is suggested, would include as the Home Boards do at present a Government Director with a power of veto for the rest of the Board there would be the commercial community both European and Indian in Calcutta and Cawnpore on which to draw. A doubt however has been suggested whether under Indian conditions and particularly in view of the fluctuations in the personnel of the commercial community, a strong enough Board could be constituted in India in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company. I am to enquire the opinion of your Chamber on the question whether it would be possible in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board of sufficient strength and permanence in India. I am also to invite the careful examination by your Chamber of the relative merits of a Board in London and a Board in India having regard to the advantages and disadvantages of either system. I am to ask you to be good enough to let me have the considered opinion of your Chamber on the questions raised in this letter before the end of May.

The Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in his letter No 1446—1918, dated the 3rd July, 1918 (published in *The Englishman* of the 10th idem) disposes of the above reference in the negative—stating that the Chamber is opposed not only to the State management of the Indian Railway but also to the alternate proposal relating to the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board in India for its management. The Chamber is, in fact, as might be expected, in favour of *status quo*, i.e. the retention of the Company management of the East Indian Railway intact with its Board in London, as at present. "Another point in favour of

the Boards being retained in London—and in the opinion of the Committee it is a point of great importance—is that the final decision on railway policy rests with the Secretary of State for India. By their location in London the Boards are in close touch with the India Office, and were they to be located in India this great advantage would be gone." How does this fit in with the Montagu Chelmsford Reform Scheme recently published which proposes to delegate greater powers to the Government of India,—is not quite intelligible to us. But that's neither here nor there, for it matters us little what the Bengal Chamber of Commerce says or suggests in this connection and we have no quarrel whatever in the matter with that august body. When, however, we find the Government of India still dallying with the matter in the manner indicated in their letter quoted above and wavering still as to whether it should assume complete control and working of the East Indian Railway with effect from 1st January, 1920, after serving upon the Company a notice to that effect, in terms of the contract, we are, we must confess, much disappointed. One of the charges hurled against the assumption by the Government of the management and complete control of the Indian Railways is its alleged inefficiency. While even the man in the street knows with what efficiency the Posts and Telegraphs as well as the works of Irrigation in India are carried on by the direct agency of the State, is it not somewhat strange that this charge of inefficiency of the State in the working of its Railways should continue to be dinned into our ears, again and again? If not for anything else, at least to give lie direct to this charge of inefficiency the Government of India should, without further hesitation, assume complete control of Indian Railways now under Company management, which is needed, besides, in the interests of the Indian tax payers, as we have, again and again, pointed out in these columns.

The lines owned by the late East Indian Railway Company were purchased by the State in 1879, and all the contracts then subsisting between the Secretary of State and the Company (excepting those relating to debentures or debenture stock) were determined. The purchase price was £32,750,000, and it was provided that this should be paid in the form of a termin-

able annuity of the amount of £1,473,750 payable from the 1st January 1880 to the 14th February 1953. One fifth of the annuity was deferred, and the holders of this portion (representing a capital of £6,550,000) constitute the present East Indian Railway Company.

By the contract of the 14th November 1899 the Government and the Company mutually agreed that they will not determine the contract dated the 22nd December 1879 before the 31st December 1919. On that date, or at the end of any succeeding fifth year thereafter, either party may determine the contract by giving two years' previous notice.

The following tables will give the intelligent reader not an inadequate idea as to the huge loss sustained, by the State, and therefore by the people, by the present arrangement of working the East Indian Railway, during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1917 —

Year	1912 13	1913 14	1914 15
Mileage open (Miles)	2 331 09	2 424 20	2 445 63
	Rs	Rs.	Rs
Total Capital outlay	63,49 50 982	66 70 44 170	70 51 95 87
Gross Earnings	10,15 30 003	10 26 9 831	10 35 97 327
Net Earnings	6 32 20 565	6 13 38 000	6 25 79 018
Interest	1 76 75 177	1 35 41 326	1 48 59 653
Annuity	2 16 15 000	2 16 15 000	2 16 15 000
Company's share of surplus profits	25 95 359	24 12 112	24 04 791
Gain to the State	2 63 35 034	2 37 69 564	2 36 60 074

Year	1915 16	1916 17
Mileage open (Miles)	2 448 22	2 495 26
	Rs	Rs
Total Capital outlay	71 50 37 347	72 11 74 810
Gross Earnings	10 51 90 203	11 08 91 903
Net Earnings	6 39 64 189	7 10 37 920
Interest	1 60 07 057	1 62 94 019
Annuity	2 16 15 000	2 16 15 000
Company's share of surplus profits	24 27 809	28 06 458
Gain to the State	2 39 19 373	3 03 27 443

In this connection we are glad to quote the following from *The Bombay Chronicle* —

Speaking in the House of Commons the other day Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, described the beneficial results of the complete State control which is now being exercised over English railways in the national interest.

Passing to the control exercised by the Board of Trade, he dealt with the railways of Great Britain which were the first large undertakings to be brought under control by the State. This control had been thoroughly satisfactory. It had been possible

through the unified system of control to operate the railways as a single unit. They had thereby secured the maximum of efficiency and had been able to make very substantial economies. Goods were sent by the shortest routes quite irrespective of any company boundaries; there was a common use of railway companies' rolling stock and to a very considerable extent trades wagons were used for the general trade of the country. It was now a common practice to operate much heavier trains and the loading per wagon was very much heavier than it was prior to the war. Notwithstanding the number of men who had been withdrawn from the country, the railway companies were carrying more passengers exclusive of military account than they had ever carried before, and the goods traffic, quite independently of traffic on Government account, was also heavier than at any time in their history.

The Indian public expect similar and other advantages to accrue if the railways in India are taken entirely under State control which they could only be if they were State managed. The Bengal Chamber does not touch on the arguments which the advocates of State management have advanced over and over again. It does not deal with these arguments for the simple reason that they are unanswerable. They are based on the fundamental conception that the railway system in the country must conduce to the convenience and comfort of the Indian people and to the industrial and commercial development of the country. The present system not merely disregards the convenience and comfort of the bulk of the passengers who make the profits of railway companies, but it also places the Indian industrialists at a great disadvantage as compared with European industrialists. And it is the latter fact which explains why the Bengal Chamber is anxious to let things be as they are.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEE

The Montagu Chelmsford Report and Lord Durham's Report

In the copy of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which we received from the press censor's office, there was enclosed a "summary" made under official auspices which gave expression to the opinion "The report in which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have embodied their recommendations on constitutional reforms in India will rank with the historic document in which Lord Durham laid the foundations of the constitution of Canada." This is a rather risky prophecy. But though one may not know what future there may be in store for the Montagu Chelmsford Report, one need not feel any hesitation in saying that Lord Durham's Report was fundamentally different in spirit as well as in its recommendations from the one drawn up by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. Their Report takes the incapacity and unfitness of Indians for granted, and provides all

sorts of checks and safeguards to prevent any possibility of mistakes being made by them. It is assumed that British officers serving in India are more interested in maintaining peace and order in the country than the people and their leaders. It was in a far different spirit that Lord Durham approached his task when he sat down to write his Report "The colonists," wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers, and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy. In consequence of Lord Durham's report, an Act was passed in 1840 effecting the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and making the colonists masters in their own house. What was the state of education among these people at that time? What public spirit and capacity for mutual co-operation had they given proof of? How had they succeeded in local self-government? We read in Lord Durham's report "It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the habitants. No means of instruction have ever been provided for them and they are almost and universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing." It is also written that "a great proportion of the teachers could neither read nor write." "In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control." "French and British combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonise even in associations of charity." Sir John Bourinot says that at that time there was great racial bitterness among those two sections of the people. Commercial rivalry

increased their mutual dislike and jealousy. In consequence 'trade languished, internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and immigration fell off.'

Yet Lord Durham advocated the immediate grant of full responsible government to Canada. The Montagu Chelmsford Report displays no such courage, magnanimity, and faith in human nature.

The Touchstone of Logic

Dr S. Subrahmanya Aiyer recently wrote in the course of a letter to the Madras papers —

If a scheme of reforms is produced by any section of our countrymen we have a duty to carefully examine that scheme. Anything which organates with foreigners violates the principle of Self-determination and therefore time and energy should be economised in dealing with them. The Montagu Chelmsford Report falls in the second class and a strong wholesale and prompt rejection is all that is necessary.

In a world which is full of opportunists and 'practical' politicians, there is certainly need for men who would strongly take their stand on principles and would not shrink from enunciating their strictly logical conclusions. British statesmen and their Allies have shouted times out of number that they have been fighting all these years for the principle of Self-determination to enable peoples or nations to devise and choose their own forms of government. They have not said that the dependent peoples of the British Empire were not to have the benefit of this principle. Dr S. Subrahmanya Aiyer was therefore, quite within his logical rights in saying that it was for Indians to say what form of government they would have, it was not for foreigners to devise one for them and impose it on them. Nay, it was necessary that British statesmen should thus be logically hoisted on their own petard as it were!

But unfortunately Dr Subrahmanya Aiyer himself does not seem to have sufficient faith in the principle of Self-determination in the abstract, for in the sentence following that in which he advises rejection of the Montagu Chelmsford scheme, he modifies that strictly logical piece of advice by saying that if any

scheme does not give the final goal of full responsible government in India and indicate the steps towards its realisation it should not be accepted.

Nevertheless we are grateful to him for reminding us of the majesty of the great principle of Self-determination. If the selfishness of the British people and the weakness and servility of the Indian people prevent both the peoples from following it in practice it is not the principle that is to blame but these peoples.

Milk, or Water mixed with Powdered Rice

The Brahmin warrior Drona tells the following story in the *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata* section 133 relating to his son Aswathama.

It so happened that one day the child Aswathama observing some children's sons drinking milk began to cry. At that time I was beside myself that I lost all knowledge of direction. Instead of asking him to go and buy a few cows I was desirous of obtaining a cow from one who had many and for that I wandered from county to county. But my wanderings proved unsuccessful for I failed to obtain a milk cow. After I had come back unsuccessful some of his playmates gave him water mixed with powdered rice. Drinking this the poor boy from experience was deceived into the belief that he had taken milk and began to dance in joy saying, *O I have taken milk I have taken milk!* Beholding him dancing with joy and his playmates smiling at his simplicity I was exceedingly touched. Hearing also the derisive speeches of busy bodies who said, *Fe upon the undgent Drona who strives not to earn wealth!* whose son drinking water mixed with powdered rice mistaketh it for milk and danceth with joy saying, *I have taken milk I have taken milk!* I was quite beside myself. Reproaching myself much I at last resolved that even if I should live cast off and censured by Brahmanas I would not yet forsake the source of wealth be anybody's servant who is ever hateful.

Indian politicians have been discussing for the last few weeks whether the Montagu Chelmsford Reform Scheme has given them milk or water mixed with powdered rice. That it is not pure unadulterated milk admits of no doubt. It is possible that it is water mixed with powdered rice. Whatever it may be our political Aswathamas should be wiser than to dance in joy saying, *We have got milk we have got milk!* The free peoples of the earth who know by experience what milk is cannot but decide us if we mistake water mixed with powdered rice for milk.

Our own opinion is that the mixture consists of 5 per cent milk and 95 per cent water mixed with powdered rice. This is a rough estimate not the result of careful chemical analysis.

Indian Reform Bill Being Drafted

Paragraph 354 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms says —

In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask therefore of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report. — Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike.

When the report was published it was given out that the Cabinet had not yet considered it which meant that such consideration by the Cabinet involved the possibility of important or unimportant changes in the proposals contained in it. The pledges given that opportunity for full discussion will be afforded also pointed to the possibility of change.

But can it be that all this was after all mere make believe or camouflage, and that there is no probability of any important change being made in the proposals? It is true discussion has not been prevented in India. But full discussion in England is of far greater importance now than in India. To that country, however, we cannot send any delegates to place our views before the British public. So the discussion there is one-sided. Thus the pledge that opportunity will be given for full discussion has been broken. But even if such opportunity had been given would it have been of much use? Reuter cabled the following message from London on July 15 —

In the Commons replying to Commander Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that a bill embodying his and Lord Chelmsford's proposals was being drafted. He could not say whether the drafting would be finished in three months. It was a very complicated business.

Mr. Whyte asked — When will the standing committee on Indian affairs be set up?

Mr. Montagu replied — I cannot answer that question until the Government has decided its policy.

If the Cabinet has not considered the Report and the Government has not decided its policy why is a bill being drafted? Ordinary bills are drafted after Government has made up its mind and settled its policy as regards the subject of the bill. It is difficult to understand why a bill relating to fundamental changes in India should be drafted before Government has considered the proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and decided its policy. Or are such consideration and such decision of policy mere

formalities to be gone through at some convenient future date, and hence they need not stand in the way of the drafting of the bill, as they cannot possibly result in any important changes in the bill? If that be so, discussion must also be practically useless. But the Report says 'Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non official alike.' Where does the benefit come in? We know bills may and do undergo important modifications before they are passed, when the interests of powerful British parties are affected. But there is no strong party either within the British Parliament or outside, which is at all likely to exert its influence to obtain for Indians more political power than the Report proposes to give them. The probability lies rather in the opposite direction.

Puffing the Reform Scheme

Our impression that the Reform Scheme is not likely to undergo any important modification is strengthened by the loud acclamations with which it has been generally received in the British Press. British politicians like British traders know how to puff their goods. The Report has been so extolled to the skies as if it recommended that the people of India should be immediately liberated and made independent! Men of British descent have even expressed grave doubts as to whether educated Indians would be able to prove themselves fit for exercising the rights which the Report proposes to confer on them! After all this the wonder is that large numbers of Indians having 'a stake in the country' have not declared in public meeting assembled that the Report is too much in advance of the times and that the proposals should be considered five centuries hence. The encomiums bestowed on the Report in the British Press are calculated to create an impression among the Allied nations and in the civilised world in general that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are a feat in statesmanship unparalleled in history for boldness and generosity. The attacks on the Report in the same Press, not so much in evidence as the panegyric, are calculated to produce the same impression in an indirect manner. They are meant to lead the world to believe that the British people are by their excess of

liberalism, generosity and boldness going to produce a political revolution in India similar to the Russian revolution. But how far removed from the reality are both the encomiums and the denunciations! And how hollow all this camouflage!

The Political Uniqueness of India

In the world's history no nation ever obtained self government by such stages or compartments as are proposed in the case of India. In the government of the whole country of India we are still only to criticise and influence, we are not to control the Government. In the provinces we are to have in theory control over some politically 'unimportant' or 'non essential' subjects, the ministers in charge thereof being subject to the advice, guidance and control of the Governor. The Governor, the Governor General and the Secretary of State are to have the power of the veto. The Government of India are also to have the power of overriding legislation. The Governors and the Governor General are to have the power of dissolving their legislatures which, as they are not like constitutional rulers acting in this matter on the advice of responsible ministers, they ought not to have.

It is not known what the electoral qualifications of voters are to be for the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils. The qualifications, to be decided upon by a committee, are to vary not only from province to province, but may be different even within the same province from district to district according to differing stages of political, educational and economic advancement. The 'transferred subjects' to be under the charge of 'responsible' Indian ministers have not yet been named. They are to be listed by another committee. They will not be the same for different provinces, for the provinces are not exactly at the same stage of development!

So here is a lesson for the world in the varied character of the provinces and regions of India. And neither the whole of India, nor any part of it, is fit for 'self determination', for which of course *outside the dependent portions of the British Empire*, the British people are fit. But in all regions of the world (fully in Europe) which lie beyond the of the British Empire, in case or

there is not the least difference in the political capacity of the peoples absolutely no differing stages of political development Serbians Bulgarians Belgians Montenegrins Rumanians Poles Czechs Slavs Yugo Slavs—all are equally fit for immediate independence and self-determination. When the Russian Revolutionaries drove out the Tsar and set up a republic the Allies including the British people recognised all the inhabitants of the Russian Empire—speaking numerous languages professing various religions belonging to widely differing ethnological groups at various stages of civilisation from the nomadic to the industrial—as equally fit for political independence and self-determination! But when you come to India why even Sir S. P. Sinha the Anglo-Indian Government's Show boy is not fit for Self-determination! Verily we are a unique people living in a unique country and governed by the most efficient and the most altruistic bureaucracy in the world! May we never cease to take comfort from the thought!

Charter or Chance or Charity?

Reuter has cabled to us Commander Wedgewood's advice to the people of India to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford charter and make the best of it. He may be sincere though ill-informed in his advice, but we must frankly tell him what we feel.

It is necessary for the very independent political existence of the British people to win the war. Hence all British political parties have sunk their differences so far as is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. And one of the moral weapons used to obtain victory is the declaration that the British people are fighting for the world's freedom for democracy and for the right of self-determination of nations. In order to prove the sincerity of this declaration Great Britain must show that within her dependencies she has given or is going to give effect to the principle underlying this declaration. So it is necessary that there must not be any party differences in the attitude of British politicians and journalists towards the Reform Scheme. Like efforts to win the War it is a National cause to show that India is being given her due. One is allowed to say that too much is being given her one may of course say that she

is getting just what she requires and is fit for but one must not say that nothing or too little is being given her, for that would be against the National Policy of Great Britain. Thus in judging of the worth of the Reform Scheme, we must be guided solely or mainly by our own political knowledge, acumen and experience, not by the advice of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress nor by that of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. Josiah Wedgewood.

The Report does not give us any charter. In the governance of India the most important things or functions are in the hands of the Government of India. But the Secretary of State and the Viceroy say. It is true that we do not offer responsibility to elected members of the [All India] Legislative Assembly. There is no definite or indefinite promise in the report that the Government of India will ever be responsible to the people even in any transferred subjects. Needless to say therefore that there is consequently no machinery provided for the gradual transformation of the Government of India from an 'irresponsible bureaucracy into a responsible constitutional government. So this so-called Charter leaves it to be inferred that possibly the most important affairs in the governance of India will be managed for an indefinite period or for all time by an 'irresponsible bureaucracy. Is such beautiful vagueness the characteristic of a charter? For the provinces there is no definitely fixed electoral qualification. This is to be determined by a committee, and may differ from province to province and from region to region in the same province. Is this charter like? The subjects to be transferred to Indian ministers are not named they will not be the same in all the provinces they are to be listed by another committee. Is this charter like?

Consider, again how much is left to chance and charity. The electoral qualifications and the 'transferred subjects are to be decided upon by two committees not appointed or elected by us. We are left to the mercy of men whom we cannot call to account. This is neither self-determination nor like a charter. After five years time from the first meeting of the reformed councils in the provinces we shall again have to depend on the charity, mercy, generosity or good graces of the Government of India and the

Secretary of State. And that in this wise Paragraph 260 of the report says

"After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils we suggest that the Government of India should bear applications from either the provincial Government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province and that after considering the evidence laid before them they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transfer of such further subjects to the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them with the sanction of the Secretary of State to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the ministers' powers in respect of certain transferred subjects. This examination of the question by the Government of India after the lapse of five years will be of value in enabling the allotment of portfolios to be redetermined if need be in the light of the experience gained during that time. But it is also desirable to complete the responsibility of the ministers for the transferred subjects. This should come in one of two ways, either at the initiative of the council if it desires and is prepared to exercise greater control over the ministers or the discretion of the Government of India which may wish to make this change as a condition of the grant of new, or of the maintenance of existing powers. We propose therefore that the Government of India may when hearing such applications direct that the ministers' salaries instead of any longer being treated as a reserved subject and therefore protected in the last resort by the Governor's order from interference should be specifically voted each year by the legislative council or failing such direction by the Government of India, it should be open to the councils at that time or subsequently to demand by resolution that such ministers' salaries should be so voted and the Government of India should thereupon give effect to such request. The ministers would in fact become ministers in the parliamentary sense. The councils would have power to refuse to pass the salaries and they would have to accept the consequences which constitutional convention attaches to such a vote.

It will be seen from the above that there would be the possibility of retransfer from the list of "transferred" subjects to that of "reserved" subjects and of restrictions being placed on the powers of ministers in respect of certain transferred subjects. It may be said that we must not suspect that the Government of India would exercise their powers in any arbitrary or ungenerous manner. But is it the characteristic of charters to have superabundant faith in the reasonableness, generosity and altruism of autocrats and bureaucrats? Is a world war going to happen every five years or ten years to stimulate the sense of justice, the liberalism and the generosity of British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats? British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats

are not likely to be either more just, liberal and generous or less just, liberal and generous, in dealing with India after the war than they were before the war. And in the report itself it is admitted that, with all their sense of justice, liberalism and generosity, "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government", and "that Parliament's omission to institute regular means of reviewing the Indian administration is as much responsible as any single cause for our failure in the face of growing nationalist feeling in India, to think out and to work out a policy of continuous advance". In all countries where the people have won or got charters, these have been intended to definitely raise the people from a position of dependence on the good graces of the powers that be to the position of sure possessors and enjoyers of well-defined rights of which they cannot be deprived. It may or may not be justifiable to suspect that British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats would act in an unjust or illiberal manner. But what we have the right to ask frankly is, why a Report should be called a Charter which has the effect of breeding in us a periodical beggarlike mood of expectancy.

For, the need of cultivating the mendicant mood would not cease to exist at the end of the first five years. Ten years after the first meeting of the councils established under the statute a parliamentary commission is to be appointed to review the position. "The commissioners' mandate should be to consider whether by the end of the term of the legislature then in existence it would be possible to establish complete responsible government in any province or provinces, or how far it would be possible to approximate it to others, to advise on the continued reservation of any departments for the transfer of which to popular control it has been proved to their satisfaction that the time had not yet come, to recommend the retransfer of other matters to the control of the Governor in council if serious maladministration were established, and to make any recommendations for the working of responsible government or the improvement of the constitutional machinery which experience of the systems in operation may show to be desirable." It is clear from the report that "responsible government," such as it is, will not be estab-

in any province even after a decade. The report says: 'In proposing the appointment of a commission ten years after the new Act takes effect we wish to guard against possible misunderstanding. We would not be taken as implying that there can be established by that time complete responsible government in the provinces. In many of the provinces no such consummation can follow in the time named. The pace will be everywhere unequal though progress in one province will always stimulate progress elsewhere but undue expectations might be aroused if we indicated any opinion as to the degree of approximation to complete self government that might be reached even in one or two of the most advanced provinces. The reasons that make complete responsibility at present impossible are likely to continue operative in some degree even after a decade. It has been proposed therefore 'that the further course of constitutional development in the country shall from time to time be similarly investigated at intervals of twelve years a period which represents the life of four councils under the existing regulations.' So we and our descendants and successors must learn to rouse in our and their minds the mood of mendicant expectancy to its acme first after five years then after another five years and thence forward every twelve years. No period is named or indicated at the end of which our periodical political university examinations will cease to be held and when any province and all the provinces may be declared to have graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration. Supposing such a time ever arrives, it is left entirely uncertain as to whether after all the provinces had graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration there would be any post graduate courses in Pan Indian Administration by mastering and passing in which our grand children's grand children might expect to become full fledged Masters or Doctors of Pan Indian Administration.

And this is our Charter!

Has there ever been in the world's history any Charter which laid it down that unless the grantees could satisfy the grantors that the former were good boys not only could they not have more rights but that even the natural and ordinary citizen's rights already obtained by them would be taken away—it being always

borne in mind that whatever rights the grantees acquired meant the curtailment of the privileges and powers of the grantors?

Qualifications for the Vote

The proposal that qualifications for the vote are not to be the same in the different provinces and even in all parts of the same province is defended on the ground that all parts of India and all parts of each province are not equally advanced educationally politically and economically. This sounds very well in theory. But representative institutions exist in many countries of Europe America and Asia. Are all parts of every such country equally advanced in every respect? Obviously not. Even all the shires of the United Kingdom of England Scotland, Wales and Ireland are not equally advanced in all respects. Such being the case are qualifications for the vote different in different parts of all or most self governing countries?

The differences which the Montagu Chelmsford scheme proposes to make in different parts of India as regards reserved and transferred subjects electoral qualifications and the periods after which different provinces of India may have a greater or less amount of 'responsible' government are sure to prove causes of jealousy and heart burning between province and province, Division and Division and even district and district.

Re-transfer of 'transferred' Subjects

We have seen before that if 'responsible' provincial ministers prove unfit for their charges in the opinion of the foreign rulers of India a transferred subject may be re transferred to the bureaucratic members of the Government. But if a European member of the bureaucracy, or a Governor, is incompetent will a reserved subject entrusted to him be transferred to the charge of the responsible Indian minister or ministers? Nothing is said in the Report regarding such a contingency. But it is not an impossibility. Let us mention a few examples. Whose failure was it in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamia campaign a failure which made some features of Hell visible among the soldiers in that country? The failure was on the part of some Anglo Indian bureaucrats or bureaucrats. Who were responsible for the deaths of millions of persons in the

Orissa famine of 1865-67 and the great South Indian famine of 1876-78, not to mention other terrible famines? Who failed to maintain peace and order and prevent outrages in the Mymensingh and Tipperah districts in the days of the anti-partition agitation, who failed to maintain order in several Punjab districts in more recent times, who was responsible for failing to prevent the riots in Arrah, who failed to preserve order and prevent outrages in the Barabazar and Machooabazar areas of Calcutta on more occasions than one in recent years? Was not the partition of Bengal a blunder, and did not Lord Macdonnell say openly in the House of Lords that it was the greatest since Plassey? It cannot be denied that but for this measure revolutionary ideas would not have taken root in Bengal. Even the Rowlatt Committee's report admits that "It was the agitation that attended and followed on the latter measure that brought previous discontent to a climax and afforded a much desired opportunity to Barindra and his friends" (p. 13). The responsible parties were one and all British bureaucrats serving in India. So, most incredible and astonishing though it may sound, British bureaucrats serving in India are not infallible. They may be incompetent, they may be wanting in judgment, they may even be guilty of neglect of duty, for there have been imbeciles and vicious men among them, men who were undutiful and injudicious. Therefore, in the Montagu Chelmsford Report there ought to have been a proposal that if a Governor in Council or any European member of an Executive Council prove incompetent, their charges should be transferred to Indian Governors and Executive Council Members appointed in their place. Of course, it is almost unthinkable that a parliamentary commission composed of British members should find any of their own countrymen out here incompetent, but we make the suggestion in order that the Reform Scheme may be theoretically perfect and its authors may claim to be fair and impartial.

However hard Britishers may try to make us believe that they are infallible, the attempt appears to us ridiculous. British history itself, even very recent history, shows what serious mistakes men of cabinet rank have made, what greed, speculation and corruption even prime

ministers have been guilty of, what imbecility and incompetence high place and pedigree have concealed. Therefore, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms ought to have taken for granted that both British and Indian men in authority may prove incapable or negligent, and provided the remedy. It may be argued that if one or more British bureaucrats prove unsuccessful, that does not mean that the whole British race are incapable,—incapable men may be replaced by capable ones. Exactly. But why is not the same argument to apply in the case of Indians? If one or more Indian ministers fail, why is it to be assumed that capable Indians cannot be found to replace them and therefore the subjects with which they were entrusted must be retransferred and again be made reserved subjects? It may be said in reply "O, but we British people have produced so large a number of capable men that it must be taken for granted that we can always find substitutes for nincompoops and sluggards." But as we too, have in our history, which is longer than British history, produced a very large number of successful men of all kinds, given the opportunity, we can produce the same or a larger number now and in future. Moreover, the question is not, whether the British people as a whole are more capable than the Indian people. The question is, is it right to infer the incapacity of a whole people from the failure of a few men, chosen as ministers not by their own people, but by a foreign governor, during an experiment extending over five, ten or twelve years? Certainly not. When among self governing independent peoples, ministers or other men in authority make serious, nay fatal, mistakes, as in Gallipoli, the men are called to account, but the whole people or nation are not pronounced incompetent and their affairs placed in the hands of a foreign people. Because this would be unjust and unreasonable, and because there is no strong and impartial world tribunal or world-parliament which can do it. But in the case of dependent peoples, this is done or proposed to be done, because it is easy to do it. But what is feasible is not necessarily fair and just. The right, to manage one's own affairs is a natural right, and it cannot cease to be a right even though make

serious mistakes. In fact the right to make mistakes and yet to continue to remain in charge of one's own affairs is an essential right. For that provides the only school where one may learn to be efficient.

Well has the *Philippine Review* (May, 1916) observed —

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by Westerners as short of qualifications and whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost a sight of under cover of such *advisably* prevailing belief that they (said people) are short of qualifications.

Their failures are magnified and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs and their successes not theirs and the latter are necessarily the work of their masters.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them but the same mistakes if made by dependent peoples even in the minimum degree are considered mistakes in the maximum degree deserving the most spiteful condemnation — the result of their alleged lack of qualifications character or what not.

Besides dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves for others act for them — those who for one reason or another in one way or another have assumed responsibility for their tutelage — and are always discriminated against and subject to the pleasure of their masters whose convenience must obtain.

On the other hand an independent people are free from outside prejudices none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

The Announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Montagu Chelmsford Report

The first chapter of the report on Indian constitutional reforms begins with a reproduction of the announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, and it is observed "We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." India's chequered history is a very long one. The British period of that history is neither the only one worth mentioning, nor the most glorious. And even in the British period Queen Victoria's Proclamation was a more momentous utterance than the announcement quoted in the report. But that is not the main observation which we wish to make thereupon. There is an English proverb which runs — 'Do not look a gift horse in the month,' but the people of India have followed this precept so patiently in the past with regard to public announcements and they have found such *merger* results from doing

so, that now they are inclined to look with suspicion on all new Proclamations and to say with the Latin poet that those persons are most to be feared who come with gifts in their hands.

We cannot fail to remember how the Queen's Proclamation, promising racial equality, was whittled down and how its force was explained away by Lord Curzon and others. This experience is too fresh in our memories for us not to look with grave suspicion on the qualifying paragraph in the announcement of August 20, 1918. It runs as follows —

The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be judges of the time and measure of each advance.

If the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples were a matter of concern only for the British Government and the Government of India, then there might be some reason for stating that they alone were to be judges of the time and measure of each advance. But it goes without saying that the Indian peoples themselves are far more intimately concerned in their own welfare and progress than any British Government or Government of India (as at present constituted) can possibly be. It should therefore be obvious that their voice should be heard in judging the time and measure of each advance and not merely or chiefly the voice of the British and Indian Governments.

There is a wellknown story in English History of King Canute sitting in his chair as the tide came in and saying to the incoming waves, — "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." There is something pathetic in the fallacy, which seems to be shared in common by all autocratic rulers in all ages, that they can set bounds by some statute of their own to the vast incalculable movements of national upheaval, that they can say at each moment, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further.' It is forgotten that world forces, too, have to be reckoned with. Was it as entirely free choosers of the time and measure of each advance of the Indian people that their rulers made the announcement of August 20, 1917, and wrote and published the report on Indian constitutional reforms on July 8, 1918, or did they also feel the compelling force of circumstance?

If the British Government and the

Government of India were altogether one with the Indian peoples in interest, sentiment, race and religion, there might be hope that the signs of the times would be closely watched and followed, and no very grave mistake in judgment might ensue. But the history of recent British Rule in India, as the present Report frankly acknowledges, has shown how the two elements,—the Government and the people,—have been drifting farther apart. Is it conceivable, then, that rulers of this description will be the best and wisest 'judges as to the time and measure of each advance'?

One point, of even more serious importance, is to be noted throughout the whole of this second paragraph of the Announcement. However good the intentions of the writers may have been, it has the air of the superior person about it. Opportunities of service are to be *conferred* on Indians. Indians are to be judged worthy or unworthy of more self-governing powers according to "the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." There is no open acknowledgement of self-government as an elemental human right which all men ought to share. Instead of this, there is a kind of bargaining with this very right as a thing which may or may not be conferred on Indians according to what their judges consider good or bad behaviour. It is this frame of mind, more than anything else, which needs changing, if healthy co-operation between the rulers and the ruled is to be made possible.

The British Prime Minister and other British statesmen of high rank have repeatedly declared that the present European war is a war for securing to nations the right of self-determination. But this announcement says that the British Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance. Where does the right of self-determination come in here? Were British statesmen then guilty of mental reservation, when they made their declaration about the principle of self-determination in an unqualified form and probably mentally excluded India from its benefit? Or will they have recourse to petty quibbling, saying either that the principle is meant for small nations, and India is not a small nation or that it is meant only for nations, and

the people of India are not a nation? But even in that case one might ask, Are the natives of the former German Colonies in Africa, who have been promised the right of self-determination by Mr Lloyd George, nations?

Considering both the spirit and the letter of the announcement, it must be said that in one most important, if not the most important, respect, the report is not a fulfilment nor even a step in fulfilment of the central promise contained in the announcement. The promise was that of "the progressive realization of responsible government in India." India does not mean any part of India, or even all the parts taken separately and singly, it means the country considered as a whole. Now in the report, so far as the governance of India as a whole is concerned there is neither the actuality nor even a promise of the introduction of the principle of responsible government to the smallest extent. It may be said that full responsible government must first be attained in all the provinces, before its introduction in India as a whole can be talked of. But why was not that said clearly in the announcement? It speaks of responsible government in *India* not in the provinces. We have not got full freedom even in our local bodies like the municipalities, district boards, &c. Therefore the first formula laid down in the report is "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." This rightly, has not been called "responsible government in India" nor even its beginning. If full popular control in *local* affairs cannot be called "responsible government in India," that name cannot also be given to full popular control in *provincial* affairs, when that is attained. Our argument, briefly, is this: the functionaries in charge of at least one very unimportant Pan Indian department of the Government of India must be made responsible to the people or their representatives in the legislature before it can be said that the promise of "the progressive realization of responsible government in India" has been fulfilled or begun to be fulfilled. Popular control in the affairs of parts of India,—be the parts small or large, be they villages, towns, subdivisions, districts or provinces—is not at all synonymous with "responsible government in

India" There will be the beginning of "responsible government in India" only as soon as *the people of India* begin to have control in Pan Indian matters But the third formula in the report concludes by saying only this "In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased" The report does not go further than this Therefore it does not give effect to the central principle of the announcement Moreover, far from making the Government of India responsible to the people in the least degree it actually increases in some respects its autocratic powers and releases it from responsibility to Parliament in some matters To that extent it goes against the policy underlying the announcement

The Racial Bar in the Public Services

In the summary of the recommendations contained in the report we find the following —

64 Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished

65 In addition to recruitment in England where such exists a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India

66 Percentages of recruitment in India with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services

67 In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent of the super or posts increasing annually by 1½ per cent until the position is reviewed by the commission

Recommendations like the above have been taken and explained by some advocates of the reform scheme to mean that all racial distinctions are to be abolished in the public services That is not so, as we shall presently see

If the intention of the writers of the report had been to abolish all racial distinctions, they would have recommended the holding of simultaneous competitive examinations in India and England *for all the services for which there is at present recruitment in England* They would not have merely fixed an increased percentage of the appointments to be made in India The removal of the racial bar ought properly to mean that all appointments are to be made solely on the ground of merit, irrespective of race, that is to say, that race is not to be considered either a qualification or a disqualification If such a principle were followed, and proper arrangements were

made for giving effect to it, all or most of the appointments might go to Indians or to Europeans, but nobody would be justified in making a grievance of that fact

It is to be carefully noted that 33 per cent of the *superior posts* in the Indian Civil Service are proposed to be filled in India, not 33 per cent. of *all* the posts; so that the actual number will be very small

It is also to be noted that the method of recruitment in India is not definitely mentioned If it be not by competitive examination but by some system of nomination, not only will the most deserving not get the posts but such a system will cause demoralization among a large circle of educated young men and their guardians They would try to behave in such a way as to be able to win the good graces of district officers, police superintendents, &c

The principle of race equality was explicitly recognized by the Court of Directors of the East India Company when they said that there was to be no governing caste in India In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, too, equality was promised It was Lord Curzon who started the cry of having a *corps de elite* in the public service, consisting of officers of British birth And ever since many official and non official Europeans have insisted that the *British character of the administration*, whatever that may mean, must be maintained In the present report, far from the claim of racial superiority being knocked on the head, the principle of race superiority is enunciated in a very arrogant and offensive form

In paragraph 155 it is stated —

"We have shown that the political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid and may be a very difficult process Till it is complete he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests we must retain power to protect him So with the depressed classes

In the words 'risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is,' reference is made to "people" of his own race It is assumed, contrary to the facts recorded in history, laws and newspapers from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings downwards, that the ryot and the depressed classes have been

and may be oppressed only by higher class people of their own race, not by people of the British race, too! It is assumed, contrary to the teaching of history, that the latter have always played only the part of protectors of the Indian masses. In their own country, did the higher class British members of parliament represent and consider the interests of the labouring classes from the birth of representative institutions? Do they do so now? What for, then, has the Labour Party been formed? Even an elementary knowledge of the history of parliamentary representation shows that the classes have never properly represented the masses, and that the representation of the masses has been gradually secured by successive reform acts. Yet the fact that the classes did not or could not represent the masses was never allowed to stand in the way of the British legislature acquiring full control over national affairs in all directions.

It cannot but be admitted that just as in other old civilised countries so in India, the higher classes do not fully represent the lower classes, but it is as false as it is insulting to assume that the foreign bureaucrat has sought to protect and promote the interests of the ryots and the depressed classes to a greater extent than their own educated countrymen.

But it is in speaking of the public services that race arrogance finds expression in its most offensive form. Let us illustrate what we mean by quoting some sentences from paragraph 314.

The characteristics which we have learned to associate with the Indian public services must as far as possible be maintained, and the leaven of officers possessed of them should be strong enough to assure and develop them in the service as a whole. The qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity in her public servants will be as necessary as ever to India. There must be no such sudden swamping of any service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men we must also recognise that there are essential differences between the various services and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies therefore in recruiting year by year such a number of Indians as the existing members of the service will be able to train in an adequate manner and inspire with the spirit of the whole.

Let any intelligent and honest man say whether this is the language of men who want really to do away with racial distinctions in the public services.

The "new element" is the Indian element, and as it is an inferior element not inherently possessed, like the superior British element, of "the qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity," "there must be no" "sudden swamping of any service with" this new element! Every year, suppose, some 40 or 50 new covenantant civilians join the service. If these young men are all or mostly Europeans, either they do not require any adequate training by the older men in the service, they do not require to be inspired with the spirit of the whole,—their race makes training and inspiration unnecessary, being itself a training and an inspiration,—or this training and inspiration can be very easily given them by the older British I.C.S. men. But when it comes to the question of training the young civilians of Indian birth, why, they are necessarily by their race so inferior to their fellows of British birth of the same age, that it would be very difficult to the older I.C.S. men to train and inspire them! Therefore, only a very small number of this bad lot, of this inferior "new element," must be recruited every year. Otherwise the "whole character" of the service would "suffer a rapid alteration" for the worse! And who are these young Indians who are brauded as inferior? They have stood a severe competitive test,—a proof of intellectual attainments and at least some moral worth. They have passed in riding, which speaks of their physical fitness. They have braved the seas, and the courage and self-restraint necessary to go to a distant foreign country for undergoing difficult courses of studies are indications of the possession of at least some strength of character. But it is assumed that they are inferior to their stay-at-home British competitors, whose superiority is axiomatic. Have the Indian members of the I.C.S. been found by experience to be as a class lacking in the qualities named in the report? When and by what decisive tests was this assumed inferiority established?

This is obliteration of race distinctions with a vengeance!

The writers of the report have not even dreamt that a time may come when the entire personnel of the higher services can be Indian. They say, "the

presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief'

Self-rule and Getting High Posts

There cannot be complete self rule in a country unless the personnel of the services becomes entirely indigenous. This is so obvious that in the Philippine Islands the American Government has been rapidly Filipinizing the services. Filipinization of the government service was the policy of President Mackinley in his organic letter of instructions and has been endorsed with emphasis as a principle by succeeding presidents and by most of the Governors General of the islands. The law requires that the Filipinos be given an opportunity to fill any offices for which they demonstrate their ability which will be evident from the following extract from the civil service act:

Sec 6 In the appointment of officers and employees under the provisions of this act the appointing officer in his selection from the list of eligibles furnished to him by the director of civil service shall where other qualifications are equal prefer—

First Natives of the Philippine Islands or persons who have under and by virtue of the Treaty of Paris acquired the political rights of the natives of the islands.

Second Persons who have served as members of the Army Navy or Marine corps of the United States and have been honorably discharged therefrom.

Third Citizens of the United States

So in their native land the Filipinos have the first claim to civil service appointments and their conquerors the Americans have the last claim

The extract from the report of the Governor General of the islands given below will show that the Americans have adopted the policy of Filipinization, not in pursuit of some abstract political theory, but for the sake of administrative efficiency.

In addition to the justice of the policy of Filipinization it is obvious to all that efficiency must result when capable Filipinos are placed in office, because thereby the confidence and cordial co-operation of the people are obtained. An administrative efficiency which may sparkle in the lecture room is not necessarily perceptible in action when the co-operation of the people cannot be obtained or when the opposition of the people is invited.

Americans are examined for and appointed to the Philippine civil service only when there are no properly qualified Filipino eligibles. For detailed proof, see the extracts given in the article on "America's Work in the Philippines" published in the Modern Review, for March, 1917.

Instead of laying down the policy of complete Indianization of the services in the long run and bringing it about as rapidly as possible, the Montagu Chelmsford report says in paragraph 324—

We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services, we are seeking to make the Indian people self governing. To this end we believe that the continued presence of the English officer is vital and we intend to act on that belief.

How paradoxical! You intend to make us self governing by providing that we shall have 'the continued presence' of English masters bearing the courtesy name of civil servants. And in respect of certain functions, it is said in paragraph 323 'English commissioners, magistrates, doctors and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian ministers.' It stands to reason that a race which can produce ministers to lay down policies can also furnish men able to carry out those policies, because in all countries the ministers are rightly taken to be men of higher calibre than the civil servants. So considering that the principle has been accepted that in provincial affairs all functions or subjects will be ultimately transferred to Indian ministers it being taken for granted that such ministers will be found, why could not another principle and policy be recognised and laid down that in the provinces ultimately all Government servants from the highest to the lowest will be Indians?

But, while insisting that all the services must gradually and rapidly be Indianized, for unless that is done there can be no real Indian self rule, we should not forget that self rule or responsible government is not at all synonymous with the people of a country getting all the appointments in the government of that country. Take the case of England.

When the civic struggles associated with the Magna Carta the Bill of Rights the Petition of Rights the Revolution of 1688, &c took place all the highest and lowest servants of the crown were Englishmen. When the Civil War between the royalists and the parliamentarians took place in the reign of Charles I, the government services were filled by Englishmen. The different reform acts which have been gradually making popular representation more and more of a reality, were passed during times when Englishmen held all

posts in their country, high and low. But Englishmen have understood all along that to be the servants of government is not the same thing as to be the masters of government. And popular self-rule or responsible government means that the people are to be the masters of government. So while striving to obtain all the public appointments in our country, our aim should be not merely to be servants of government but masters of government.

Communal Representation.

In the report the arguments against communal electorates have been very ably stated. Nevertheless, Musalmans are to have communal representation under the new scheme, because, "they were given special representation in 1909, and the Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities." This we can understand. But the extension of the principle of communal representation to the Sikhs in the Punjab is altogether indefensible. Paragraph 229 says :

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short sighted."

Exactly.

In the matter of communal electorates the only improvement on the present state of things is indicated in the sentence "But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters." It should, however, be noted that "a majority of voters" is spoken of, not a "majority of the population." Musalmans form the majority of the population of Bengal. But if the bureaucracy wish to give them separate representation in Bengal, they have only to adopt such voters' qualifications in the East and North Bengal districts as to make the total number of Musalman voters less than that of Hindu voters by only a dozen or two.

Power of the Purse.

The power of the purse is the very corner-stone of all popular governments. But neither in the Government of India nor in that of the provinces, are we to have the power of the purse. Freed from all technicalities, the financial arrange-

ments would be something like this. Of the total revenues of India, provincial and imperial, the Government of India will first take what is sufficient to meet all their needs. That will be the first charge on the revenues of India. The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India will have no power to modify the budget in any way contrary to the wishes of the Governor-General-in-Council.

"The budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State will continue to be advisory in character." (Paragraph 284.)

In order to put the best complexion on thus keeping the peoples' representatives deprived of the power of the purse, it is said in the same paragraph :—

"... since resolutions will no longer be defeated in the Assembly by the vote of an official majority, they will, if carried, stand on record as the considered opinion of a body which is at all events more representative than the Legislative Council which it displaced. That in itself will mean that the significance of resolutions will be enhanced : there will be a heavier responsibility upon those who pass them, because of their added weight ; and the Government's responsibility for not taking action upon them will also be heavier. It will be therefore incumbent on Government to oppose resolutions which it regards as prejudicial with all the force and earnestness that it can command in the hope of convincing the Assembly of their undesirability."

But all this means "influence," not "power."

As far as we can see, private members are not precluded from introducing fiscal legislation. They can also bring in bills bearing indirectly on the budget. In all such cases, it would be quite easy for the Governor-General in Council, if he did not like it, either to get it thrown out or to remove from it the objectionable features, by following the procedure described in paragraphs 279 and 280.

As regards the provinces,

"We propose...that the provincial budget should be framed by the executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India ; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers. The budget will then be laid before the council which will discuss it and vote by resolution upon the allotments. If the legislative council rejects or modifies the proposed allotment for reserved subjects, the Governor should have power to insist on."

part of the allotment originally provided if for reasons to be stated he certifies its necessity in the terms which we have already suggested.* We are emphatically of opinion that the Governor in Council must be empowered to obtain the supply which he declares to be necessary for the discharge of his responsibilities. Except in so far as the Governor exercises this power the budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions carried in Council.† (Paragraph 256)

So far, then, as the budget is concerned, the representatives of the people in the provincial councils will have slightly more power than the elected members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But the little power which they will have can by no means be called power of the purse. The Governor will not have any appreciable difficulty in getting and spending whatever amounts he wishes.

That "the provincial budget should be framed by the executive government as a whole," does not give any power to the people. For 'the executive government as a whole' will mean the Governor, one European official councillor, one Indian councillor *nominated by the Governor*, one or more Indian ministers chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the legislative council, and one or more European official members without portfolio. It is clear then that in the executive government as a whole, the Indian element (not elected or consisting wholly of elected members chosen by the Governor) will be weaker than the European element.

The subjects which are likely to be transferred to the Indian ministers will be such as primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c., which have never had sufficient money allotted to them. Under the new scheme, there will be several additional high appointments, and the pay and pension of the 'European' services will be increased. It is not at all likely, therefore, that the Indian ministers will have sufficient money for their subjects unless fresh taxation is resorted to. We strongly object to the odium of proposing and levying fresh taxation being thrown, and that at the very start, on the Indian ministers who will require all the popularity with and

co-operation of their countrymen that they can get to make the experiment of responsible government successful, before recourse has been had to economies both in imperial and provincial expenditure to obtain sufficient funds for education, &c. But as the peoples' representatives will not have the power of the purse in the government of India or of the provinces, economies will not be capable of being effected. The writers of the report think that Indians hold "an exaggerated view of the possibilities of economy in the reserved subjects." But we think large economies can be effected in imperial and provincial expenditure, and the salaries of high European and Indian officials can be cut down without impairing efficiency. One has only to consider the salaries paid to high officials in other countries to be convinced that in this country higher officials are paid on an extravagant scale. Many bureaucrats now swear by Mr. Gokhale. They will do well to read his Budget speeches, particularly, his speech on increase in public expenditure delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council on January 28, 1911, to be convinced that it is both practicable and necessary to cut down expenditure in many directions.

No doubt in the long run, fresh taxation will be necessary to raise India to the level of other self governing countries. But we should first be able to see what can be done by retrenchment of non essential expenditure. When we have been able thus to increase the earning power and incomes of the people, they will be able, too, to pay more taxes.

But if in the immediate future taxation must be resorted to, why should not the Governor himself obtain supplies partly in that way? Why throw the odium on the Indian ministers? Government are not unaware of the difficulties of new taxation, they know that there is little or no margin of taxation. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy write in their report (para 187) 'The defects of the present [educational] system have often been discussed in the legislative councils but, as was inevitable so long as the councils had no responsibility, without due appreciation of financial difficulties, or serious consideration of the question how far fresh taxation for educational improvement would be acceptable (italics ours). This

* The terms as suggested in paragraph 232 are 'essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects.'

is very nice Government have grave doubts as to the acceptability of fresh taxation, and, therefore, let the Indian ministers do what would most probably be unacceptable, and which on that account the bureaucracy have not yet attempted!

In paragraph 257 of the report we find it mentioned as a safeguard that "if the ministers and the legislative councils are compelled to accept allotments for the reserved subjects with which they do not agree, our proposal that a periodic commission shall review the proceedings affords another safeguard. Both the Government and the legislative council will decide on their course of action with full knowledge that their conduct in the matter will, in due course, come under review by the commission." But this is no substitute for the power of the purse resting in the hands of the people. Extravagant and unessential expenditure should be prevented and money for essential objects provided, every year. It is poor consolation that 10 or 12 years hence, a parliamentary commission may find fault with this governor or that councillor. That will not undo the harm done by the previous ten or twelve years' inadequate expenditure on essential objects and waste of money in other directions. Besides the result of all inquiries is uncertain and the parliamentary commission would consist of Englishmen chosen by English men. We cannot expect them to take the same view of things and of the relative importance of different government functions in India as we take. But self government and self determination mean that we are to decide what we require most and regulate our public expenditure accordingly.

Personal Liberty

Without personal liberty, responsible government or by whatever other name self rule may be styled is a sham. In the report, we do not find any provision for securing to the people of India a greater measure of personal liberty than they at present enjoy. On the contrary the liberty destroying provisions of the Defence of India Act stand the best chance of being given a permanent place in the statute book. All penal legislation operating over the whole of India is passed by the Government of India, that will continue to be the

case in future. And the Government of India is to be irresponsible to the people as at present, being able to pass any laws which it thinks necessary for maintaining peace and order and for good government, and being also able to prevent the passage of any law or any section of a law which it thinks prejudicial to peace, order and good government. Moreover, as both in the government of India and of the provinces resolutions of the legislature are to have effect only as recommendations, there cannot be any effective check exercised by the people's representatives upon arbitrary action, high handedness, misuse or oppression by the executive and the police. The Governor General is to retain his existing power of making ordinances and the Governor General in Council his power of making Regulations. It is said in the report moreover, "It is our intention to reserve to the Government of India a general overriding power of legislation for the discharge of all functions which it will have to perform." In the provinces, though the legislative council is to have an elected majority, the Governor is to have power to constitute Grand Committees comprising from 40 to 50 per cent of the legislative council, in such a manner as to keep for himself a bare majority. By means of the Grand Committee he will be able generally to pass any bill by certifying that it is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects, 'but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.' In the case of legislation on transferred subjects, the report gives the Governor power to prevent the passage of any law or section of a law which trenches on the reserved field of legislation. It is more over provided that all provincial legislation is to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty, and the veto of the Governor to include the power of return for amendment. From the statement of the principles according to which subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred and of the

the illustrative list of transferred subjects printed in the appendix, it is clear that the responsible Indian ministers are not for the present (for a decade or decades) to have anything to do with the administration of criminal justice, police, C. I. D., prisons, working of particular Acts, e. g., incitements to crime, seditious meetings, press, arms, etc.

From what has been written above, it will be clear that personal liberty will continue as at present to be at the mercy of the C. I. D., the police and the executive. It will not be possible for the legislature, either of the Government of India or of any provincial government, at the instance of the members elected by the people and against the will of the executive government, to pass any law containing clauses like the following, taken from the Philippine Autonomy Law of 1916

"That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life liberty or property without due process of law or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws

That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion insurrection or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President or by the Governor General, whenever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist."

Throughout the report it is assumed that the foreign governor general or governor is far more interested in maintaining peace and order and in good government and far better able to decide what means should be adopted therefor, than scores of political leaders of the country chosen by the people. A fine compliment to Democracy and Self-determination!

As an illustration of the extent to which the people of India may be permanently deprived of the right of the free citizen to enjoy personal liberty, we may refer to the recommendations made in

The Rowlatt Committee's Report

The recommendations of this Committee would permanently place on the statute book all those provisions of the Defence of India Act which have placed the liberty of the subject entirely and absolutely at the mercy of the C. I. D., the police, and the executive, and, as we have seen before, under the Reform Scheme all the elected members of all the legislatures combined will not have the power to obtain *certain* relief from official tyranny for any aggrieved

person. *The Tribune* is quite right in observing —

"Most of the recommendations are such that the public can adopt but one attitude in regard to them, that of strong and unqualified condemnation. The police and the executive are all powerful even as things are. If the recommendations of the Committee were given effect to their power would be immensely increased and public men and public movements would be at their mercy in a far larger measure and degree than they are at present. We cannot help thinking that the report, judging from the summary, is the outcome of minds not only imperfectly acquainted with Indian conditions, but with either an inadequate grasp of the fundamental principles of the British constitution or with an inadequate equipment of that active and burning faith in liberty and justice without which mere knowledge is of no avail. Let us not be misunderstood. We are as anxious as any member of the Commission that crime should be suppressed and the spirit of revolution rooted out. If India became self governing tomorrow this task would yet have to be faced, and we should face it deliberately and determinedly. But it is one thing to suppress crime, another to adopt measures for this purpose that in their actual operation would make free public activities, except under sufferance difficult if not impossible. It is precisely because we believe this last to be the inevitable tendency of the measures proposed by the Committee that we consider it our duty to enter our strong and emphatic protest against them.

The recommendations are the outcome of the committee's historical survey of the revolutionary movements in India. That this survey cannot be considered complete, impartial and statesmanlike, will appear from what the *Tribune* says

"We do not know what material the Committee had before it for the compilation of this history. On the face of it its commission was a limited one and the only evidence it was able to take was evidence which the executive Government placed before it. We should think this was a very inadequate as well as unfair basis on which to place a verdict on the most difficult and complicated situation that the Government and the public in India have had to face since the Mutiny. Nor was the limitation of the material the only drawback in this case. For so stupendous a task as that of judging a political revolution the composition of the Committee itself was extremely defective. If it was the intention of the authorities that the work of political leaders like Mr. Tilak and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and its supposed relation to the revolutionary movement committee not merely with judges and lawyers but with statesmen, and not only should every opportunity have been afforded to the gentlemen concerned and other political workers to state their side of the case but evidence should have been gone into both as regards the state of the law and of the country at the time and as regards all the attendant circumstances. We are not aware that anything like this

"The only possible additional material, if any, having been obtained from some gentlemen in Bengal and the Punjab whom the committee invited to appear before them to give them 'information from various non official points of view' — Ed., *M. R.*

was done or attempted. What importance can the public in the circumstances, be expected to attach to the verdict of the Committee?

Our contemporary then cites a historical parallel which is quite apposite

One is naturally reminded in this connection of the committee of three judges who tried Parnell and his fellow workers in 1888. On that committee a highly competent authority has recorded the following verdict — "It was a strange and fantastic scene. Three judges were trying a social and political revolution. The leading actors in it were virtually in the dock. The tribunal had been specially set up by their political opponents without giving them any effective voice either in its composition or upon the character and scope of its powers. For the first time in England since the Great Rebellion men were practically put on their trial on a political charge without giving them the protection of a jury. For the first time in that period judges were to find a verdict upon the facts of crime. *** It just won't have taken all the attendant circumstances into account. The three judges found themselves bound expressly to shut out those circumstances. In words of vital importance they said: 'We must leave it for politicians to discuss and for statesmen to determine in what respects the present laws affecting land in Ireland are capable of improvement. We have no commission to consider whether the conduct of which they are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time or whether it should be condoned in consideration of benefits alleged to have resulted from their acting. We leave it to our readers to judge if much of all this does not apply with even greater force to the case before us'

The Tribune also says —

Nor finally is another fact to be overlooked. It has hitherto been generally believed that what is called the revolutionary movement in India had its origin in 1905 the year of the Partition of Bengal. The Committee goes as far back as 1893 to find the first indication of the movement on the single ground so far as one gathers from the summary that in that year certain isolated crimes were perpetrated. At this rate we fail to see why they should not have taken us as far back as the Mutiny or even earlier and included the assassination of Lord Mayo and all other tragic incidents in India's chequered history in one master plot.

Considering how since the institution of criminal proceedings in England against Sir Valentine Chirol by Mr B G Tilak, the bureaucracy have been directly and indirectly helping Sir Valentine, Mr Tilak's paper the *Kesari* is justified in saying that the reference in the committee's report "to the Ganapati and Sivaji festivals and Tilak prosecutions is a disgraceful attempt to unduly influence the Chirol case

Mr Tilak says the paper challenged in the court of law to produce evidence and Government reports to prove the very allegations made in this Report, but the Government declined to produce them as confidential but now it appears that these very papers have been produced before the committee, and surely this will prejudice the court. This is

like a stab in the dark and amounts to contempt to the court in London.

The bureaucracy has hitherto had various weapons in their hands to crush those patriots whom they considered their political opponents or enemies. We are now reminded that they have another weapon also, namely, to get a verdict pronounced against them, on *ex parte* evidence, by appointing a committee or a commission. We do not know whether this is "privileged," but it is certainly not fair. No free citizen will care even to consider such a verdict.

Certain general observations of the *Kesari* are also worth quoting.

The *Kesari* characterises the Report as giving power similar to *covert martial* to the bureaucracy in India. The paper says the bureaucracy desires to launch a policy of repression and it has tried to satisfy its conscience by this report. When feelings of genuine loyalty are not in question it is a most reactionary measure to add to the powers of the bureaucracy. Publication of the report, adds the paper is an attempt to coerce unwilling public opinion into acceptance of the Montagu scheme.

It is the province of sociology to enquire scientifically into the origin of revolutionary ideas and propaganda and to suggest how they should be properly dealt with. Was any member of the committee a competent sociologist, or even a student of sociology?

Division of Functions of Government

In the provinces the report proposes to divide the functions of government into reserved (comprising all the most important ones concerned with the maintenance of law and order, land revenue, tenants rights, &c) and transferred subjects, the latter probably consisting of primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c. A similar arrangement was suggested in the Joint Address promoted by Mr Curtis and his friends, in criticising which in the December number of this Review last year we said

"The problem of government, or, in other words, of ordered mental, moral and material progress for the entire civic body, is a problem which should be considered as an organic whole. Its different departments are inter-related and inter-dependent. One authority, be it one man or a body of men, should consider it as a and should settle the work to different departments and work. Every State has

in men and money for carrying on the work of government. One and the same authority should apportion, allot or assign these resources for carrying on the work in different departments and directions, according to their importance and urgency, and control their use. In the kind of government proposed for us, it will not be possible for us to consider the problem of government as an organic whole or to think out its solution as such, nor will our representatives be the authority controlling the work of all departments as a whole of which the parts are interrelated. This may be responsible government, but it is certainly not self-government. From the bureaucratic point of view, too, the state of things will be worse than now. For the bureaucracy, too, will not be the authority solely responsible for the solution of the problem of government or for the carrying on or control of the work of all departments.

"When a man is in a debilitated condition, his relatives, friends or other well-wishers, do not entrust one doctor with the work of improving his toe-nails, another with the work of strengthening his fingers, a third with taking care of his teeth, and so on, whilst all the time the work of regulating the quantity, quality and kind of food to be supplied to him is reserved for a person who is beyond the control of the doctors. The procedure usually followed is for either one physician or a body of physicians to examine the whole physical constitution of the patient [and his environment], and prescribe the remedies and the diet."

To all criticisms of the above description the reply given in the report is —

"241. No doubt we shall be told — indeed we have often been told already — that the business of government is one and indivisible and that the attempt to divide it into two spheres controlled by different authorities who are inspired by different principles and amenable to different sanctions even with the unifying provisions which we have described is doomed to encounter such confusion and friction as will make the arrangement unworkable. We feel the force of these objections. We have considered them very anxiously and have sought out every possible means of meeting them. But to those critics who press them to the point of condemning our scheme we would reply that we have examined many alternative plans and found that they led either to deadlock or to more frequent or greater potentialities of friction. Such destructive arguments so far as we can discover are directed not so much against our particular plan but against any plan that attempts to define the stages between

the existing position and complete responsible government. The announcement of August 20 postulated that such stages could be found, indeed unless we can find them it is evident that there is no other course open than at some date or other to take a precipitate plunge forward from total irresponsibility to complete responsibility.

This reply does not meet our objections. But let the reader judge. It speaks of "the unifying provisions," "deadlock" and "potentialities of friction." But the "unifying provisions" unify by practically subordinating the popular authority (called the ministers) to the bureaucratic authority, and deadlocks and potentialities of frictions are sought to be avoided in the same way, which is not popular self-government.

The Guiding Principle of the Division

In dividing the functions of Government into reserved and transferred, the report suggests that the following guiding principle should be adopted:

Their guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious, would not be irremediable and those which stand most in need of development. In pursuance of this principle we should not expect to find that departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order were transferred. Nor should we expect the transfer of matters which vitally affect the well-being of the masses who may not be adequately represented in the new councils, such for example as questions of land revenue or tenant rights."

It is interesting to note in this connection that in all the districts of Bengal, the Punjab, the U P and Bihar, in which in recent years, say since the Partition of Bengal, there have been riots, disorder and outrages on an extensive scale, the district authorities and the superintendents of police (in Calcutta the Commissioner of Police) have been Europeans, and that in those districts of these provinces which had Indian district magistrates and police superintendents there were no such riots, disorders and outrages. It should also be considered, that such riots, disorder, and outrages are of rarer occurrence, if not entirely absent, in the Native States.

As for the pretension that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have been and are more interested in promoting the welfare of the ryots and the depressed classes and safeguarding their interests than the

educated middle class, it will not bear a moment's examination. The Note in which Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir N. G. Chaudavarkar and other moderate Bombay leaders supported the Congress League scheme thoroughly demolished this pretension. We may in addition note that Sir N. G. Chaudavarkar has written in Mr. G. A. Natesan's "What India Wants."

The memorandum and the [Congress League] scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that the proposals transfer powers from the Indian Civil Service who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India to the Indian educated classes who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes invite one test which is a sure test on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists who form 75 per cent of the people in India we shall incontrovertibly find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryots' lot which generally speaking has after more or less painful experience to some extent won and the official view has yielded in the end.

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court, a member of the Public Services Commission, wrote in his dissenting minute in that Commission's report:

In paragraph 18 of the majority report allusion is made to the allegation that the western educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India. As for the representation of their interests if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged.

Sir M. B. Chaulbal, a late member of the Bombay Executive Council and a member of the Public Services Commission, recorded the following observations in his minute in that Commission's report:

'This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians from which only the higher posts can be filled is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chaudavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated

Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work whole heartedly in improving the condition of the masses.

One incontestable proof of the unflagging zeal with which the bureaucracy have sought to better the lot of the dumb millions of India is that, of all countries in the world under the rule of civilised men, India is the poorest, the most illiterate, and the most unhealthy, and in India alone there has been plague in an epidemic form continually for the last twenty-two years.

It is the educated middle class which has fought for tenants' rights, the latest proofs of which are to be found in the recent history of the Champaran and Kaira districts. It is that class which has always urged in the legislative councils the increase of grants for education and sanitation. They it is who have urged measures for free compulsory education, for the supply of good drinking water, for agricultural improvements, &c. And their efforts have been generally opposed and thwarted by the bureaucracy.

One main reason why Indians are not at first to have charge of "the reserved subjects" is alleged to be want of experience, they may have charge of some such subjects after acquiring experience. But what sort of experience will they have the opportunity of acquiring at first? If a minister has charge of village schools, co-operative credit societies, village roads, &c., how will his experience of work connected with these help him afterwards to successfully undertake the functions of the government relating to criminal administration, policing, land revenue, &c.? If it be argued that any government function being directly or indirectly connected with any other function, all being akin, experience in one is of value in the successful discharge of any other, we may reply, if want of previous experience of even a single department is no bar to a man's having charge of some departments (namely, the transferred ones), it ought not to be a bar to his having charge of other departments (viz., the reserved ones), all being akin. If it be said that official experience is of value in any and every department, in whatever department it may have been acquired,—whilst admitting that it is so,

we may reply that in England and other self governing countries many distinguished men become ministers without any previous experience of official or departmental work,—the permanent officials supplying that lack of experience,—and that a minister may be Lord Chancellor, first lord of the admiralty, foreign secretary, or president of the board of trade in succession or in different cabinets without his having given actual proofs of very great versatility.

As for the argument that Indian ministers may make serious and 'irremediable' mistakes will anybody point out in what country even the greatest of statesmen have not made very serious mistakes? In the life of the individual there may be so far as man's earthly life is concerned, fatal and irremediable mistakes. In the life of nations there are no mistakes which are irremediable though it may take long, persistent and strenuous efforts to undo the harm resulting therefrom. The school of mistakes is the only school where individuals and nations can perfect themselves gradually. If it is made impossible for any people to make great mistakes it is also made impossible for them to acquire greatness of any kind. It is usual to compare the first efforts of a nation at self government to the tottering steps of a child and to say that one must learn to walk before one is permitted to run. But it is only a similitude. No nation is exactly like children, no nation has in history been prescribed doses or morsels of self government as in the report under discussion—no, not even the naked Gilbert and Ellis Islanders*, and no parent ever draws a definite line of demarcation between walking and running in allowing his child to master locomotion: no parent actually tests whether a child has mastered the art of walking before allowing him to run and no parent prevents a child from even attempting to run before it has mastered the art of walking.

The Government of India.

We were under the impression that in the Montagu Chelmsford Report there is no mention or indication of a time when the Government of India may be a responsible government, but that is a wrong impression. In the scheme proposed and

recommended in the report, there is certainly nothing said as to how or when even the first steps towards responsibility in the Government of India may be taken. But in the report, in the following sentence, the imagination of the writers carries them into a future when responsible government may develop in the Government of India—

It must we think, be laid down broadly that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India Parliament must be prepared to forego the exercise of its own power of control and that this process must continue *pari passu* with the development of responsible government in the Provinces and eventually in the Government of India. (Para 291.)

The words we have italicised contain the gleam of hope. There are such gleams in paragraphs 349 and 350 also.

So far as the scheme is concerned, it keeps the Government of India as absolute as now. Perhaps it has been made some what more absolute than now. For to the Governor General is given the power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. It has been also urged (paragraph 292) that, not only in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, 'but even as regards reserved subjects there should be such delegation of financial and administrative authority as will leave the Government of India free and enable them to leave the Provincial Governments free, to work with the expedition that is desirable' (Para 292). We cannot now say without a closer study of the report than we have yet found possible whether in some other respects also the Government of India has been proposed to be made more autocratic than now, we suspect that it has been.

The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India is to be more representative of the people than the present Indian Legislative Council as two thirds of its members will be elected. It will therefore be in a better position than the present council to influence the Government of India. But, as we have said before, influence is not power, nor is it control. In the Council of State, which will be like a second chamber, there will be an official majority and that will be used to secure the passage of all laws and sections or clauses of laws which the Governor General may think necessary or desirable and to prevent the passage of all laws or

* See Towards Home Rule part II pp 65 70

sections or clauses of laws which he considers undesirable or prejudicial to good government

Government of India Legislation.

The following extracts from the 'Summary of Recommendations' will give a general idea of how the Government of India will legislate

The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor General who will be President with power to nominate a Vice President) Of the members 21 to be elected and 23 nominated by the Governor General Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the Members of the Executive Council) to be officials

The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members of whom two thirds to be elected and one third nominated Of the nominated members not less than one third to be non-officials

The following procedure to be adopted for legislation

A Government bill ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses unless the Governor General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration) in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage the Governor General in Council to have the power on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above to refer it *de novo* to the Council of State The Governor General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance and to pass it through the Council of State merely reporting it to the Assembly

B Private bills to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions If however a bill emerges from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration the Governor General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or resubmit it to the Council of State the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council

The above will show that it will be utterly impossible for the elected members, even if they all combine, to prevent the passing of any law desired by the bureaucracy, however retrograde, repressive or subversive of liberty it may be, or to secure the passing of any law in the interest of the people against the will of the Governor General It is true the Governor General in Council is to adopt the method of "certifying" but "good government" is a

sufficiently vague, elastic and inclusive term to enable him to do so with plausibility and a clean "official" conscience whenever he likes In the case of "uncertified" legislation, there will be a greater chance than now of private bills passing, as in the joint sessions the elected members of the two chambers will outnumber the nominated and official members, and nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly are to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs but obviously 'uncertified' laws, though they may be more numerous than "certified" laws cannot be of vital importance from the point of view of power of the purse, personal liberty, tariff policy, fiscal policy, pan Indian educational policy, railway policy, &c

Provincial Legislation

The process of provincial legislation will be understood from the following summary of recommendations

In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members (3) ex officio members

Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs

Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs

The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects The bill will then with this certificate be published in the Gazette It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council and after discussion on its general principles will be referred to a grand committee but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India whose decision shall be final the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council

The grand committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the Legislative Council The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot partly by nomination The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself) but not more than two thirds of the nominated members to be officials

The bill as passed by grand committee to be reported to the Legislative Council

again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council or reject it. After such discussion the bill to pass automatically but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor General and the Secretary of State.

Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction or any amendment when moved on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council or of certifying the bill clause or amendment. If he certifies the bill clause or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee.

All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.

The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.

The Governor General to have power to reserve provincial Acts.

It will be clear from the above that though the elected element in the legislative council will have more power than now, it will not be able even by complete unanimity among its members to prevent the passage of bills which they consider to be opposed to the interests of the country nor will they be able by complete unanimity to carry through even bills which they consider vitally necessary for the good of the country, against the will of the Governor. All that they will be able to do in such cases is to make a sort of appeal to the Government of India, the Governor General, or the Secretary of State. In the case of "uncertified" bills, which will not obviously be vital or very important, elected members will have greater power to pass their bills than now.

The Power of Dissolution

We are against giving the Governor General the power to dissolve the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor the power to dissolve the Legislative Council. The British sovereign has the power to dissolve Parliament. But he is a constitutional king and acts on the advice of his ministers, and the British electorate has large powers. The British Parliament is dissolved when it is thought no longer to represent the views of the electorates. The Governor General of India and the provincial governors do

not stand in the position of constitutional monarchs, they are not to act on the advice of Indian ministers representing the people, our electorates are not to have even a considerable fraction of the powers of the British electorate, and our rulers cannot be expected to have better and more direct knowledge of the views of the electorates than the elected members, nor can we trust them to be better exponents of the views of the country than the elected members. The Governor General and the Governor may dissolve the legislative bodies to delay (to them) unwelcome legislation, to prevent or delay the ventilation of grievances or the exposure of misrule by the moving of resolutions, asking of questions, &c., to prevent the moving of otherwise inconvenient resolutions and for other bureaucratic reasons.

Parliamentary Control

At present Parliament possesses the theoretical power of controlling the Government in India, but it seldom exercises this power. Still this power is a safeguard. In India Government should be made completely responsible to the people. So long as that does not come about, Parliament ought to have and exercise control. For full five years after the first meeting of the new legislative councils in the Provinces, the ministers will be very remotely and not really responsible to their constituents. After five years they may be really responsible. Then, and not till then, should parliament cease to have control, in the *transferred subjects*, over the provincial governments and the Government of India. In paragraph 292, it is proposed, as quoted before, to leave the Government of India and the provincial Governments free in some respects as regards reserved subjects also. We are entirely against this proposal. So long as any Government is not made responsible to us in any matter, it should remain directly responsible to Parliament in that matter.

The Secretary of State's Salary

The proposal to pay the salary of the Secretary of State for India from the British treasury is good and follows a demand of the Congress.

Parliamentary Commissions and Select Committee

The periodical parliamentary commissions proposed are likely to do some

good, though they may also do harm in retransferring subjects to the reserved list. But the nomination of the members should be made not by our Secretary of State alone but by the whole British cabinet.

The proposed select committee of the House of Commons to keep the House informed on Indian affairs is also good.

The Ministers

The Indian minister or ministers will be nominated from the elected members of the legislative council by the Governor. The practice in England is for the king to ask the leader of a party to form a cabinet. The Indian practice should be made, as far as possible, similar to the British practice. Otherwise the Governor's power of choosing ministers irrespective of their influence in the country, and his power also to appoint some elected members under secretaries may be a source of demoralization. "Responsible government" by Indian ministers should not have the chance of becoming a government by safe men, toadies, or place men. It is just possible that a governor may choose the most capable, influential, representative and independent members of his council to become ministers, but that is not in keeping with the nature of autocrats and bureaucrats.

It is only five years after the first meeting of the new councils that the ministers' salaries may be required to be voted annually and thus they may be made directly and quickly amenable to control by the legislative council. We think their direct responsibility should begin earlier and with their tenure of office. The Governor has been proposed to be given too much power of control over them as will appear from paragraph 219 quoted below.

The portfolios dealing with the transferred subjects would be committed to the ministers and on these subjects the minister together with the governor would form the administration. On such subjects their decisions would be final *subject only to*

him as generally responsible for his administration but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequences of acquiescence would clearly be serious. Also we do not think that he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience. But we do not intend that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. We recommend that for the guidance of Governors in relation to their ministers and indeed on other matters also, an instrument of instructions be issued to them on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council.

We are for giving them much greater, if not perfect, freedom.

We are against the retransfer of transferred subjects to the reserved list, by the Government of India or a parliamentary commission. We have given some of our reasons before.

Most Important Functions Kept Outside Popular Control

From what we have said in several previous notes, the reader will have observed that the most important functions of government which affect the people of India as a whole, have been left outside the sphere of popular control. The Government of India exercises these functions. If our leaders had the power to shape the policy of the state in all these matters, not only would India have had the opportunity of producing many great statesmen, but the nationalization of the people of India could have been given great impetus. The moral growth of the people, in courage, in love of liberty, and in other directions depends partly on the absence of repressive penal legislation and of legislation restricting foreign travel. The material prosperity of the country depends on fiscal, economic, industrial, and railway policy, and on a ship-building programme and the policy regulating international trade and exchange. But all these matters are in the hands of the Government of India, over which we are not to have any control for an indefinite period of time to come.

The Prospect

It will be clear from our preceding observations that the Reform Scheme gives the people not the slightest power of control over the Government of India but somewhat greater facility than now to exert influence over it. In provincial matters, the peoples representatives and ministers are in no affairs given perfect freedom and full control though their position would be somewhat better than now, and the power to influence government much greater. It is very anomalous that even after five years from the starting of the scheme when the ministers will be made responsible to the provincial legislatures by having their salaries to be voted annually, they are to be subject to the guidance, advice and control of the Governor. A man who is *controlled* by one authority ought not to be made responsible to another authority: it is the controlling authority (*viz* the Governor) who ought to be made responsible to the second authority (*viz*, the legislative council). If the minister is to be responsible to the latter, he ought not to be controlled by the former.

It is natural to ask, will the Reform Scheme lead to full responsible government? If the bureaucracy and the members of the proposed periodical parliamentary commissions be *determined and anxious* to give responsible government to us, the scheme will ultimately lead to responsible government in the provinces but not in pan Indian affairs. But if they be not so determined and anxious the scheme gives them very ample powers and opportunities to prove Indians utterly unfit for even what the Report would give us to begin with, and to take away even these rights or "powers" or functions. Every change of ministry in every self governing country implies that, in the opinion of the majority of voters in the country the outgoing ministers had failed seriously in some directions, otherwise they would not be driven out of power. The greatest of statesmen have been subject to this sort of vicissitude and implied censure. It is plain, therefore, that if any Anglo-Indian Government or any Parliamentary Commission wanted to give the verdict that the Indian minister or ministers had seriously failed to do their work, it would be quite easy for them to do so, particularly, if, as is possible or probable the Anglo-Indian

bureaucracy were inclined to be obstructive or did not want cordially to co-operate with the ministers.

History shows that ruling men and ruling nations do not willingly part with power and lucre. British Indian history has not so far been an exception. But in future unlike the kopard and his spots, bureaucratic nature and selfishness *may* part company. It is a question of scepticism and the disposition to have faith in autocrats and bureaucrats. We are not unwilling to hope for the best, though previous experience may not make us sanguine.

Our final conclusion is that the Report contains nothing which makes Indian autonomy inevitable, it leaves our fate, humanly speaking in the hands of English men whether serving here as officials, or living in their home land.

Ex Detenus

We learn that many of the ex detenus who were students are finding great difficulty in entering educational institutions. It cannot be the duty of Government to ruin these young men and make them sources of danger to society and the State. As Government provides education in reformatories for juveniles *convicted of crime*, it is much more its obvious duty to provide facilities for the education of these young men, *who have never been convicted of any offence* in State schools or colleges, under proper safeguards and restraints however stringent they may be. They have been placed in a position of disadvantage owing to Government policy and action, and it is therefore incumbent on Government to provide a means of relief.

The Menace of Fiji

It would be folly to think that, where profits have been so enormous capitalists in Fiji are going to abandon them without a struggle. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has already begun to feel the pressure of public opinion in Australia. There has been no attempt whatever on their part, however, to remedy the evils. Instead of this, they have merely employed the cheaper method of slander.

In their Annual Report recently published, the following significant paragraph occurs —

Concerning attacks on the Company in various Australian newspapers about the conditions under

which the Indian labour is housed and worked in Fiji it is only necessary to say that all details of the living conditions of these people and their relations with employers are strictly ordered in accordance with regulations laid down by the Indian and Colonial Governments. In respect of health earning and prospective employment immigrants are much better off in Fiji than in India the one serious defect being the discrepancies of the sexes—a point inseparable from emigration from every country. The attack though apparently directed at the Company is really on the Fiji Government and it is we believe instigated and carried out by the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country.

The leader of the various organisations in Australia, which are trying to ameliorate the condition of the Indian women in Fiji, has written to Mr C. F. Andrews as follows —

"The argument here used, in this Annual Report, is the only argument I have heard defending the present conditions in Fiji, and it would surely be a serious matter for the Imperial authorities, if this line of argument is accepted."

There could scarcely be a grosser case of slander, with an ulterior object, than the statement that the abolition of indentured labour was instigated and carried out by "the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country." To take four names only out of many,—surely Mr Gokhale and Lord Hardinge, Mr Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya could not, by the wildest stretch of imagination come under that category. But it is quite needless to argue such a point at all. The Directors of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company have in their possession, the fullest information about India for which they have been ready regularly to pay their own price. It is almost inconceivable that their agents could have given them such false information. The more probable explanation is, that they found that this slander was an easy and inexpensive method of throwing dust in the eyes of the Australian public, at a time when great moral indignation had been awakened.

In Fiji itself, the Government appears to have completely changed round to an attitude of subservience to the C S R Company and the Planting interests. A resolution has been passed unanimously in the Fiji Legislative Council as follows —

"That the Government should take measures such as will assist in encouraging and promoting the resumption of Indian Immigration after the war

That is to say the Fiji Government is now pledged to attempt once more to open recruiting in India for Fiji. The Fiji Government itself, unless prevented by the strongest action on the part of the people of India, will try, as soon as the war is over, to re open the whole Indian emigration and recruiting question. In the course of the debate on the Resolution (which was accepted by the Fiji Government) Mr Harricks, a leading member of the Legislative Council spoke as follows

We are altogether too modest here about our selves. In fact a great many people are inclined to run the place down. There is a man who is in every way adapted and qualified for the work of being our Representative in India

Voices Who is he?

Mr Harricks Captain Lamb at present serving in the Naval Corps. He writes and tells me that, from a knowledge gained in Mesopotamia recruiting in Fiji could be very much easier after the War

ADVERTISING FIJI

Mr Clapcott a leading Planter seconded the motion. They should advertise Fiji far more than they had done in the past. Moving pictures constituted an excellent method of letting Indians in India see what conditions in Fiji were. He agreed too that they should have a Representative in India to contradict all these reports that were going about.

The Secretary of the Colony said that the Government were prepared to accept the motion. He thought the questions of sending a man to India and of taking Cinematograph pictures there, were matters for private enterprise.

Mr Harricks did not agree that it should be left to private enterprise. Mr Lamb had informed him that the name of Fiji was so good among Indians that he would guarantee 3000 labourers the first year and 5000 the year after.

Proposals of Forced Labour in Fiji

During the same Council Session Mr Harricks also moved a resolution that "in view of the acute labour situation the Fiji Government should consider the advisability of releasing as many able bodied natives as possible from communal and village work." Mr Crompton in seconding the motion stated that the time had arrived to consider the conscription of labour throughout the colony. He did not think, at the present time, that any man, black, white or brindled, had any right to be idle, and if they would not work or cultivate they ought to be made to. He wished the motion had been worded more strongly. Mr Hedstrom in supporting the motion, also thought that it ought to have been more strongly worded. May be, the time had not come yet for compulsory labour, but the time

when they should consider the possibility of compulsion. The Colonial Secretary said that the time had not arrived when Government could step in and force any man to work when he did not want to do so. The original motion was carried.

WORSHIP

You flood my music with your autumn silence,
And burn me in the flame burst of your spring
Lo ! through my beggar being's tattered garments
Resplendent shines your crystal heart, my King !

Like a rich song you chant your red fire sunrise
Deep in my dreams and forge your white flame moon . .
You hide the crimson secret of your sunset
And the pure golden message of the noon

You fashion cool grey clouds within my body,
And weave your rain into a diamond mesh
The Universal Beauty dances dances,
A glimmering peacock in my flowering flesh !

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY

EVENING PRAYER

A hush in the scented valley
Packed full of purple shades,
A streak on the far horizon
Where the last red glimmer fades

A glimpse of the night's pale lady
Descending her golden stair
To stretch her white arms seaward
In hallowing tender prayer

A stir in the swaying palm tree
When the sweetest vesper then
Ripples the mystic stillness—
The nightingale's Amen

GERVE BARONTI

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WHOLE
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THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF A STORY

[The following paper was written by the Author of *At Home and Outside* in answer to the letter of a lady criticising the publication of his novel.]

MY writings do not please all my readers, but whenever they take the trouble to make me realise that fact, they usually employ a form of language in which I am no master. For this reason I never answer them.

But the letter, which has just reached me, contains to my surprise complaints, but no insults. It comes from a lady, who is a stranger to me, and it is evident that she has felt pain, though she has avoided giving it. Her letter which puts forward some questions for me to answer is unaddressed. From that I could infer that these questions come from her, as a representative of the public, and she wants the answer to be sent to the address of the same public.

First of all, she has asked me, with some dismay, what was my object in writing this story?

The answer to this is, that the true object of writing a story is story writing. In a word, I write a story because it is my wish. But this cannot be interpreted as an object, because when you say 'wish', you ignore all other aims. All the same, when people are expecting some object, it sounds like insolence, if you tell them that you have no object to speak of.

Yet, very often, an object is revealed to an onlooker which escapes the principal actor. The antelope does not know why its skin is marked, but those who write notes on the subject tell us, that the marks are there to make it less conspicuous to its pursuers. This guess may or may not be true, but it is quite evident that the object is not in the mind of the antelope.

But you may contend that the object which was in the mind of the Creator is manifested through the antelope, and

that in like manner, the age in which he is born expresses its object through the author. It cannot be gainsaid that the age acts consciously or unconsciously, upon the author's mind nevertheless, I assert that this action is that of an artist, not of a teacher. The age is weaving in our minds its web of many coloured threads simply for the purpose of creation. If you must utilise it, then the object becomes yours. This modern age of our country's history has secretly touched with its brush the present author's mind, and the impressions of that touch have come out in this novel. These impressions are artistic impressions.

Let us take the example of a great writing, such as Shakespeare's "Othello". If the poet were asked, what was his object in writing the play, it would drive him out of his wits to give a reply. If, after a great deal of cogitation, he came out with an answer, I am sure it would be a wrong one. If I happen to be a member of the "Brahmin Association," I should be certain that the poet's object was to offer sound advice to the world about respect for colour distinctions. If I am opposed to the emancipation of women, I should say that the poet wanted to prove the mistake of allowing women to mix freely with men. If I have a strong prejudice against the poet's moral ideals and intelligence, then I shall have no doubt that he was trying to prove, that devotion to one's husband leads to terrible consequences, or else that this play was a cruel irony against the simplicity of noble minds and a vindication of the villainy of Iago. But the real thing is this,—he has written a play. No doubt, the poet's likes and dislikes lie inherent in his work, and also the genius of his age and country,—not in the shape of moral lessons, but of artistic creation. That is to say, these belong to

the very life and beauty of the play. When I see a Bengali before me, I see him one with his race and ancestry. I see no line of cleavage between his individuality and his race. So, also in a poet's works, the individuality and the environment are vitally blended.

This is why I was saying that when I am writing a story my contemporary experience is woven into its fabric and also my personal likes and dislikes. But their coloured threads tinged with life's own colour are simply the materials which the artist has in his hands to use. If you read any object into the work it is not mine but your own.

Rich men use the tails of yaks for making whisks, but the poor yak knows that the tail belongs to its own vital organisations and to cut it off and make it into an 'object' is absolutely alien to its nature.

My next point is that when there is a conflict between my own ideals and those of my readers the reader has the advantage of being able to inflict punishment. When a child has a fall it kicks at the floor on which it fell, and it is a well known fact that the generality of readers follow the same rule. But that the punishment is always just and inevitable I do not admit.

Grown up people may not be afraid of ghosts. They may even think it harmful to foster the fear of ghosts. Yet, when a grown up person reads a ghost story, he need not remember all this. For, in a story, the question of opinion does not matter, it is the enjoyment which is important.

When a man of real culture, who is a Christian, judges some image of a Hindu god made by a Hindu artist it will be a real help to him to forget for the time, that he is a missionary. But if unfortunately he cannot do so, then he must not blame the Hindu artist, for the latter naturally paints his picture according to his own faith and tradition, nevertheless because it is a picture there is something in it which is above his faith and tradition and that is the living spirit. If that spirit is unacceptable to one who is not a Hindu, then it is either due to the insensibility of the critic, in which case he is to blame, or it is due to the deficiency in the inspiration itself, in which case the blame must rest with the artist.

Englishmen have a special kind of

kerosene lamp. Hindus had lamps of their own before these English lamps were introduced. The difference here lies in the lamps, but light is light, both to the Hindu and to the Englishman. There is every likelihood of a difference of opinion between my countrymen and myself as to what is good for my country. But if my story is a story, then in spite of my opinions, it will float.

When, however, the opinions are of such a nature, that they cannot but deeply concern my readers it would be foolish to expect from them that perfect detachment of mind which is necessary for true appreciation, and in that case, the lamp which bears the light becomes more important than the light itself.

Let us agree to this.

Then what is the advice which the author must follow? Should he change his opinion altogether with regard to the good and bad of his country? If his readers are incapable of doing so, simply for the sake of the story, what obligation has the author to play such moral somersaults simply for the sake of his readers? But if it is maintained that the cause of one's country is greater than the perfection of a story, then this holds good for the reader as well as for the writer.

It is the paramount duty of the author to fix his attention only on the perfecting of his story, not on the applause of his reading public. But if this duty, for some reason or other becomes impossible, then let him think what is good for his country, and not merely that his country should think him good.

The second question which the writer puts is whether the story of this novel is imaginary or whether it has its basis in actual fact, and if the latter, then does that fact belong to some orthodox Hindu family—or to some sect enamoured of its western culture?

My answer is—the story portion, like that contained in most of my writings is imaginary. But that is not a complete answer to my correspondent. There is an implication hidden in the question, that such events as I have described are impossible in orthodox Hinduism.

An exact coincidence of an imaginary story with some real fact is nowhere possible either in an orthodox family, or in a family that has drifted away from orthodoxy. You can merely gossip about

things that have actually happened in some family, you cannot write a story about them.

The possibilities that lie deep in human nature are the basis of the plots of all the best stories and dramas in literature. There is eternal truth in human nature itself, but not in mere events. Events happen in a different manner in different places. They are never the same on two occasions. But man's nature, which is at the root of these events, is the same in all ages, therefore the author keeps his eye fixed on human nature and avoids all exact copying of actual events.

The question reduces itself to this, whether human nature in orthodox Hindu families always follows the direction of the orthodox Hindu code. Does it never, on any provocation whatever, break away from its tether and run wild?

It is a matter of common observation, from the Vedic period up to the present, that the fight is endless between the outbreak of nature on the one hand and man's heroic remedies on the other. If there exists a Hindu society, where such a fight is altogether impossible, its address is concealed from us. Then further, one must know that where there is no possibility of evil, there can be no place for good. If it is absolutely impossible for a member of an orthodox Hindu family to go wrong, then the members of that family are neither good nor bad, but puppets worked by the texts of ancient scriptures.

We have seen the ugliest calumnies against women written in old Sanskrit verses, such as are rare in those authors who are proud of their western culture. This proves that our modern Bengali writers have a genuine regard for women. At the same time, one must fully admit that these ancient calumnies may be wrong, when applied to the whole of womankind. But if they were untrue even with regard to individual women, how did they come to be written at all?

So our discussion narrows itself down to this point, whether the impulse for evil, which is a fact of human nature, can be a proper subject for literature. The answer to this question has been given by literature itself, through all ages and all countries, and therefore it will not matter if I remain silent about it.

Unfortunately, in Bengal, the criticism

of literature has resolved itself into a judgment of the proprieties which are necessary for orthodoxy. Our critics go to the extreme tenacity of debate as to the excellence of Bankim's heroines in their strict conformity with the canons of Hinduism. Whether the indignation which Bhramar showed against her husband took away from the transcendental preciousness of her Hindu womanhood, whether the inability of Surjamukhi to accept, as her friend, her co-wife, Kunda, has cheapened the value of her Hindu character, how far Sakuntala is the perfect Hindu woman and Dusshanta the perfect Hindu king,—these are the questions seriously discussed in the name of literary criticism. Such criticism can only be found in our country, among all the countries of the world.

There are a crowd of heroines in Shakespeare's dramas, but their excellence is not judged according to their peculiar English qualities, and even the most fanatical Christian theologians desist from awarding them marks, in order of merit, according to their degree of Christianity. But possibly I am spoiling my own cause by admitting this, because our modern Bengali takes a special pride in thinking that India has nothing in common with the rest of the world.

But India is not a creation of the Bengalis, and it had already existed before we began our literary criticism. The classification of heroines which we find in the rhetoric of ancient India, was not in accordance with the models put forward in the Laws of Manu. I am not for such classification at all, because literature is not science, if in literature heroes and heroines are introduced according to certain classified types, then such literature becomes a toy shop, not an ideal world of living creatures. If one must indulge in this absurd mania for classification, even in literature, then at least it should follow the line of human nature as much as possible, instead of being arranged on the wooden shelves of what is Hindu, and what is not.

My last request to my correspondent is this, that she should take me seriously when I say that I love my country. If I did not, then it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE,

WOMEN AS COMBATANTS IN EAST AND WEST

THOUGH it is not likely or desirous that any considerable number of women will join the profession of arms it is impossible not to admire the spirit in which some have shared in the privations of dangers of war side by side with those of the sterner sex. If we search the records of the various armies we shall find that every country is able to point to individual cases of women who have volunteered for active service and who have rendered a worthy account of themselves when engaged in upholding the cause of their country. We propose to cite a few instances from the records of the armies in the East and the West and these will serve to show that when the occasion demands the women are prepared to take up not only the lighter duties connected with the preparations for war, but to serve in the ranks as common soldiers. Though in one sense combatants, we do not propose to deal with the cases of women whose names are world wide such as Joan of Arc, Boadicea and the famous Indian queens, but we seek to recall the exploits of the women who have shared in a real sense the fighting experiences of the men.

The adventures of the British Amazon, Mrs. Christina Davis, are recorded in a book, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum. On the title page of the book is the following—

The Life and Adventures of Mrs Christina Davis the British Amazon commonly called Mother Ross who served as a footsolder and dragoon in several campaigns under King William and the late Duke of Marlborough. Containing variety of transactions both serious and diverting wherein she gave surprise and proofs of courage strength and dexterity in handling all sorts of weapon rarely to be met with in the contrary sex for which besides being otherwise rewarded she was made a pensioner of Chelsea College by Queen Anne where her husband now is sergeant, and she continued to her death. The whole taken from her own mouth and known to be true by many noblemen generals and other officers mentioned in her life and still living who served in those wars at the same time and were witnesses of her uncommon martial bravery.

From the accounts that have appeared of this wonderful woman's life it appears that she served for several years with great valour in the Inniskilling regiment in the Battle of Agincourt she was severely

wounded and it was then that her sex was discovered. But she was retained in the army and afterwards took part in the war in Flanders where she rendered splendid help to the soldiers by carrying water and other necessities "even to the mouth of the cannon." As a reward for her services the King granted her a pension of one shilling per day for life. She died in 1739 and was interred, as she desired, in the Pensioners' Burying Ground, the soldiers firing three volleys over her grave. It is recorded that she fought in three battles and was three times wounded.

Another interesting case from the British army may be quoted. In the army of the British that fought at Fontenoy, there was a woman named Phoebe Hessel who was born at Stepney in the year 1713. Her memory is perpetuated by a tombstone in the graveyard of the parish church of St. Nicholas, Brighton. The inscription states that she served for many years as private soldier in the 5th Regiment of Foot in different parts of Europe, and that during the battle of Fontenoy she received a severe bayonet wound in her arm. She lived to a good old age, dying as late as 1821, being then 108 years old. George the Fourth seems to have taken great interest in her and is said to have provided hand somely for her in her old days. Some years ago the Chicago Hussars had on its roll a certain Nicholas de Raylam, who enjoyed the reputation of being a hard rider, an inveterate smoker and a 'jolly good fellow'. In civil life this person was secretary of the Russian Consulate in Chicago, and was credited with great skill as a diplomatist. Though for long her companions would not credit the fact, it was shown that the boon companion and clever diplomat was really a woman.

When the first signs of rot set in in Russia after the Revolution, the country was stirred by the news of the formation of a Women's Battalion of Death. The Commander, Madam Botchkereva, succeeded in getting together a considerable number of women from all classes, and within a comparatively short time these women were drilled and trained and ready for active service. The story of their efforts to hold the line must stand out as one of

the most glorious in Russian annals, for in that attempt to hold back the enemy when the men were running nearly half their number were killed or wounded. The women composing this battalion were dressed in full men's uniform and took their place on the same footing as the rest of the army. Before leaving for the front a picturesque and significant spectacle was witnessed in the square of St Isaac Cathedral when the colours of the regiment were blessed. Mlle Michailoff in command of the first battalion to serve in the trenches stated that the Chief of Staff declared the Battalion was one of the most perfectly disciplined and trained units around Petrograd. We have no clear details as to the part they took in the recent fighting in Petrograd though Reuter mentioned the fact that they held out for some time in the Winter Palace against the Maximalists. It will be interesting to follow the development of this movement.

In connection with Russia mention must be made of the 'Lady Chevalier', Nadezhda Andreievna Dourova whose experiences as a common soldier must surely be among the most interesting records of the Russian Army. When quite a young girl she was attracted to military life, and after donning a boy's dress and the garb of a Cossack, succeeded in enlisting. The Cossacks were delighted with this sixteen year old boy, and she soon became a favourite. Through the winter she marched and camped with her regiment took part in all their daily work and drill, and practised all the details of military service with untiring zeal and diligence, leading without a murmur the hard life of a common Russian soldier. She took part in her first battle at Gustadt and in her autobiography she records her sensations as she joined in the combat. In the course of this battle Nadezhda observed that some of the enemy's dragoons had wounded a Russian officer, whom they were about to finish. The young Amazon without a thought dashed up on horseback to the rescue and by her dauntless courage she put the French dragoons to flight. She helped the wounded man on to her own horse and brought him safely back to the rear. She took part in the bloody battle of Friedland where more than half her regiment were left dead on the field. Again

she showed great courage and succeeded in saving the life of a comrade. By this a rumour had got abroad that she was really a woman and the Emperor Alexander himself sent for her and received the young Cossack now aged nineteen, very graciously. She confessed she was a girl and the Emperor praised her pluck and said that she had set an almost unprecedented example of heroism to the women of the empire. On expressing her strong desire to remain in the army the Emperor appointed her to be an officer and gave her his own name Alexander by which she was afterwards known. She gradually rose in the army and became the gallant skilled and trustworthy commander of a squadron of horse. She took part in nearly all the battles exposing herself fearlessly wherever the fight was thickest and the danger greatest. At Smolensk she took part in the battle against Napoleon and had many escapes. In this campaign she was again wounded. At the age of 25 feeling that her duty was beside her invalid father she left the army and spent the rest of her life as a novelist. She died in 1886 and was buried with full military honours.

Gibbon relates the story of the heroism of the wife of Aban one of the officers of the Saracens in the war against the Arabs. On the death of her husband she laid hold of his weapons and entered into the midst of the fighters. It is said that her first arrow pierced the hand of the standard bearer and the second wounded the archer who was responsible for the death of many Saracens. The names of several Muhammadan women who followed their husbands to the wars might be quoted as instances of personal bravery on the battlefield. On several occasions the women of the East have enlisted in the armies and in the battles they wielded the bow and the lance with great dexterity and showed by their horsemanship their ability to take their place beside the men. The conquest of Bokhara by Kotais is said to have been due to the presence of mind and courage shown by the women who followed the army to the front on active service. In Indian history there are several instances of women serving as regular soldiers. The army of Timur was composed of men and women the latter riding back with consummate skill.

of Shah Altaf-ush named Izzia Sultan, was an efficient military leader and on more than one occasion by her intrepid behaviour in battle completely shattered her foes. In the history of India it has frequently happened that the defence of

the state was upheld by women and though their individual names are not known to fame they proved the capacity of Eastern women to take a share, in case of need in active warfare.

M. TURNER

INTERVIEWER

By BADU LAL SUD B.A. BAR AT LAW

INTERVIEWING originated with the American press and it is in America that it is carried to extremes. The American press thinks that it has not only the right but it is its duty to divulge in public what has been confided to it in private and to exercise this what it considers to be its right it often violates the elementary principle of courtesy. The French press too which of course borrowed the art of interviewing from the Americans does not hesitate to exercise this spirit of inquiry and espionage. But the English press since the time the interview first came over from America has not gone so far in this department of journalistic business as America and France and has not misused it. In the early eighties when this interviewing business was imported from America into England there used to be a tendency in some newspaper offices to interview celebrities of the ordinary sort not because they could enlighten the public on a matter of some general and public importance but simply because they were celebrities. Their birth, dress, tastes, such as smoking and drinking, the questions put and the answers given etc. were chronicled by the interviewer in his paper. But all these have become things of the past now. Now only those men are interviewed by the London press who have got something good and new to say. They are interviewed by newspaper men who themselves are experts in the subjects to be discussed. Their private characteristics such as smoking and drinking are never mentioned in papers. Such replies as 'I refuse to talk for publication' 'I decline to answer' 'I decline to discuss the matter' 'I have nothing to say' etc. are not published. These things do not

interest the newspaper reading public in England though they do all right for the newspaper reader in America. The plain truth is that these things were never of value in England and were never counted much. On the contrary it has always been considered downright bad taste and bad manners to give them out in papers. It is due to general indifference to these things on the part of the average newspaper reader in England that accounts of interviews in London papers are more full of meat, i.e. abounding in solid facts than in papers across the Atlantic. There is not only more soul in them but they are more lively, bright and sparkling than they are in American papers. The London press is more conscientious than the American press in this matter. It observes the principles of courtesy more scrupulously than the American press.

To an average reader the name of the late Mr. W. T. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and founder of the *Review of Reviews* is associated with the fearless exposure of social abuses culminating in *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* in 1885 for which he was prosecuted for criminal libel and sentenced to three months imprisonment. Those who want to know the whole story of how Mr. Stead came to be placed in the dock and arraigned for committing one of the very crimes against which he had secured the passage of an Act of Parliament for the protection of young girls can not do better than read *My Father* by Miss Isabelle W. Stead daughter of the late Mr. W. T. Stead and present editor of the *Review of Reviews*. Enough to say here that it was one of the greatest achievements which any journalist single handed had ever accomplished in the

coercion of an unwilling legislature and a reluctant Ministry," in the words of Mr Stead himself. But an ordinary reader of newspapers does not know that his name and fame are most intimately associated with one of the most remarkable phases in modern English journalism, viz, interviewing. It is he who when editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," introduced what is generally called the 'personal note', which began with the interview, and the personal paragraph. He was the first English journalist to interview in the modern style a public man in England. We have it on the unimpeachable authority of Sir Wemyss Reid that Mr W L Forster was the first public man in England who was interviewed, and that Mr W T Stead was the first English journalist who interviewed him on his (Mr Forster's) return from the East at the beginning of the eighties. "Mr Forster," said Sir Wemyss Reid, 'came to see me immediately after the interview appeared, and I reproached him for having countenanced such an abominable innovation from America. We had a long discussion, and in the end agreed, that, while the ordinary interview was not a thing to be encouraged, yet that the interview in which a man stated his views on some great topic of interest might be useful to the person interviewed and to the public generally, 'but,' said Forster, 'the interviewer must let you have a proof before it is published.' Mr Forster was at the time generally blamed for granting the interview. Mr Stead was a most persistent interviewer, and "the list of the captives of his bow and spear extends from the Czar to General Gordon" of Soudan fame.

When the interviewing first came in, it was a great novelty, and the London newspapers used to send anybody to interview anybody. Some years ago when Mr Pierpont Morgan of America came to London, newspapers vied with one another to interview him. Now Mr Pierpont Morgan is known to be one of those who never submit themselves to the interview. But there was also known to be an English journalist equally clever in interviewing celebrities, and he took upon himself the arduous task of interviewing him. He went to the hotel where Mr Morgan was staying and sent in his card with the request that the business . . . he was

anxious to see him was most important and would not brook delay. Mr Morgan was quite familiar with this sort of trick on the part of newspaper interviewers and sent back word that he too was awfully busy on a matter of equally extreme importance, and therefore could not see the interviewer, his one minute being worth a guinea to him. The interviewer sent back word by his secretary that he would be quite prepared to give him even three guineas for a minute's interview, for the matter was of extreme importance. Mr Morgan gave in at this point, and the interviewer interviewed the millionaire. The three guineas which the interviewer gave to the interviewee was, of course, subscribed to a charitable institution. Now there was nothing in that interview which was of any special interest to the public. It was done because the interviewee was a great man. This kind of novelty has absolutely worn off now. The London papers do not trouble themselves to send their representative to interview a man simply because he is a great man in the eyes of the public, and they do not publish anything resulting from an interview until it is of some public interest. The craze for interviewing, so rampant in America, has in many European countries taken hold of the press to such an extent as to acclimatise itself there but it has never taken root in England. Since the day it came into England, it has never hit the fancy of the Press and the public, which think, and rightly too, that if badly or spitefully done, it is a source of annoyance to the interviewee. Apart from this, an English man is, by nature, most reserved, and does not like the idea of anybody prying into his affairs. Statesmen and politicians in many European countries submit themselves with bland smile and naive resignation to the presence of certain newspaper interviewers. But in England no statesman worth the name tolerates the idea of unnecessary interview, and that is the reason that the newspaper men have very little access in Downing Street, while they easily get the access in official departments of some countries. For example, the status of the newspaper interviewer is so well recognised in America that there is a room specially set apart for the men in the White House Office, and placed that every official as he President's room can . . .

ed and asked as to what he and other Ministers were talking about for the last two hours or so. The Ministers in America don't mind taking the newspaper men into their confidence, and giving them a brief resume, making it a condition that their names should not be used as the authority for the information. The point I wish to emphasize is that in America and some other countries particularly in America interviewing has gone so far that the newspaper interviewers do not hesitate to pounce upon Ministers coming out of their offices and asking them as to what they were doing and talking about and ministers do not object to being interviewed. But in England interviewing has not reached that stage and I am sure it will never come to that I mean when Ministers coming out of Downing Street will be easily approached and asked as to what they were discussing for such a long time. English people are not inclined in that way. It is a well known fact that Mr Gladstone and Lord Kitchener both had the reputation of being the most difficult personages to interview.

But when all this has been said and done the fact remains that now a days the interview is common to the English press, and the modern journalist combines the writing of articles with the interviewing of celebrities which his predecessor regarded as something beneath the dignity of his calling. It was nearly two years ago that the editor of "Answers," London, a weekly paper of not much importance, sent his representative Mr Hayden Talbot to America to interview Mr Theodore Roosevelt, the famous ex President of the United States of America and one of the most famous statesmen of world wide reputation to know his views on the war for readers of "Answers." When asked by the editor to go to America on the said mission Mr Hayden Talbot said to the editor, 'Do you know what this is going to cost you?' 'I don't care what it costs,' answered the editor. "I want Roosevelt on the war, and I mean to get him. He's the one big personality in the world that the newspaper people have been unable to get talking on this side, and I'm sure my readers would like to read what he has got to say about the Germans." Mr Hayden Talbot sailed for America by the first boat and succeeded in interviewing Mr Roosevelt at his Out-

look' office in New York, for Mr Roosevelt is at present on the editorial staff of the 'Outlook.' The result of his interview is being published in "Answers" in a series of articles the first appeared in "Answers" dated October 14, 1916. This will show the reader that even to an ordinary London paper no expense is too great and no effort is too arduous to get an important news so long as it is satisfied that its readers would like to know that news. In the first week of October, 1916, Mr Roy Howard, the president of the United Press Association of America, interviewed Mr Lloyd George, the War Minister to define the British attitude towards the recent British talk, pointing out that America's attitude was that she was willing to initiate peace negotiations when all the belligerents were desirous of her intervention and that in one or two quarters in America there was the feeling that in appropriate time for such mediation might be at the end of the autumn offensive, to quote the words of Mr Roy Howard. Now this is a kind of interview of which Mr Roy Howard and his paper would be justly proud, and it is an interview for which the world would be grateful to Mr Lloyd George, for it would tend to undeceive such neutrals as were labouring under the erroneous impression that England was prepared for peace without bringing the Germans to their knees and without completely and finally crushing the Prussian militarism. This interview clearly proves to demonstration, if any proof were needed, that peace can only be brought about by completely crushing Prussian militarism, otherwise it would be a 'patched up, precarious and dishonouring compromise, masquerading under the name of peace' as Mr Asquith so beautifully puts it.

Lately the London press has discovered another way of finding out the views and opinions of great men on important subjects of the day. Instead of sending their representative to a great man to interview him on some important subject they invite him to write for their paper on that important subject. This is decidedly a better way. In the case of interview, the views of the interviewee are expressed through the intermediary of the interviewer and are in some cases tainted with the personality of the latter. Cases are on record where the interviewee has

declaimed his views after these views were published in papers by the interviewer. But this cannot be said of the signed articles contributed by the great men on some important subjects of the day to a paper at the special request of the editor. There is no intermediary, and, therefore, they carry greater weight and authority with them as well as with the reader, who sometimes does not believe in all that the interviewer writes about the interviewee and his views on a particular subject. Since October 10, 1916 the "Star," for example has been publishing the views of some important and authoritative men, such as Mr J G Swift Macneil, K C, M P, Major General Sir Alfred Turner K C B, Sir Robert Pearce M P, pioneer of day light saving, Mr G Bernard Shaw, and others on the subject of "my changed opinions", i.e. pre war opinions and opinions after the war broke out. But this has one serious disadvantage. The paper has to pay a lot for this kind of contributions. But the press has got over that monetary side of the question too. In many cases these signed articles by great men are only interviews after all. The whole thing is done in this way. The representative of the paper goes to the man whose opinion he wants on a particular subject for his paper, and after conversing with him for a few minutes on that subject, says to him, "I have fully understood your view of the question. Now if I were to write in the first person, as if you yourself had written it, will you do me the favour of signing it and letting it appear in my paper?" If the interviewee is a courteous and obliging man, he replies in the affirmative, with the result that the interviewer writes it hurriedly then and there and the interviewee signs it. And why should he not sign? He knows that the views are his views and not those of the interviewer. He knows that they are put in a better way than he could put them. He knows that if he were to write his views on the subject, it would mean a good deal of time, and even then they might not be written in such an interesting and pleasing way as the interviewer has written them in. And above all, perhaps the interviewee himself was anxious to let the public know his views on that subject, but in the midst of pressing work he could not get time to do so. And what about the paper? It means a saving of, say, fifty guineas, at

the lowest, to the paper. But this is not true in the case of really great men in the public eye such as Mr Asquith, Mr Lloyd George, Mr Roosevelt, and other notable personages of their importance and greatness. They have no time for that kind of thing. If the press want to know their views on any important topical subject the only chance is to try to interview them, and even that chance is rare! It is not the representative of every leading paper who can interview them. It is only sheer luck that the representative of one paper might bring off a "scoop" by interviewing a notable personage like Mr Lloyd George, whereas others might fail.

It is very seldom that the Indian papers take the trouble of sending their representatives to interview celebrities on some important topical subjects. The reason is simple. People in general have a panicky view of interview, and, therefore, they object to being interviewed in the majority of cases. Neither the press nor the public think that the interview is a thing really useful in the interests of the public. They think it as something quite out of the common. The editor of the newspaper published in the north of India does not like to send a representative of his paper to the south of India to know the views of a great man in the public eye on a burning topic of the day. He—in fact, the proprietor—does not like to spend money on an enterprise like this, for two reasons, firstly, as said above, he does not think it would serve any useful purpose, and secondly, he is afraid the great man to be interviewed might not grant an interview, in which case it would be a sheer waste of money. But, let it be remembered, great feats in every walk of life, journalism included, are achieved by enterprises which do not prove successful at first. Take the case of the London press. It did not at first take a rosy view of interview, and did not think much of it. But it did not fail to try the experiment and spend money. And the result is that to-day we find the editor of "Answers" sending his representative to America to interview Mr Roosevelt on the war. Now the editor of "Answers" was not sure whether the enterprise would be really successful. He thought it worth the candle, and there you are.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL GROUPING IN THE EAST AND THE WEST*

ARGUMENT.

Family as the foundation of social groups. The disintegration of the family in the West. Individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes each with a bundle of exclusive interests to promote. Cultural or likeness groups in the East. Difference between communal and interest groups. Tendency to coercion among interest groups. In the East group action is social, not coercive.

Group action in the East promoted the same ends as are achieved in the West by state interference and activities.

Communalism, characteristic of China and India. China, whether monarchical or republican, is a great aggregate of democratic village communities. Village bodies and their functions. Inter village treaties and alliances.

The Roman Family and the Chinese Family. The Indian Family.

The clan in China and India. The ancestral hall, and the village temple.

The development of the elaborate caste organisation characteristic of India.

The economics of the caste system. The formation of castes and sub-castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. Illustrations from Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab.

Merchants and artisans' guilds in China and India. The Panchayet of bankers and merchants in India.

Contrasted principles of social grouping in the East and West. In the West social grouping is determined by the instincts of appropriation and aggression; in the East it is the outcome of a *vital clan* in the direction of natural and human relationships.

The contribution of communalism to culture and civilisation.

THE fundamental unit of civilised society is not the individual but the family.

Without the family no other social groups are possible. The family leads the individual out of his seclusion, deprives him of his egoistic selfishness and lifts him to a more elevated selfishness in order that he can enjoy a higher life with his fellow individuals. In the family relation a man first of all learns to live for others. Without this discipline higher social relations are impossible. It is for this reason that the disintegration of the family is a menace to social existence. The family is the foundation of society; its disintegration threatens the foundations of social

life. The individual by himself cannot act effectively in civilised society. The individual by himself cannot enjoy effectively the fruits of civilisation.

Social progress finds man in many social groups. Each of these groups moulds and re-shapes a man. It expresses and develops a particular phase of a man's personality.

But the foundation of them all is the family, which is at once the unit of activity and the unity of enjoyment, which supplies as it were the link of all social relationships.

In the West this link is being snapped asunder on account of the disintegration of the family. The industrial and social conditions, the laxity of marriage laws and the frequency of divorce have all contributed to that.

When the uniting and disciplinary forces are weakened, individuals are a prey to passions, the caravan spirit. The family has been the centrifugal force, the passions are the centripetal forces which now become dominant.

When the family which is the bond of social co-operation is destroyed, individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes, not cultural or likeness-groups, but each with a bundle of exclusive interests to defend. Each individual finds that his self-interest is made effective by the formation of special groups to promote it. If these latter had an unchecked play, the whole society would be rent asunder by the conflict of antagonistic groups.

That is the contrast between labour organisations, tradesunions, employers' associations, landlords' associations and, so forth and the caste, the tribe, religious brotherhood or the church and Samaj. Trades unions or employers' guilds do not represent the mass of human interests as are embodied in such institutions as the family or the church. The family and the church are therefore communal, properly representative of society as a whole and not of sectional interests and well-being.

In the West each social group focusses

* A lecture delivered under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr H. J. Maynard, M.A., C.S.I., at the University of the Punjab.

the interests of a particular class so effectively and presents the strength of numbers in such a force that it is apt to act as a coercive authority. In India, out of each group an ethical standard, an element of public opinion comes, which rises into a principle which society cannot oppose. That is the difference between the coercion of Marx and the coercion exercised by the caste, the *gotra*, the tribe, the samy, and the religious association in India.

The disintegration of the family in the West has strengthened and is strengthened by the forces and feelings of the individual egoism of man in the state of nature which delights in mutual warfare, war against society, and war against himself. This has warped the other social groups from their natural lines of development. Carried to excesses and accelerated as they are apt to be, they become coercive agents for carrying out exclusive interests antagonistic to social welfare. Nowhere is coercion more marked than in industrial conflicts, though politics is also becoming too much a wrangle for power of party groups which force their judgment upon the whole community.

The present machinery of settling labour disputes in the West is unworkable because each industrial group carries such a load of dogmatism, develops such a strong antisocial group opinion and adopts methods so coercive on the rest of the community.

In the East group action is social, social progress is evolved through the co-operation of the social groups. This is what I term communalism. If this free development were possible and monopolistic or theocratic tendencies were not to come into play, there would be no outside control of one group by another. If there be conflict of groups, the individual would form his judgment independently on moral grounds and would not be coerced by any group be it the trade or industrial organisation, the family, or even the state itself.

In the West one group tends to coerce another, and all coerce society. This implies that the natural evolution of society is checked. This again implies revolutions. Group opinion is thus apt to be dogmatic and antisocial and group action is revolutionary in the West.

The East does not know of compulsory

education, or compulsory military training. Communalism secures the same results without the adoption of the coercive methods of the West. Among the *Dwijas* viz the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas in other words among the members of the personality social class higher education was universal under the unwritten social and ethical code, while every boy or girl of the village would receive the elements of primary education in the village monastery or temple supported by the whole community. Thus group action under favourable circumstances contributed to the same fitness as is sought to be achieved in the West by state activities and functions. Neither state socialism with its dogmatic suppression of group opinion nor anarchism impatient of group-control really belongs to the East. Throughout the east group interests correspond to public welfare. It is through group co-operation that social progress is achieved. It is this success which makes opinion conservative and activity traditional. Thus communalism characterises the oldest and most conservative nations in the world now living, China and India.

The haughty imperialist, the rapacious millionaire, or the uncompromising labour leader are the wildest of revolutionaries. Earth hunger, wealth hunger, and food-hunger are each born of a social order where failure has embittered the social tone and destroyed social restraints.

Communalism implies an internal success which uproots dogmatism and revolutionary ideas. In communalism group opinion and group action are essentially social and co-operative.

In China, as in India, the internal administration of the country is managed entirely by voluntary associations which co-operate with one another. Like India, China is a huge republic within which are myriads of petty republics. Like the Indian village community, the Chinese village has perfect freedom of industry and trade, of religion and everything that concerns the government, regulation and protection of the locality. The central Government plays but an insignificantly small part in the village life. Police, education, public health, public repairs of roads and canals, lighting and innumerable other functions are managed by the villagers themselves through

voluntary associations. In fulfilling such a gigantic network of duties a village inevitably comes in contact with other villages sometimes in friendly and occasionally very hostile relations. Thus a sort of inter village commercial treaties arises between and aggressive and defensive alliances are entered into by a considerable group of villages.

China whether monarchical or republican in form is but a great aggregate of democratic communities ordering their affairs peacefully and happily in the main through the government of the heads of families.*

As in India the family is the fundamental unit of society in China.

In its economic aspect the family both in China and India is not much unlike the monastic system of Christianity in which any one's earnings are for the good of all. So a sort of socialism is practised within the family, while at the same time the system does not sacrifice the individual.

Unlike the Roman family all the minor members of the Chinese family are persons and not chattels whose rights and duties are well defined. It is sometimes said that this family system drags down the individual from self-development. This is to judge the working of the Eastern system by the logic of social evolution of the West. With us self-development is by no means sacrificed for the good of the family. Confucius says 'A well regulated family is made possible only by the self-culture of the individuals comprising it'. The communal family has its serious abuses as well when it falls off from the above ideal of Confucius as has been the case in the history of China where the suppression of the legitimate individuality of a family member has been the outcome of the opposing principle of communalism carried to excess. Thus the family in China is collectively and directly responsible for the crimes of each member. No such obliteration of individualism is seen in the Indian family. Within the Indian family there has been great development towards individualism. This may be attributed to the Buddhist movement with

its emphasis of individual ethics which resulted in the emphasis of individual property rights to a great extent.

The clan both in India and China represents one step in advance towards a larger unit in society than the family. The clan is a gathering of families. Throughout China and Northern India villages are still called after the name of the clan inhabiting them. In China the members of the whole clan usually have a common ancestral temple, otherwise they have a common ancestral temple where only very remote ancestors are worshipped while each family has its own temple of ancestors pertaining to its own branch.

Within a clan the different families may be rich or poor, but as a rule the families are better off collectively to relieve the poor families of the same clan. The clan may jointly possess property, the income from which covers the expenses of an ancestral worship and the repair of grave yards.

Another centre of Chinese village life is the village temple which is the common centre of social life for all villagers irrespective of their clans. The inter village treaties and alliances are all entered into by the various temples. The village elders who are at the same time officers of the temple and the *chi yuen* are the connecting links in some cases extremely weak indeed between the village and central government. The village temple provides for the proper police of the village. It is in charge of lighting, it repairs roads, canals and landing places, furnishes adequate defence works &c. It also supplies free schooling to the village children when it is either not carried out or inadequately supplied by the different ancestral halls. It also supplies free doctoring, medicine and burial and such like relief works.

From the point of view of local government it is an institution full of potentialities in the future. The sources of its income are

(1) Like the ancestral hall it owns agricultural lands which are let out to the villagers irrespective of their clan.

(2) The market of the village held in its front is also a source of income.

(3) The temple itself is a source of considerable income.

There are three classes of Land holders in China. (1) The village temple. (2) The ancestral halls. (3) Private individuals.

* For the following account of Chinese communal bodies and village organizations I am indebted to the monograph on *Town and Village Life in China* published by the London School of Economics.

The proportion belonging to each element varies. In general the larger proportion is owned by private individuals, while the land belonging to the temple and ancestral halls is invariably let to those who possess none of their own.

So far both the clan system and the village organisation have withstood the growth of towns.

In India the common temple of the Chinese which symbolises the co-operative unity not merely of religious but social and economic activity of the community has not been seen. But the development of the elaborate caste organisation is characteristic of India. The caste is the trade guild which protects the standard of work as well as the standard of life and comfort of the artisans. The caste lays down strict rules of industry and trade. It serves the functions of a Benefit Society, or an accident or insurance association, and gives old age pensions. Sub-castes as well have important socio-economic significance. I have elsewhere shown that the formation of castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. As artisans and traders rise in the economic scale, in every step in the rise there is a ramification of the caste into groups, marking an ascent in the social ladder.

In some cases the adoption of a degraded occupation by certain families has spelt social disaster for that section and though still retaining the caste name they are compelled to marry amongst themselves and thus form a sub-caste.

In other instances the converse is the case and a group that abandons a disreputable occupation or commands social respect by the adoption of the customs (and restrictions) of higher castes, itself attains in time to a higher social grade.

Thus we find in Bombay the upper section of Nadors looked down upon because they commenced making salt, the Rangari or dyeing division of Shimpis and the Halde Males who prepare turmeric-halad.

On the other hand, comes the shining example of the Chandlagar, Chilara, and Rasonia sub-castes of Mochis who gave up leather work and took to making spangles, painting and electroplating. As a result they are treated like reputable

artisans and do not touch their brother muchis.

In the Punjab the Desi *Kumhars* rarely engage in making earthen vessels, although this seems to be the original trade of the tribe, they look down upon it and take to it only in extremity. They have a higher status than their fellows from Jodhpur who still work in clay. Many of them who have no land of their own engage in agricultural labour rather than in potter's work. Similarly the *Suthars* who are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture, look down upon the trade of the carpenter which they follow only when in poor circumstances. They keep aloof from the *Khati* or carpenter who works in wood.

It is especially characteristic how many of the lower castes have taken to agriculture and despite their former occupation, and separate themselves from those who still follow it.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation is to be seen among the workers in cloth and tanned leather who rank higher than makers of the raw materials. All the tribes, Chamar, Bhambi, Meghwal, Dhedi, Julaha, Paoli, Mochi, engaged in weaving coarse cloth and working in tanned leather are originally the same race, or at all events closely connected, and perhaps of aboriginal descent. The Chamars are divided into several distinct sections which will not intermarry with each other. The *Chandor* chamars will not associate with the *Jatiya* chamars who (they say) work in leather made from camel's and horse's skins which is an abomination to the former. On the other hand, the *Marwari* chamars settled at Delhi who make trips in the Punjab in the cold weather selling leather ropes in the villages, refuse to have any connection with the local chamars who (they say) tan leather and eat the flesh of animals that have died. While these *Marwari* chamars work only in leather already tanned.

The stationary village *Lohars* look down upon itinerant *Gadiya Lohars* who have no fixed home but go about from village to village in carts (*gadis*) carrying their families and implements with them. Similarly the wandering musicians and actors rank low because of their nomadic life and also because their women often

dance or act and sometimes prostitute themselves

The washerman ranks low because he handles the dirty clothes of other people. The hunters are looked down upon because of their uncertain jungle life. The Dhanaks who occupy a low position on account of their dirty work yet consider themselves superior to the Churas because although they sweep up and carry away everything else they do not like the Churas clean up night soil.

Many of these classes to some extent merge in each other, but when a better economic position or a less degraded work gives a clear superiority in status the higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in smoking, eating and marrying and gradually by an inevitable course of development is differentiated into a new caste. In the West men who attain success in industry occupy a higher social position which wealth gives or are rewarded with titles of distinction. Here not individuals but individuals formed into groups when they rise in the economic scale reward themselves with a higher status and society has got to recognise it.

In China there is the artisan's guild which resembles the Indian artisan's caste in many ways but this has not reached a high degree of complex development as the caste organisation represents in India. Still the workers both masters and apprentices form a multitude of small groups each in their own locality. They protect the standard of work. They meet very seldom except once or twice in the new year season when entertainments are arranged for all artisans belonging to the guild.

In China as well as in India there is also the merchant's guild. Traders have their own guilds. The morals of the trade are strictly observed. Members violating the regulations are expelled from the guild. The Chinese merchants are middlemen, pure and simple; their profit is generally very limited unlike that of capitalists who possess both the machine of production and exchange. It is the collectivity and solidarity of these trade guilds that answer for the stability of the Chinese market and hence for social peace. They check the immoral competition which would in the long run ruin the people and also the competitors.

It is characteristic that though the East has not proposed to itself the ideal of mere

mechanical efficiency, she has shown a remarkable skill in the management of the affairs of men. The advanced methods of science and the scientific organisation of industry have led in the West to an enormous increase of efficiency in production, but vital values have been sacrificed and the organisation of social groups has exhibited marked defects in certain important directions. In politics and in industry, fitness and efficiency have been pursued to the detriment of some of the fundamental and elemental values of life. In the East the increase of efficiency, industrial and political, has been circumscribed by the restricted natural and social needs suited to the peculiar natural and historical environment. Race Psychology has led to a greater emphasis on the satisfaction of the few primary needs than on comforts and luxuries (which multiply beyond limits in the West) and of the intellectual and spiritual needs, which have been relegated to the background in the West. The historical conditions have favoured the development of petty republics characterised by a high degree of local autonomy and unarrested growth rather than the organisation of a central governing power. Not wedded to the ideal of mere efficiency, fitness and quantity the East has found scope for the unarrested increase of the complex values of life, has sought quality more than quantity and well-being more than mechanical efficiency and by the emphasis of natural relationships based on primary needs and instincts rather than contractual ones has built up a social fabric where progress is achieved by spontaneous group action and not by state-control and state-interference. In her social organisation the mother East has been guided by her natural instinct which is itself the wisdom of nature by her strong human sympathies, and her communistic and collectivistic sense which have welded autonomous individuals and social groups into a harmonious co-operation for the common realisation of the ends of society, ends which are quite in keeping with those of Universal Humanity. Rousseau's famous diatribe of civilisation that man was born free and is now everywhere in chains is becoming more and more true of the West where society in the pursuit of a mechanical ideal of efficiency is ignoring the true interests of organic efficiency and culture,

and for that end is stretching its limbs like those of an octopus into those domains of the private personal life within which the individual is rightful sovereign for the imperative need and inalienable right of self-realisation. Social grouping in the West has been determined almost entirely by the instincts of appropriation and aggression manifested in the form of a yearning after productivity and exploitation. In this social scheme the concrete personality has been relegated to the background, and only a fragment has been hypostatized as the true individual. In the East social grouping has been the outcome of a vital clan in the direction of natural and human relationships. Consequently social grouping or stratification in the East always tends to ensure the satisfaction of the totality of human interests that constitute the personality. In industrial and political business which is really the management of the affairs of men the handling of machines industrial or political does not mean the same as the handling of living personalities individuals or groups. Trusts and cartels federations and empires may imply a high degree of efficiency, but as industrial machines produce monotony

of work and life and hamper the originality of creative genius they govern whole societies under the steam roller of dead routine and uniformity, and, in the pursuit of economic and administrative efficiency, destroy the conditions for the free realisation of the totality of needs and interests of individual and social units. The communism of the East, has achieved efficiency in its own way and in adaptation to the simple but total needs of individual and social life suited to the environment. It has secured economy and justice by a healthy and diffused distribution of wealth and population of work and leisure in a well organised and efficient system of agriculture arts and crafts, through decentralisation in administration it has developed the autonomy of local bodies and assemblies to an extent unknown in the West and by its emphasis of the primary values of life of human instincts and sympathies of a social and humanistic valuation, it stands for all that is noble in enjoyment, art and religion in other words for true culture instead of the bare materialistic and mechanical ideal which has given a wrong trend to the civilisation of the West.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

MICA AND ITS INDUSTRY

MICA may be mentioned as one of the various kinds of minerals which have been more or less known from a long time but whose utility had not been so far taken much advantage of. Although it is being used for various purposes for long ages it is within the last twenty years that its uses have been greatly recognised by the civilised world. In fact it has suffered the lot of a much neglected substance, which is likely to play a very great part in the future industry and trade of the commercial and industrial world.

The name mica is probably derived from Latin Mico—flash Micare—to glitter to shine and in some form or other its glittering shining and transparent properties are expressed by its names in various languages of the world.

There is some confusion between the use of the word Talc for the minerals that come under the term Mica. The word talc seems to have an Arabic origin. The German word Glimmer—to shine (Der Glimmer=Mica) the Urdu word Abr and the sanskrit word Abhra cloud, etc convey the same meanings and ideas.

The Hindu classical story is that Indra in order to kill Vritrasura produced the thunderbolts (Vajra). This Vajra scattered all round the sky while the sparks which fell on mountains below took the forms of mica. The folklore still goes that with the thunders in heaven micas are born or are deposited on the earth's crust. Another folklore goes that clouds taking the shapes of elephants eat sal leaves and while doing so the saliva that out of their mouth fall to

mica. The word *trile* seems to be reserved by mineralogists for advantage's sake or for technical consideration for some other meaning and the word *mica* is now generally used for all purposes.

Mica is the name given to an important group of rock forming minerals and is characterised by the perfect cleavage in one direction—along the base—and laminae which may be made very thin by a process of continued separation. Mica being the most delicate among the rock forming substances suffers great deformation due to crust disturbances of the earth. As commercially valuable mica should be mica crystals without flaw and of a certain size and which can only be obtained from particular places unaffected and unaltered by earth and crust movements hence is the scarcity of a very widespread area of ground of production.

Thus on account of nature's restrictions the mica supplies of the world are limited. Fortunate is the country which possesses the greatest store of these minerals for it will have the advantage and opportunity of monopolising and controlling the world's trade of commercial mica.

Mica is found in India Tibet Central Asia regions near Lake Baikal China Siberia Scandinavia Wales Canada USA Brazil, Peru and the region formerly known as German East Africa. Of all the countries in the world mica is commercially worked in India and America mostly and these two countries practically supply the world's market. Mica was well known in prehistoric America traces of its use being widespread. In Quebec Ontario etc. in Canada the supply is of excellent quality and it is easily mined and hence cheap.

India is fortunate enough to possess certain areas of very good and rich deposits of mica. Almost all the presidencies of India possess more or less mica bearing tracts. The principal of these are

- 1 Gaya Hazaribagh and Monghyr districts in Behar and Orissa
- 2 Nellore district in Madras Presidency

- 3 Ajmere in Rajputana Central India. These are the places where mica industry and mica mining are carried out on an extensive commercial scale. In fact the greater portion of the world's supply of mica is sent out from these districts. It may be said that India gives the world one half

and Canada and the United States together make up the other half. Europe has no commercial supply whatsoever. Europe however takes no share in producing but is the biggest buyer and consumer of this mineral.

The micas vary greatly in chemical composition and also sometimes in physical properties. But all micas however have this striking permanent characteristic that they can be split in thinnest films along the base. Attempts have been made to explain the variations in their compositions by scientists but they all seemed to have agreed to differ.

The micas are silicates and are divided into two main groups—Alkali and Ferro-magnesium micas. Micas may be defined as silicates of aluminium with other bases as iron calcium magnesium potassium sodium lithium fluorine etc. The chief four species of mica are

- 1 Muscovite the commonest is a silicate of potassium and aluminium. It is seldom colourless but generally brownish or greenish. It is light coloured and has pearly and metallic lustre.

- 2 Biotite commonly called magnesium iron mica and marked by its darker tints of either black or dark green.

- 3 Lepidolite is a lithium mica with fluorine potassium and aluminium as its constituents. It has a rose red or lilac tint.

- 4 Phlogopite is a biotite of reddish brown sometimes yellow or greenish.

Mica is generally found in the veins or along stratas and deposits of granite felspar quartz limestone etc. The micas enter into the composition of crystalline as well as sedimentary rocks. They are often mixed with crystallised minerals such as tourmaline garnet and sometime also kaolin. Deposits are most frequently found in dikes of intergrowths of quartz felspar, etc. and mica is scattered through the dikes or veins as they are called by miners. Deposits vary in thicknesses from a few inches to hundreds of feet. Almost everywhere the veins start near the surface and therefore mining is simple and prospecting operations easy and inexpensive.

The colours of mica as will be seen from above vary according to their different compositions. They are silver white black brown smoky brown green yellow, amber red and ruby. Those containing iron or magnesium are generally of deeper

colour. The inclusion of different proportions of hydrogen or water or some other minerals alter the colour, lustre and consistency. The Hindu writers and authorities knew of four kinds of mica and the colour of each was assigned to one of the four great castes of the Hindus.

The classification was ingenious and probably time serving—

1. The Brahman was white and transparent

2. The Kshatriya was red

3. The Vaisya was yellow

4. The Sudra was dark tinted black and opaque

A good piece of commercial mica should be medium hard and elastic. Crystals or books of mica as they are technically called have their value in large sheets in which form they can be mined out. The largest books sometimes measure even up to 10 to 15 feet sides and a good few inches thick while usually a book of an area of say one square foot should be considered as a good piece.

Mica mining operations have been carried out in India from ages and centuries ago but there seems to be no history coming down to us to ascertain the period as to when such works were first started for all practical purposes of commerce and industry. From various accounts we come to know that mica mining and the processes of its industry as have been carried out in India have been a huge wasteful system in the past. Even as far as two decades back the same system had continued. The old system of working mica was simply a process of digging and picking out the minerals in the easiest way possible. The people engaged in conducting the same had a crude knowledge of things and an unsystematic way of safe and quick return of labour and money invested was the dominant spirit and idea. The result was a systematic waste of this mineral which has now been considered as one of the most useful minerals which can probably never be suitably substituted. There are also fears in some quarters of its sudden exhaustion.

Although geologists and best trained foreign mining engineers consider that a systematic scientific mining process for successfully working mica mines should and could be resorted to the practical experience of the people concerned and connected with this particular work show that

nothing very scientific can be applied for improving the present affairs to a very great magnitude. Although large sums of money have been spent for experiments the actual processes of mining operations—apart from mechanical and other minor contrivances and arrangements and general system of non-wasteful work—have not much differed or improved from the past. In fact experts in mica mining say that there is not much new to be learnt or applied unless the whole system somehow or other is completely changed and revolutionised. In due course however some such system must be forthcoming. It is never too late for inventions.

In mica bearing areas pegmatite or mica bearing veins—if we can say so—are easily detected. Sometimes there are outcrops of mica on the very surfaces of the grounds or generally crests or slopes of hillocks. In former times when mica mining had not become industrially popular, the local tribes hillmen or agriculturists a whole family of them the youngsters accompanying would go up a known place of mica bearing area with a few picks and baskets. They knew the natural signs of the soil and would begin digging a place and following the crop or vein of mica in whatever direction it would go in worm-like tortuous holes which would sometimes extend to a depth of 20 feet. They would simply bring out the cuttings and diggings stone mica and all sort out the serviceable micas bring them home and use them themselves for some purpose or other or sell them to persons interested for paltry sums. On another occasion they would again go to another place and soon they would cover all the near areas with holes and pits all over the place and thus denude and damage the nearest available mica deposits in that locality. Such methods of working and exploiting or rather devastating mica lands had continued till a quarter of a century back.

In the good old days two systems of mining were followed—

(1) Quarries and open pit system

(2) Following the mica vein crystal to crystal in whatever direction it would lead

Even nowadays both these systems have been adhered to. These however have now been supplemented by other systems of works such as vertical shafts, air and

ventilation shafts etc. The unsparious and unhealthy holes of the former system have been greatly improved. Mines which now go underground to the depths of 200 to 300 ft are receiving special attention both of the owners and of the law makers of the land. Those deep mines which have struck rich deposits are yielding good crops and hence people and parties concerned in the profits and working naturally pay more attention for safety and security both of life and property. Various laws and regulations which are the outcome of serious ventures in proper business ways are being applied to systematise the whole works in all its branches and systems.

The mining implements are simple and easily obtainable. Pick axes spades crow bars chisels sledge hammers baskets brackets tawes are more or less all that are practically necessary for an ordinary mining operation. These entail an outlay of very small capital. For more systematic works of larger concerns use of dynamite and other explosives hand and steam pumps pulleys etc are the necessary accessories.

To follow a day's work in a mica mine in Behar may be interesting reading. At about 8 o'clock in the morning streams of people men women and juveniles are seen walking through lonely places of forests over beaten tracks fording rivulets crossing over hills and dales and going towards the mining centres and pits which are generally in out of the way places in uninhabited areas and uncultivated lands over hill crests or slopes or valleys. The labourers carry with them all the necessary implements required for the day's work. They mostly carry their food with them for the in day meals and sometimes they have to carry even their own supply of drinking water. Mine labourers and the youngsters among them have been seen to walk a distance of 8 to 12 miles to go to their works every morning and to come back home the same evening after putting in 8 to 10 hours work. Thus they do day after day and in all weather and seasons. Mine works generally begin from 9 in the mornings. The labourers having all assembled at the pit heads the roll is called attendance is registered and parties or gangs of workers are formed and headed by their mate or chief are sent to various pits or places either for regular mining or for

prospecting work. Mining may be carried on with or without explosives.

In pits where mining proper is carried on the man in charge of the mines technically known as a competent person goes in first and sees that the pit sloping barricades, the scaffoldings the inside walls and projections the wooden props etc, are all intact and safe. He then allows the workers to go in. The work of women and children begins first. The water that has accumulated through percolation or springs overnight and the heaps of rock, mica etc that have remained in the pits after the blasting which was the last operation of the previous day have respectively to be bailed out and cleaned out by a chain of women and juveniles with buckets pitch r's baskets etc. The men or miners then begin their work with pick hammer chisel etc and if blasting operations are needed, the blasting holes are made and stuffed with explosives and fuses. For blasting work the pit is immediately vacated after the fuse has been fired and then after the explosion and the lapse of some time for the smoke to clear out the work of sorting out serviceable micas if any are obtained and that of the clearing of broken rocks by women and children is again done.

If elaborate machineries are employed the pumping operations are done with either hand or machine pumps and the loads brought up by means of pulleys or some such mechanical contrivance. After every operation of blasting the props the inside walls the openings of pits etc are carefully looked to and necessities fixed up. This cycle of similar operations goes on again and again. Mine work is generally stopped before dusk. In day time however all deep pits require lighting arrangements and small oil torches or candles are used. Actual mining work having ceased in the evening the day's findings of mica are brought up and collected together in heaps on the top of each pit. The sortings are then made the serviceable micas are made up in bundles and the scraps and unnecessary pieces thrown away in heaps somewhere near the mines or dumped as they say. The bundles are made in weights of 15 to 20 seers and bound up with cordlike barks of creepers plentiful in the bushes. The day's work being finished the labourers accompanied by headmen and watchmen proceed to the

nearest godown or store and make over the day's findings of mica implements tools and all. At this stage they have even to submit to personal searchings for stolen mica or any other things. Some mining concerns have day and night works and for continuity of work two and sometimes three sets of hands are employed. Projects are in view for electric illumination of mines and use of push trams.

The labourers in mica mines specially in Behar are generally drawn from the natives of the localities. Almost all sorts of castes from high to low and of different professions are represented among the workmen. But almost all are tillers of land and depend a great deal on the amount of agriculture they can do along with their works in mica mines or mica factories. Sometimes all the members of the family are seen to work in mines or factories. In some places there is imported labour from other divisions or subdivisions and rarely from other provinces. But it is a noteworthy fact that people living in mica mine areas are more or less connected in some way or other with mica and its industry. For ordinary labour the juveniles earn about 1½ to 2as, women 2as to 2½as and men 3 to 5 as a day. Weekly and fortnightly payments are made.

Labour is generally fairly regular and supply adequate. But during paddy or other important sowing and harvest seasons workmen invariably stay away from their works and some difficulty is always then felt. Prospectings are generally done during the rainy season when the ground is wet and easy for digging and when surface washings show up the outcrops. Winter months are also favourable for the purpose. During prospecting periods and rainy seasons there is generally some slackness in the regular mining work for reasons of labour and other technical considerations. Old works are renewed with full vigour and new works start during the dry days following rainy months.

For the last twenty years or so mica

mining has received the attention of the Government and mining rules regulations prospecting lease terms etc., have been drawn up and fixed. Nowadays there are supposed to be regular inspections of mica mines by special Government mining inspectors and officers. The mining departments of the Government control all the mica mines as regards their safe workings, non-wastage and so on. All the details of work of the year, such as number of hands engaged, total raisings of mica and its approximate value, cases of accidents, health of workers etc., are to be reported to the Government by all owners of mines.

Mica fields are worked on lease and share systems. Government lands are also let out on lease. Zamindars and landlords who own mica-bearing lands make a very good profit by leasing out the rights to work and exploit mica. Fancy prices are often demanded for rich plots of land. To give an example, an area of about 500 square miles would bring a rent of about Rupees 25,000 a year plus a handsome *salam*. A few acres of mica-bearing land would fetch as rent Rupees 1,000 a year.

Within the last decade or so there have been many enterprisers in the field of mica mining industry. Mica has however its sad failures too like all other mining. But considering the outlay in capital the results generally obtained have been marvellous. But the old system of small capital and quick return will not and cannot continue to have its advantage for time unlimited. A change must come and it has come. With the recognition of mica by the civilized world there has been a steady and increased demand. In these days of competition and industrialism honest workers and parties judicious systems of working a mica mine area, efficient management and expert and specialized knowledge are essentially necessary for profitably working mica mines and concerns.

ANANDAPROKASH GHOSE

EVERLASTING PEACE A MEDITATION

BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE

'Everlasting peace belongs only to those
serene and saintly men who find God
in their innermost being

CAN any one ever wish that the innermost Beloved should turn away, or that we ourselves should remain at a distance from Him? Can any one ever desire to dwell apart from the Giver of life and wisdom, the Closest of Friends? Even though a man's soul be steeped in sin, it can hardly be so dead as to wish to dwell apart from God. The longing for God cannot utterly be extinguished.

The man who shrinks before the great dread within, can never banish from his secret heart the sound of these words,—“Whither will you flee, from whence will you get deliverance? Deprived of His shelter, with whom will you take refuge?”

If you are afraid because of your sin, then all the more eagerly take shelter with Him and long to gain freedom from sin's bondage. If you go to the mountain caves, the lonely forests, or the wide sea, you cannot escape from God. Nay, only as you take refuge with God can you escape from the terror that dwells within.

Therefore, when you have sinned, do not seek to flee from Him, but all the more pray to Him with longing of heart and sorrow of spirit. Say to Him,—“I have made myself vile in Thy sight, but do thou accept me. I have plunged into the darkness, but do Thou O Light of lights, lead me from darkness to light. Give me punishment to the full, I am ready to bear it, if only I may be freed from the snares of sin and know once again the joy of Thy Presence.”

Surely, if we come to Him thus, with real longing and sorrow, He will shower His love upon us and heal with tenderness our troubled spirit.

There are those who sin and do not take shelter with God, glozing their conscience with the lie that God and immortality are things of nought. These men give place in their hearts to a thousand en-

tangling doubts. Their innermost soul does not wish to declare that God is not, and yet they wish to remain blind. They see that God is watching the evil and the good, and yet they wish to remain blind. They have fear in their hearts, and yet they will not fear God. The Father of all is calling them, but they remain deaf to that call.

If we shrink back from God in fear of His punishments, then let us know that all His stripes are healing to the soul. Taking shelter with Him we shall get freedom from all sorrow and release from all fear. Our spirits will once more become enlightened with the light of His truth, attracted by His revelation, and indwelt by His holy love.

When the hour of death draws near and we are called upon to enter God's presence, what will our thoughts be then?

Some will think, “At one time I had set out upon a wayward path, far away from God and without hope. Then God took pity on me, and I have again come back to Him.”

Another will think, “My burden of sorrow and pain has become unbearable. Where is my path leading me? I have taken no pains to see where my life was going. When I could have gone on the right path I turned away in contempt. God warned me again and again, but I gave no heed to His warning.”

Think not that the hour of death is far distant. Nothing is sure. Think not that we may now enjoy the pleasures of the senses, but when old age comes we can then give ourselves to works of piety and contemplate God. The demons of evil only require time to become strong.

Do not trifle with the thought, that, because to-day we can safely overcome some perverse desire, therefore to-day we may safely indulge. The very thought makes it clear that the temptation has already begun to gain the mastery. Can any one, who hates impurity, remain indifferent in the midst of impurity? Let

the man, who longs to be free from sin and to make vanquished right again triumphant, stand even now in God's presence and shed before Him true tears of repentance

Then the attractiveness of sin will disappear, and the pangs of sorrow will be quenched. Then he will be full of deep remorse, that at one time he was away from God. He will feel how empty life was, and how impure, when he was not near to God. He will have learnt that only those wise men, who in their own souls can find His presence, have a real and lasting peace.

As the scripture says,—“Only those wise men have everlasting happiness who in their own spirits see a witness to Him, who is the only Lord of the inner soul of all beings, and who creates the many from the one. Others can never get such happiness.”

And again another scripture says—“Only those wise men have everlasting peace, who see in their own spirits a witness to Him, who amidst all change is the only Eternal, the Creator of the consciousness of all conscious beings, supplying the needs of all. Others can never get such peace.”

The scripture speaks of God's witness in the innermost spirit. There is indeed a

true witness to God, outside us, even in this outward ray of light, but that is, in a sense, distant. There is a true witness to Him even in this temple, but He is closer still to us than that. He has His dwelling place in our innermost soul.

Our body is His temple, His inner shrine. He is our own sole wealth,—not only ours, as those things are ours, which belong to all alike, such as the wind, the rain, the light of the sun,—but ours in intimate, innermost relations. He is the indwelling God of each man's body, the household God of everyone of us. Just as we say ‘my father,’ ‘my mother,’ ‘my brother,’ ‘my sister,’ speaking of them all as mine, so God also is ‘my God,’ the God of my heart.

The scripture says—‘Whoso makes separation even in the least degree, him fear seizes.’ When I feel God's presence in my own soul, then, with Him as my Companion I become fearless.

Wonderful indeed is the truth that everywhere, within and without, I find His presence. When I open my eyes I see Him all around and about me. When I close my eyes, I see His self-revealing image full of majesty within my heart.

‘Everlasting peace belongs only to those serene and saintly men, who find God in their innermost being.’

hearth Having returned home the tiger angrily asked them as to the whereabouts of the mother The man and the demon pointed to the forest and off he went towards that direction in quest of the mother Now the man and the demon took earnestly to cultivation

Now that the demon knew a bit of the black art (*took tak*), a sacred book to the man, and could do as much work in the field as could be done by the man in twice or thrice the time needed by the demon, so his fields bore plenty of crops quite to the amazement of his human brother At the time of going to the field the demon's wont was to take the opposite way of the man

One day the man asked him about his way The demon pointed to the way up The man, according to his logic went down and suddenly came across a red substance shooting by him which bore the semblance of a hen At this the man fell senseless to the ground, when the demon bringing him back to his senses again by means of his incantations addressed him saying Fearing the worst of you my dear, I act contrary to what I say In consideration that his stay there might be prejudicial to the safety of man he removed himself to the side of a distant tank and while leaving instructed him in better cultivation and in the practice of the (*took tak*) black art This explains the practice of demon worship among the Nagas

This man begot two sons One was named Upa [In sema, 'Upa' means to fly away And because a hen was flying off, hence this naming] Another was called Huepo ['Huepo means a native jar for sucking honey And because such a one was near by, hence the naming]

Some Semas explain their origin by a different tradition They say the Aoo, Angami, Lota and Sema Nagas are the descendants of four uterine brothers The eldest had a religious turn of mind, was much cared for by the parents and adequately clothed He is the forefather of the Angamis The second a quarrelsome fellow, was poorly clothed by the parents and is traced as the head of the Aoo stock The third was also an exact copy of the second and is the reputed ancestor of the Lota section

A notorious scoundrel and mischievous

wretch, the fourth was never submissive to his parents, who angrily attached a piece of rag to his waist and turned him out of doors The Semas are his progeny This incident is at the root of different clothing amongst the above mentioned four Naga tribes

Some Semas again are of opinion that they have come out from the gigantic stone at the village of Kajakunema The Angamis, too, favour various traditions explicative of their origin and also refer to the gigantic stone of Kajakunema as the birth place of the Angamis, the Semas, and the Lotas This peculiar stone legend is current also among the other Nagas The Aoo Nagas say they have come from the Loongturak mountain and so the Nagas as a rule defy the mountains

I think it will not be quite out of place to give a detailed account of the Angamese legend about the Kajakunema stone According to it there lived an old man and his wife with three sons in Kajakunema The three sons used to sun their paddy on the stone Great was their surprise when the paddy would double its amount every evening This miracle was naturally attributed to a specific property in the stone itself and the phenomenon consequently tended to sound a jarring note amongst the brothers with regard to its possession, which fact, being perceived by their father, caused him to pile heaps of straw on the said stone and set fire to it With the reverberation of thunder the stone split into two and out came the demon within and went up to Heaven Though the property of the stone was lost, the brothers fell out with one another before long separated and betook themselves to different regions

The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas are the descendants of these three

Though these legends never give us solid facts to rely upon yet they help us so much as to infer, and truly indeed, that once they lived together, and this is also corroborated by the striking unity of social life of the three different Naga tribes The Aooos and Miris are similar and are traced to the same stock The Angamis the Semas and the Lotas bury their dead, whereas the Aooos and the Miris preserve them The Angami, Sema and Lota women do not tatoo their bodies, whereas the Aoo and Miri women do The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas

have no separate "Morong" (household for the unmarried), whereas the Aoo and the Miris have. Again, the former three have no "Shankum" (the music on the eve of a victory), whereas the latter two have it. A great deal of difference can be marked even in the construction of their houses. For instance, the Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas have got wooden 'Kikas' in their houses, but no "Machang" there, whereas the Aoo and Miris have plenty of bamboo built 'Machang' inside the house and verandah outside but no "Kikas".

SEMA MALES AND FEMALES AND THEIR DRESSES

The male Semas are of swarthy complexion but handsome, strongly built, brave and courageous. They are fond of hunting and rank highest among all the Nagas for their military tactics. The Semas, whose only wearing apparel is nothing but a piece of green rag very small in size and kept hanging down from the fore part of the waist, can be unhesitatingly called a naked people.

But a very reasonable explanation is offered by them for this intentional paucity in dress. We are born naked and it is sinful to hide that nudity. The Semas, though a primitive race, are accustomed to theft and falsehood, and have a sharp sense of social precedence. You can easily single out a wealthy Sema with a wreath of conch shell around his neck and ivory ornaments on the arms and 'cowry' ornaments on the wrist. They form a noble class by themselves and can wear boar's teeth as an insignia of their nobility won by succeeding in herding a fellow creature. Such a custom was prevalent indeed before the establishment of the British government there and the humanising influence thereof came into operation, but the relic of such a dignified sense of nobility amongst them is still visible when they as camp followers accompany the frontier expeditionary forces sent against the Miris, Mishims, Abars, Akas or Dailas and can decapitate anybody, dead or alive, or even can spear a corpse.

The Sema dance is the best of all Naga dances. They generally dance on the eve of some festivities. The most striking feature of that dance is the fantastic dresses and ornaments they wear at the time of dancing. These generally consist of

some uncouth substances and rude implements of war worn in different parts of the body, such as a two edged *dao* hung along the back from the shoulder, caps made of bear's skin or human hair and the like.

The Sema women are strongly built but they are dark and not handsome. They have got their hair brown and short.

The Semas also have got a dowry system contrary to the Bengal system, the bridegroom has to pay for the bride, and therefore, like the Aoo, they cannot enjoy the blessing (!) of numberless marriages, as it entails a heavy expenditure of money on the profligate. Having no fear of a divorce, the Sema woman takes little care of her physical charms after the nuptial knot is once tied, and to their credit it may be said that among the whole family of Naga women the Sema kind is the only one that knows what chastity really means.

True to the nature of all women, the Sema females are very fond of ornaments and fine dresses. Thus they like various kinds of bangles made of mixed metals, and wreaths of conch shells and crimson coloured 'manis' are no less their favourite. Their 'mekhalas' spreading from the waist down to the ankle is a very beautiful and costly thing if variegated by parallel lines of conch shells or crimson coloured 'mani' wreaths. Such a 'mekhala' belonging to a Sema girl of a wealthy father may be worth forty or fifty rupees at a rough estimate. But the primary defect in their dress, which strikes one most, is that they never care to cover their breast.

Christianity has not as yet appeared among the Semas and no light of education has, as yet, crept into their society. They are still at the lowest grade of civilisation like the Miris.

THE SEMA VILLAGE AND HOUSEHOLD

There are trenches running round all the Sema villages, and these trenches again are palisaded with thick rows of bamboos.

All this is a provision for holding out against the enemy. There is no "para" or *khel* in the Sema Village. The two thatched Sema houses are generally made of straw and bamboo with three doors respectively fitted in the front, in the back and side of the house. Opposite to the peculiar only to the

kept continually burning within. There are three rooms in every Sema house: the first or the fore room shelters the cows, pigs and other domestic animals; the second or the middle room serves as the paddy house; the third or the last room serves the purpose of all other household affairs. The most important function, namely cooking, is performed there and the master of the house sleeps there with his wife and little children. As has already been said, the Semas have no separate Marang or household for the unmarried.

The unmarried Sema youths pass their nights in the first or fore room which is big enough for them and the cattle and the second or the middle room cordially welcomes the unmarried young girls.

MATRIMONIAL RITES

There is nothing like courtship among the Semas. The parents on both sides settle a marriage always subject to the opinion of the boy and the girl concerned. A matrimonial overture is confirmed by the would-be bridegroom going to the bride's house attended by a number of friends where they are helped to sumptuous dishes of sweet-smelling boiled rice and honey by the bride according to the wishes of her mother. A Sema girl values her chastity above all. The parents of a young unmarried Sema girl watch over her carefully and Sema society is no less punctilious on this point. Thus if a young Sema touches the body of an unmarried young Sema girl he is liable to a fine and is hated and ridiculed by society. A rigid observance of this moral rule by Sema society has served to save the Sema girls from living a life of immorality and shamelessness to which the Aoo girls have succumbed mainly owing to the laxity of their society with regard to the keeping up of this standard of morality.

We have already said that there is a kind of dowry system among the Semas. Generally the girl's father is entitled to exact something from the boy's father. When an overture is consented to both by the boy and the girl, the father of the boy finds the amount to be paid to the girl's father. In the marriage of a rich man's daughter or of a chieftain's the amount may rise as high as five or six hundred rupees. The lowest amount may be fifty or sixty rupees roughly speaking without paying which even the poorest Sema can

not aspire to wedlock. It may be asked what dowry does the girl's father give to his dear daughter. To the credit of her father we may say that he often cuts out a considerable part of the much talked-of amount paid to him consisting of cash money and domestic animals and gracefully allots it to the share of his daughter. On the day of the marriage the parents of the bridegroom accompanied by their relations proceed with a big boar towards the house of the girl's father for bringing her. The bride's father feeds them sumptuously with the meat of that boar. The party then carries the bride to the new house of the bridegroom which he himself builds specially for this purpose and passes the night there sumptuously fed. The Sema bride comes no poor hanger on to her husband's house. Apart from the handsome dowry already referred to she comes possessed with a solid Stridhana property of her own. It is customary with Sema girls while under their father's roof to amass separate property unknown to their father and deposit with persons other than himself. This self-acquired property together with the dowry—which sometimes consist of valuable things such as pigs, hens, precious stones, ornaments of mixed metals, wearing apparel, &c.—indeed further dignifies her personality in the eye of her husband and his relations.

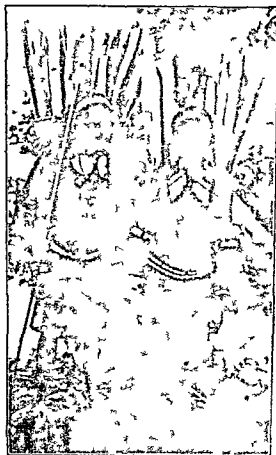
Polygamy is allowed in the Sema society and a Sardar can marry six or seven wives. On the death of a Sema his wives may be married out to other families but if the brothers of the deceased are willing to marry them themselves they can be given away to others on no account. A man can marry his step-mother on the death of his father. Though the Sema society allows divorce among its people it never makes a very abundant use of this custom like the Aoo and other Nagas. The ground of divorce is dissatisfaction of the husband. If the divorce comes within three years of the marriage the husband may recover the amount paid to the father of the wife but if it comes later the husband is to pay a fine to the wife. The birth of a child even within three years of the marriage is no bar to a divorce.

RELIGION AND PRIESTCRAFT

The Semas are monotheistic in belief and their name of God is Kunglin. Kunglin has created this universe and



A Sema Grl



Sema Girls Fetching Firewood

resides in the sky. He sees through the deeds of all. The Semas believe in Satan and favour the stories of ghosts and spectres. The Sema Satan is known as Tagamy. The favourite haunt of Tagamy is in the midst of gigantic stones in the beds of rivers in the dense forest and according to some in the verandahs of men now and then. According to Sema belief the soul of a religious man goes up to the sky and becomes a Deo there and that of an irreligious one walks down to an abysmal depth below and is born again as a human being or a fly there.

Auou (आवू) is the principal priest of the Semas and in every village there is one of them. Being the hereditary priest of the Semas and in respect second to the sardar the Auou is the authority on questions of the gena or religious rites of the

Semas and the sole person to fix the date for the celebration of such a gena and to order for its necessary publication. He receives paddy from every villager and in time of gena he gets meat. Whenever a new village is going to be founded the house of the Auou has first to be built then that of the sardar and then others.

In every village there is a class of people known as Lapu or Apnou whose business is to bury the dead of the village. The shovels used at the time of the burial come to the possession of these Lapus whose secondary business is also to dig out canals for the purpose of letting the water in and out whenever a new village is in the process of being built in a gena called Ahisara the Lapu will receive first of all and will receive a cow's leg and a seer of salt. He also gets paddy for burying the dead.

GENA

The Sema genas are few and simple and similar to other Naga genas both individual and social. There is no hard and fast rule for the celebration of an individual gena which is indicative of the wealth and social position of the celebrator and which can only be performed by the rich folk of the community, but the social genas must be performed by one and all and every one must render pecuniary help for the performance of such a rite.

The genas are naturally performed after the conclusion of a happy marriage after the safe ending of the sowing season at the time of reaping a harvest and at the time of clearing a forest for the purpose of cultivation. During these genas people are fed to their heart's content with rice and honey and the celebration is graced by a lively demonstration of dancing and singing. These festivities and enjoyments which last sometimes for thirty days are meant for good harvest increase of wealth and decrease of woe. At the time of worshipping the Deo a woman is not allowed to be present there. Their sacrificing poles something similar to those in Bengal are of the shape of an Y. We have already said the Semas believe that the Tagami also lives in the houses of men. So to avert such a catastrophe they perform a gena called Akichiney yearly or every three years in which the Sema male and female rising early in a particular morning will sacrifice a small boar, burn it, divide it into sixty parts on sixty leaves with sixty grains of rice and pass the whole day within doors feeding themselves simply upon meat and honey. To avert any visitation of plague or outbreak of serious fire in the village the villagers unitedly perform every year a gena called 'Akneya' at which the 'Auou' is the principal priest who sacrifices a very large boar and several hens and this is simply attended by the males to the exclusion of the females. There are various other genas like these.

SEMA SARDARS AND SEMA COLONY SYSTEM

In every Sema village there is a sardar or a king who is the absolute master of that village. Sema sardarship is hereditary and succession to it is ruled by the law of primogeniture. When a sardar becomes too old to carry on the administration of his village he generally delegates

his power to his eldest son. The agricultural fields are the sardar's property, who leases out plots of them to the villagers, who in return work in their sardar's fields free of charge and whenever any one of them catches fish or hunts an animal the sardar will undoubtedly get his royal share.

Whenever there is a perceptible increase in the population of a village and its limited resources cannot meet the demands of the increased population a band of villagers set out with the purpose of founding a new village with new corn fields. They take with them a Auou and a Lapu and the sardar sends one of his sons with them who becomes the sardar of the new village. First of all the Lapu digs out the waterpaths of the village. Then the house of the Auou is prepared. Then comes the sardar and last of all the other villagers. Other Naga tribes lack such a colonising activity.

NAMING

The sardar gives warlike, famous and heroic names to his children which the other people cannot aspire to and if any one is ambitious enough to call one of his issues by such a name, an exclusive luxury of the sardar he is sure to have heaps of ridicule and banter showered upon his head. Some villages are named after their sardars.

PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION TO PROPERTY

On the death of a Sema his eldest son takes the largest share in the property and the house of his father, and the remainder is equally divided amongst his other sons.

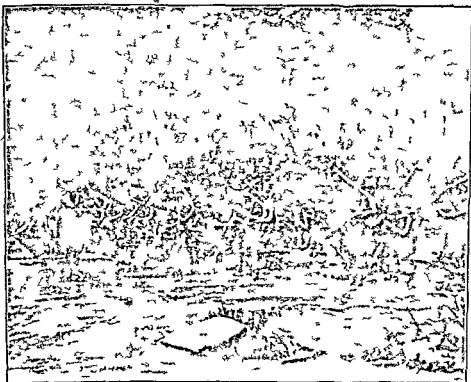
The daughters have no claim to the immoveable property of their father. Though they have a certain right to the movable property if their father was an admittedly rich man.

LYCANTHROPY

The Semas fancy that certain people have the power of changing themselves into tigers. According to them half the soul of such a lycanthropist runs into the forest and takes shelter in a tiger, whereas the other half remains in the body of the man himself. When this tiger is chased by anybody the half-souled man instantaneously runs mad and the people suspect a lot of things. Some people change themselves into tigers in malice and

in that form destroy the cattle of their enemies. If the tiger is killed by chance the man also dies.

It is very difficult to release half the soul from a tiger unless the lycanthrope can eat the remnant of the raw meat tasted by that particular tiger in which his soul resides. It is not known if the tiger dies at the death of the man but it is unmistakably certain that the man dies at the death of the tiger. Tomak



The Semas Cult vat ng

their belief well founded they generally trace a similarity in the outward appearance of the tiger and the man by means of a few signs. Thus if the lycanthrope has a wreath around his neck the tiger also must have white and red signs across its neck looking like a wreath etc. If the lycanthrope by chance meets the tiger in the forest the latter generally runs circling about the former very eagerly.

There is a rumour about a Naga of the Sarum village that he ran away as a lycanthrope in the forest and the people who ignorantly killed him were all drowned. When such a tiger is chased by the people the relatives of the man tiger become conscious of it at once and they inform the chasers about it. My Naga servant

Huvey has seen his eldest brother Izutakukey of the Khukia village and Shakutukey of Hohibi village turn themselves into tigers. He was himself one of the party when the villagers of Khukia gave chase to the tiger possessed of the soul of the aforesaid Shakutukey.

He says that just when a very hot chase was given to the tiger the villagers of Hohibi came running by and identified it to be Shakutukey whereupon they had to cease the chase and return home. Shakutukey himself admitted that he had passed through a crisis. These lycanthrope changes others also into tigers but such an operation takes up a good deal of time.

AGRICULTURE AND ITS PRODUCE

The Nagas are an agricultural people. The majority of the Semas are poor and some have no corn field at all. Some live as serfs in the houses of the sardar and the rich man who gives them fields and they in their turn work in the fields of their masters. Wool, corn, kam, corn etc. are their chief agricultural produce. They have very few watered fields but the great majority of their fields are dry. If such a dry field is located in a very high place and the soil is comparatively rather rich the Semas can use it for two consecutive years. Other



A Sema Chief

wise they have to leave it uncultivated for eight or nine years together so as to make it fit for cultivation again. This makes their cultivation a difficult and painful task for them.

The Semas know not how to weave their clothes but they are clever enough to hide their inability by adorning a false excuse that this is prohibited. The same excuse is used to explain away their ignorance in the making of iron implements and weapons.

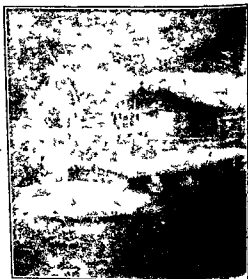
These articles they purchase from the Miris, Rangmas and Lotas. But now in some villages this industry has dawned and some iron made articles of every day use are being made there.

THEIR FOOD AND DRINK

The Nagas eat cows, horses, dogs and other domestic animals. Some Nagas like to eat monkeys but bears and deer are the favourite food of all the Nagas. The Semas do not eat snakes and tigers. Among the whole race of the Nagas, the Semas only know a bit of cleanliness about their food but the Apos are the worst in this matter and the Angamis exclude nothing from their foodstuff.

I have been an eye witness to a very interesting spectacle. More than once I have seen both Semas and Lotas hold a grand feast upon the living white ants. In the dark of the evening when the white ants begin to come out from holes in the earth, quite a number of Sema men and women, both young and old, not to speak of the little boys and girls, assemble at their issuing place and feed themselves to their heart's content upon these delicious little things. Some catch a huge number for carrying them home. Some again gulp them down so greedily and in such a large quantity that it simply nauseates one to look at them at the time. Some need no other food for the night.

The school boys and the interpreters indeed become shy at the sight of us but

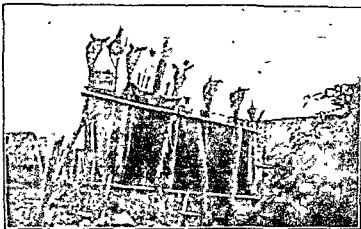


The Stone Iron Which The Semas Believe That They Have Originated

such a morbid hesitation gives way under a much more keen temptation before long, and with a little pause they take to their delightful labour with much more enthusiasm than before. The Semas do not eat elephants; perhaps because no such thing is available in their high-peaked mountains. The Nagas do full justice to an animal's flesh in the strictest sense of the word. To the credit of the Semas, Lotas, and Aaos, it may be said that they reject the hairy portion, whereas the Angamis are very careful to retain them. Honey is the favourite drink of the Nagas.

TREATMENT OF DEAD BODIES.

The Semas, like the Angamis and the Lotas, bury their dead in the court-yard. The dead body of a very little child, five or six days old, is buried within the house. The burial takes place on the very day of the death. On the death of a rich man his relations assemble at his house to mourn his loss and do not bury him until they have performed some gena on behalf of his departed soul. The well-known Lapu digs the grave and places the dead body in it. He gets two "khangs" of paddy for burying each dead body and gets a share of the cattle sacrificed in the gena. On the third day of the death another gena is performed and the relatives of the deceased are feasted with the meat of a big boar. The relatives of a dead male, on their part, celebrate the gena for six days and those of a female for five days, and during



A Sema Grave

that term of impurity none of them do any work for themselves.

On the death of a sardar or a wealthy man, the villagers in a body perform a universal gena for one day when none of them do any work.

The Semas build small houses over the graves of well to do persons with bamboo built, "Machangs" within, whereupon they place spears, *dios*, shields, various clothes and numerous wreaths of "matis." They keep suspended around the house as many wooden imitations of the heads of wild animals and ferocious beasts as the deceased had killed in their life-time and if any one distinguished himself by cutting off human heads during his life-time they hang an equal number of wooden imitations of human heads around the little house on his grave.

Gauhati, SERENDRANATH MAZUMDAR,
Assam. L. M. S.

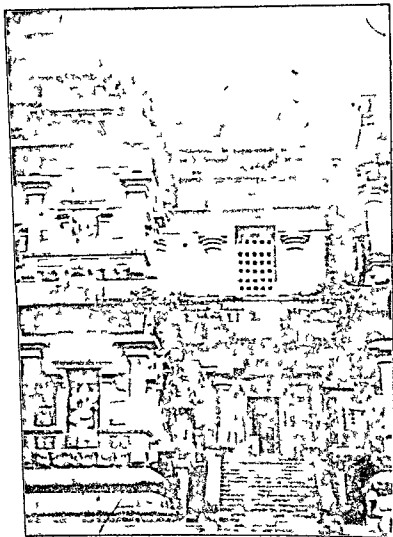
THE RUINS OF GANGAIKONDACHOLAPURAM

"Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth!
Immortal, though no more! though fallen, great!"
—Byron.

THE article deals with the ruins of the once great capital of Rajendra Chola, situated in a remote corner of the Udayarpalayam Taluk, Trichinopoly Dis-

trict, and connected by gravel road with Aduthurai, a railway station in the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District.

These ruins of India's forgotten greatness of an age—a golden age, when her emperors extended their puissant arms beyond the seas, when



The High Artistic Gateway Leading to the Sanctum Pron South

mightier than those of Assyria, Babylon and Greece grew, flourished and decayed, these ruins standing in lonely dignity, and solemn grandeur amidst the now desolate waste defying as it were the ravages of Time, scorning to note the violent convulsions and revolutions that were daily being acted before them yet remaining always a silent witness, these ruins a monument of Eternity, once the Dome of Thought, the Palace of the Soul and the

home of the mighty intellects, poets, statesmen and philosophers, these ruins 'glimmering through the things that were' with a peculiar witchery and delight on a moonlit night, strike the beholder with the mingled feelings of awe, reverence and admiration! There they stand, phoenix-like changing yet unchanged!—yes changing in all the varied, and charming processes of dilapidation to scarce a mound of crumbled sands!

HISTORY

This Gangaikondacholapuram was made the Capital of the Empire, by Rajendra Chola Deva surnamed Gangaiyondan and successor of Rajaraja Chola who reigned from 1018—1035 A.D., and named it in commemoration of the conquests of North India, extending as far north as the Ganges. Gangaikondacholapuram means the town of Chola who conquered Ganga or the Ganges. His achieve-

ments as an emperor were immense. His fleet crossing the Bay of Bengal attacked and captured Kadiram the ancient capital of Rome and also the seaports of Takolam and Mattains (Martaban). The annexation of Nicobar and Andaman Islands soon followed the conquest of Pegu. Says A. Smith the well-known author of the 'Early History of India'.

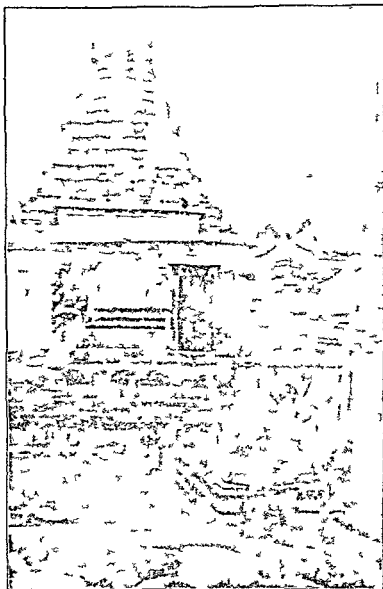
During the earlier years of his reign Rajendra Chola Deva had occupied himself with a succession

of wars against the northern powers. He came to colls o even with Mahapala king of Behar and Bengal and brought his army to the banks of the Ganges. In memory of this exploit he assumed the title of Ganga konda and built a new capital city which he called Ganga kondacholapuram. Near this city he constructed a vast artificial lake with an embankment 16 miles long fully provided with the necessary sluices and channels for the rewatering of a large area. The city was adorned by a magnificent palace and a gigantic temple consisting of a lingam formed of a black granite monolith 30 feet high. The ruins of these structures sadly defaced by the ravages of Modern Utilitarians a search of building material still stand the lonely grandeur of a less late region of the Trenches. The sculptures on the temple are of singular excellence.

In his new capital Rajendra Chola Deva built the gigantic temple in the model of the temple at Tanjore. The temple is surrounded by an enclosure measuring 580 ft by 370 ft and at the corners stand the bastions now in a ruined condition.

The tower is built in a pyramidal form measuring about 240 ft high and the base of it is so broad that it is popularly supposed that the shadow of the tower never falls beyond the base. The bull god that faces the temple is said to be monolithic—but the broken pieces of masonry show it to be otherwise—and its height may be conceived by a comparison with the size of the man standing in the photograph by the side of it.

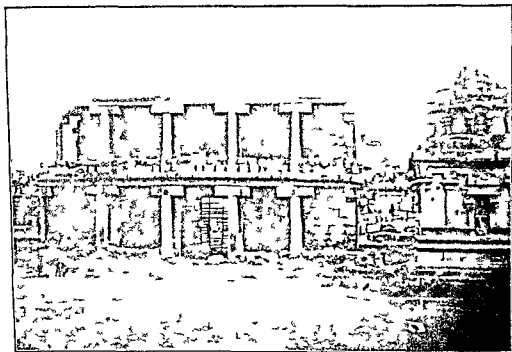
The works of art and sculpture are of a very high standard and the cost and labour that should have been spent in the construction of the artistic gateway that leads to the sanctum sanctorum may be imagined by a look at the photograph. There are two gateways one in the south



The Tall Pyramidal Tower and the Colossal Bull god

and one in the north measuring 60 ft high.

The surrounding gallery of two storeys high was a magnificent structure. What with the ravages of time what with the utilitarian view—Civilized Vandalism—of the Company's Government to build the Lower Anicut (1836) and the Jubilee Tank at Jayangondacholapuram these piles of ruins look sadder affording an



of the opposite parties deciding their own case. Every judge may not be a very acute lawyer, but it is essential that he should not belong to any of the parties concerned. Absolute detachment is of course impossible in politics—every Indian has an unconscious bias in favour of India and every Englishman has the same in favour of England,—but relative detachment in the study of a problem so complex is not only desirable, it is essential, it is imperative. A party leader is *ex hypothesi* an impassioned enthusiast, a biased advocate, void of balanced judgment. He would cease to be a party leader the moment he viewed the questions affecting his party with impartiality and detachment. This very fact disqualifies him for arriving at an equitable solution of a problem so full of emotional factors as the future of the British in India.

It would be interesting, if not also instructive, to acquaint ourselves with some of the causes discovered and remedies prescribed.

First comes the theory of revenge. It means that the British in India by their deeds of oppression, tyranny, treachery and deceit have made themselves obnoxious to the people of India who are now seeking every opportunity to avenge themselves. Repression, pure and naked, is according to this theory, the proper remedy.

Next, there is the opinion that it is Western education that has turned the heads of the Indian people, so the Government has only to curtail education in order to stop sedition and discontent.

Then there is another school whose formula is that the Indian unrest is essentially an unemployment problem, so that if the British could manage to create a sufficiently large number of employments for the educated classes, there would be an end of all the trouble.

There is yet another class of politicians who are convinced that the entire unrest is due to the exclusion of religion and theology from our modern scheme of education, so that if we could make Indian education a little theological, India could be won back.

These are some of the typical causes discovered by professional politicians to be at the root of the Indian discontent. Let us consider these separately.

1. If the alienation of India is due

solely to isolated acts of misdeed on the part of British Officials, how is it that the isolated acts of British justice and benevolence, far more numerous, have failed to bring about a reversal of this feeling of aversion? Has not England given India many good things? Has she not given her roads, bridges, canals, railways, post offices, telegraphs, hospitals, libraries, colleges, universities? Is India utterly insensible to these blessings of British rule? Or would it be seriously contended that Indians as a race are wholly devoid of that universal human instinct—gratitude? Moreover, is it not a fact that India placed herself under British rule willingly? She was as a whole never won by conquest. She placed herself almost voluntarily under Britain's protection. This was more than a century and a half ago. Sixty years ago she got an opportunity of repudiating her choice, but instead of that she ratified it. As for the remedy suggested, has repression succeeded in any country at any time? It failed in Russia, failed in Turkey, failed in France, failed in England herself. In India too it has had its trial. Since the year 1907, there has been an unbroken succession of repressive laws in the Statute Book, stringent and yet more stringent. And the only consequence has been a corresponding increase of lawlessness. Anarchism utterly foreign to Indian history, took its birth in 1908, and ever since have deeds of violence, political atrocities, assassinations, and virulence of language continued to go up.

2. The cause discovered here is only partially true, but the remedy suggested is entirely inapplicable. Let the advocates of this view reflect. Is it at all practicable to check the ever increasing volume of educational progress? It is now some years since the bureaucracy have been doing their level best, in the name of efficiency, to keep down the number of the school-going population. But what has been the result? A growing number of private schools, private colleges, and now comes the inauguration of a national university. The school-going population far from going down is constantly on the increase.

3. The third reason adduced is singularly puerile. Is the unrest wholly, or even largely, to the unemployed seeking class? Just as

It is precisely the 'agitator' class who not only do not seek Government employments but very often positively decline to accept them when offered. Besides the Government have for several years been throwing open to the dark complexioned high offices hitherto preserved for the white, yet there is not the slightest sign of decrease in the prevailing unrest.

4. The last observation is also clearly opposed to facts. It is not the want of theological instruction but the excess of it that pervades the Indian home atmosphere. Nor is there a dearth of denominational and sectarian schools and colleges where theological instruction forms an integral part of the curriculum. Such institutions are not few and far between. They flourish at every important place throughout the country. And it is to be noted that not a few of the political internees and detenus have hailed from the religious and priestly classes. The unenviable position that the Arya Samajic societies have long held in the official eyes is known to all. And who in Upper India does not know that such avowedly theological and religious institutions as the Muslim College of Divinity at Cawnpur Seminary for the Study of Quran at Delhi and the Servants of Kaaba (Mecca) Society are the objects of special attention of the Police and the C I D.

Thus it is apparent that none of the explanations hitherto advanced have tackled the real difficulty. Some of them are entirely wrong and some are only partially true.

What then is the correct etiology?

The fault lies not so much at the door of the enquirers as with the method of inquiry they have unconsciously adopted. They have exclusively used the inductive plan. They have arrived at diverse conclusions but the method of induction is common to all. All of them have observed some external phenomena—very one choosing his phenomena according to his personal predilection—have generalized them and based their conclusions on the same.

Now this method so useful in scientific inquiries has its limitations. The mere fact that the results have been so divergent is enough to show that this particular inquiry does not lend itself to this method. The subject is unmanageable by the inductive method owing partly to its extreme

natural complexity, partly to the impossibility of experimenting upon the immense and bewildering details collected round it and partly to the force of bias and prejudices attending it. It is no disparagement of the inductive method to hold that it is not of universal application. There are occasions when instead of being helpful it is a positive hindrance. Even David Hume who can nowise be termed an anti-empiricist was obliged to discard its use in his *Natural History of Religion* as also in his far greater works, *The Treatise*, and *The Inquiry*.

Let us try the same expedient. Let us reverse the process in vogue. Instead of proceeding from the concrete to the abstract let us proceed from the abstract to the concrete. Let us take our stand on internal principles, primary and original, instead of external events that elude experiment.

Just as the only way of gaining a decisive victory is to march direct at the capital and not to stop at the frontier, so the surest and simplest way to guide us out of the present labyrinth is a common sense inspection of our own minds and to find out the general principles that govern human feelings and human actions—not to get confused in the bewildering details of the concrete facts but to seize at the fundamental springs of conduct—and then to apply these to the particular case before us.

Thus the problem is immensely simplified. A few simple propositions respecting human nature will furnish us with a proper solution. Here they are—

First—Assertion of the individual will is one of the fundamental properties of the human mind. Self rule is the universal desire. Every human being may every animal high or low loves independence. This is one of the first principles of sentient life. Anybody who disputes this is not fit to be reasoned with.

Secondly—Surrender of individual freedom is only possible either when there is a complete absence of self consciousness or when there is serious risk of loss of one's life or means of living (no matter whether one's idea of living is modest or exaggerated). Court parasites and sycophants come under the last category. Their idea of 'living' makes them think that unless they demean themselves they cannot get on.

Thirdly —As soon as this risk is over there is a spontaneous revival of the said feeling—there is without any external intervention an automatic reappearance of the same strong feeling of self assertion—and now with added impatience at the continuance of the old regime. Witness the zeal and fury with which an idolator converted to rationalism hastens to break his idols.

Fourthly —Once this feeling is roused repression and concession alike on the part of the protector are unavailing. Repression is bound to drive the *protégé* into desperation who will seize the earliest opportunity of making open revolt. Nor can a policy of conciliation do any good for every concession is sure to be taken as a sign of weakness. Total liberation is the only remedy.

Facts from history of various nations and countries can easily be adduced to support these propositions. Readers who may insist on having inductive evidence will do well to look at an account of Mediæval Europe in any good book on European History where they will see how national self-consciousness of various barbarian tribes came into existence how with a sense of proud nationalism they resisted the interference of both the emperor and the pope (the two mightiest powers of the time) in their affairs and how finally they threw off all allegiance to both and became fully independent. But to cite such facts is superfluous. These propositions are not based on any chain of inductive evidence, they are merely the expression of the ultimate facts of human mind. They are not derived from experience. Observation and historical evidence can only illustrate them, they can not prove them. Their truth entirely depends on an inspection and reading of our own minds. They are part of the constitution of things.

Now, the collective mind, though different in many respects from the individual mind is entirely at one with it in this particular respect. That is to say the truth of these propositions holds good as much in the case of peoples as in the case of individuals—the conduct of the former is as inexorably governed by these laws as that of the latter.

To come to the application of these psychological axioms from the Indian stand point, British rule is an absolutely

foreign domination. Englishmen are foreigners to India in race, in colour, in religion in language in customs in temperament, in short in every respect save what constitutes the common ground of humanity. India allowed herself to be placed under British protection (and ratified her choice) at times when excessive internal dissensions and distractions had made her void of self-consciousness. Every individual is liable to fits of distraction. And so is every people. India accepted England as her protector when the barometer of her political consciousness had reached the lowest point. But lapse of self-consciousness does not endure. This was bound to be a mere passing phase, judgment was destined to return sooner or later.

And return it did perhaps sooner than the rulers had anticipated. With the advent of British rule peace and tranquillity began to reign supreme in a country which had long been oppressed with internal feuds—in fact this is pre-eminently the blessing of British rule. A reign of peace however invariably brings with it some attendant vocations of its own the most important of which is the vocation of knowledge. The British did all they could to encourage the spread of education consistent with their policy of carrying on the work of subordinate administration through the native agency. Now, education is the great revealer of one's latent possibilities. An uninterrupted reign of peace was in itself sufficient to bring about awakening. Spread of education served as a powerful stimulus. It was bound to hasten the revival of the feeling of self-consciousness that had lain dormant so long. And that it has done. Education has done its work. It has thoroughly rekindled the dead embers of self-will. It is now beyond the power of any Government to stop it. All efforts directed to this end will merely serve to further the cause of education. No human agency, however powerful, is capable of stifling the spirit of self-consciousness in any individual or community, once it is roused. The lion has tasted blood, it is fable to lament the consequences.

India tolerated even welcomed foreign rule when she was in a state of stupor. She can tolerate it no more. She is now fully awake. It is no use at this juncture to recount the good that British rule has

done to India. It is of no avail to enumerate the benefits conferred by Britain on this dependency. You cannot keep a man in permanent bondage, if he wills to be free, by reminding him that once you rescued him from great danger and that since then you have fed him well in compensation of the menial duties that he performs for you.

The arguments so frequently used by Anglo Indians to prove that India is incapable of self rule because she is still so backward in point of literacy, religious toleration, etc., are amazingly *ad hominem*. India may or may not be capable of self rule, but it is India, and India alone, who can judge of her competency. No foreigner has any business to act as the arbiter of her destiny. Such arguments do not touch the real issue. The only crucial point is,—does India mean to assert her will? Obviously she does. And there all talk about her incompetence becomes sheer irrelevance. What would these dictators of India's fate say if Germany were to employ similar arguments in reference to Belgium? Let us imagine a German with all the air of paternal concern addressing thus an audience of the Belgians:—"Look here, my boys, you are far inferior to us in point of literacy, culture, toleration etc. We mean to educate you in the art of civilization gradually and by progressive stages. This would take a period of several centuries. Till that time arrives, welcome us as your kind masters." Let the champion of Anglo India reflect on this picture. The only difference that he would be able to detect in the analogy will only accentuate his own weakness, since Germany has at any rate the right of conquest, while he cannot put forward even that plea.

What then is the conclusion? Are the British to relinquish their Government of India altogether? Are they after their rule of 160 years to leave this country bag and baggage?

To expect this is to expect the impossible. The British would be more than human if they could be persuaded to adopt this course. Their self interest demands that they must always try to keep India in their grip. Self interest is at the root of all human conduct, however altruistic some portions of it may seem to be. The same general principles of human nature that incite India to assert independence

impel England with equal imperativeness to continue her hold. Just as it is hard to find an individual Indian with any degree of self respect willing to tolerate foreign rule, so it is extremely rare to come across an individual Englishman with any sense of self interest prepared to relinquish an empire so fertile and so rich in natural resources. Here the Indian and the Briton take their stand on equally stable ground. They both cling to the fundamental principles of human life—self assertion and self interest.

Is there then no solution? Can there be no compromise? Preceding discussions have made us familiar with the root cause of discontent. Why is there a growing intolerance of British rule in India? Because the rulers are foreigners, because they are aliens, because the Indian community seeks to find an outlet for self assertion. This is precisely the point where the shoe pinches. So the only way to bring about a settlement is to remove this bar, the bar of *foreign subjection*—to eliminate this factor as far as possible.

Now it is neither possible nor indeed very desirable that racial, religious and linguistic antagonism between the two communities be dispensed with, and absolute identity be established between them. But it is surely possible to do away with the political bondage, so that the Indian may feel that the Briton is not a foreigner, does not belong to a different nation, but is the same as he is.

In short, the pinch of subjection is the root cause, political equality is the sole remedy. To achieve this end in its entirety is not easy, to achieve it to a very considerable extent is not difficult. As things go at present, the Indian feels at every step, in every walk of life, that in his own country he belongs to a subject people—that in his own motherland it is for him to obey and for the foreigners to command. He finds that even the legislature makes invidious distinctions—laws for him are different from those for the white man.

But bad as these laws are in principle, they are far worse in practice. And not only in law-courts, but in clubs, in offices, in hotels, in universities, in councils, in railway carriages, in short wherever the Indian turns, he experiences humiliation and indignity, till at last his resources of patience and resignation are exhausted and embers burst into flames.

Absolute equality and complete reciprocity alone can allay the excited feelings of an outraged India.

Do the present rulers, by their actions rather than words, afford us any chance of hoping for the better?

Let the following recent incidents, typical of many others that are happening almost every day, answer the question I give the newspaper reports almost verbatim:—

Madras, January, 9

A F. Cuffley, a guard on the M and S M Rail way, was charged with having interfered with the comfort of two Mahomedan "Gosha" ladies, who for want of room in second class were travelling in first class with the permission of railway officials, having agreed to pay additional fare. On a complaint made by two European ladies, who were travelling in the same compartment, the guard compelled the "Gosha" ladies to leave the compartment. The guard was convicted by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20.

The Sessions Judge referred the case to the High Court with a recommendation that the conviction should be set aside. Their Lordships Justice Abdur Rahim and Justice Napier upheld the conviction and sentence.

Transpose the terms "Gosha ladies" and "European ladies" in the above paragraphs, and the mockery of British justice will be apparent to the Europeans. "Gosha" ladies are those who observe strict seclusion, and their being compelled by a male guard to vacate their compartment which they rightfully occupied merely to oblige the women of his race is the highest pitch of insult that they could be subjected to. And yet the "European" guard gets off scot-free with a trivial fine of Rs. 20, and a recommendation by the Sessions Judge for annulment of the sentence!

Another case:—

Delhi, Jan 9

Before Mr. Currie, Additional District Magistrate, Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, Rais, Delhi, filed a complaint against Lieut. Widdicombe, Indian Army, Delhi, under Sections 504 and 323 I. P. C. for alleged assault. The complainant said he arrived at Delhi Railway station by the Punjab Mail on 8th January 1918, and as he came out of the gate of the Railway platform his servant came up to him weeping. On being asked the servant informed the complainant that he had been kicked by a Sahib. The complainant, thereupon, asked the servant why and by whom he had been kicked and in reply the servant pointed to three Europeans, saying that one of them had kicked him. The complainant finding that they were getting into the tonga ready to leave, approached them to ascertain if his servant had been kicked by any one of them for any fault, so that he might reprimand his servant if necessary. Instead of replying to the complainant's query, the accused grew

insolently threatening and said, "what the hell are you talking" and gave him a stunning blow in the right eye, smashing the eye glasses. A great stir has been caused and indignation prevails among the Indian citizens."

The sequel:—

"Delhi, January 15.

"Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh Versus Lieut. Widdicombe came up for hearing before Mr. M. L. Currie, Additional District Magistrate to day. The accused took his seat in the dock and as the Rai Bahadur proceeded with the evidence of assault the accused punctuated it with smiles of triumph. After prosecution evidence the accused made the following statement: On Monday night I came out of the station and went straight and sat down in a tonga. There were two other people with me. I came out first. Just after I sat down in the tonga I saw the two people with me having an argument with two Babus just outside the door. A third Babu came up to me, but I did not hear what he said. I then got out of the tonga and went over to two friends. On coming up to them one Babu, who was standing there in a very excited manner and waving his arms about in a threatening way, accused me of kicking his servant which I denied. He repeated the charge and asked my name. Thereupon I lost my temper and the result is that he has his eyes tied up."

Mr. M. L. Currie in the course of the judgment delivered to-day says after stating the facts of the case:—"The only question that calls for decision is, whether the accused received sufficient provocation to warrant assault. Anyone might be annoyed at being accused of assaulting somebody else's servant. This however does not justify him in hitting the man. In view of all the circumstances and taking into account the youth of the accused, I think a moderate fine will be a fit punishment. I therefore order him to pay a fine of Rs. 25."

"A huge crowd attended the court. An exemplary punishment was expected."

Nothing need be added to the above account, except perhaps that the gentleman so assaulted and brutally insulted by the bully who wore king's uniform is one of the most respected citizens of the metropolis, a title-holder and an Honorary Magistrate. The decision of the presiding Magistrate is inexplicable unless it is assumed that he fully shared the propensities of the culprit and was potentially in sympathy with him.

If incidents like these are unable to produce extreme bitterness and resentment in the mind of the insulted nation, nothing else can. Constant feeling of helplessness leads to despondency, and there is but a step from despondency to desperation. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's is not a name unknown in Europe. This philosopher-poet, this emblem of sobriety, while speaking of the unexplained and unexplainable internment of one of his pupils, is constrained to make the following observations:—

We are anxiously waiting for some story to develop but the story takes a cruelly long time to come out about the poor boy. Also our grievances we must bear without any claim upon anybody for explanation or redress. I such be the decree of our rulers. But when we are asked to have blind faith on such dark methods even our oriental training in the virtue of resignation does not help us.

Let all friends of England and of India make a note of this tone of sheer despondency. The depth of feeling revealed by these words of the Sage of the East is not to be taken lightly.

Yet no extent of isolated wrongs rectified can have the effect of reconciling a people who feel the sting of subjection every moment of their life unless the whole idea of subjection and domination is banished altogether from the scheme of Government. A spirit of cordial civilization can only prevail when both parties interchange mutual courtesies. What ever may be the exact form of the future government of India it is absolutely essential that its guiding principle should be reciprocity, complete and unqualified recognition of the absolute equality of the Indians and Brits. No disability on one side no privilege on the other. And the only practical way of effecting this is that the two communities be merged into one politically. There should be no separate Government of India subjected to the control of the Government of England but only one Supreme Government of the Federal British Empire in

which England and India (as also other countries connected with Britain) should be linked as co-partners. Fraternity not subjection is the irreducible minimum of India's demand. Is England ready to fraternize? Let her reflect twice before she ventures to utter a refusal.

Preposterous though this suggestion may seem to politically-ridden brains yet no other alternative is possible. If England wishes to retain her connection with India she must look at the facts as they stand and not as she wishes them to be. Every one of us has to bow to the inevitable. No human agency is potent enough to direct a river to flow back to its source.

India is already lost to England in spirit. In this way alone can she be won back and kept linked with her for an indefinitely long time.

If the present study has hurt the interests of some the writer can offer no apology. A psychological investigation aims at truth or more correctly at truth so far as it can be comprehended by our reason and senses. It cannot promise to bring happiness to all or any.

The supreme test of statesmanship is to avoid revolutions and this can only be done by a prompt and frank recognition of the possibilities of the situation and by a wise adjustment of means to ends.

Blessed are those who possess the gift of provision.

A MUSLIM PSYCHOLOGIST

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

THE RED LAUGH by Gertrude Baronts. P. 61. H. d. by the Cornhill Company. Boston.

This volume gives us a collection of short poems by the talented authoress of that excellent little drama *The Modern Phœnix*. If we look for variety in a volume of verse we have enough of it here both as regards the sentiments expressed and the metres used. The first two pieces however—*The Red Laugh* (from which the volume takes its title) and

The Quest—seem to be connected by a community of subject matter. The authoress looks at the great convulsions which now shake the world the workings of that

Arch fiend of all dark worlds that he
Whose poisoned breath blows scorching o'er
Fair lands of late prosperity—
Deep-raged now with gore
and she feels about those who participate in this
bloody play that

The hearts are closed the reason gone
Through reddened mists they cannot see
They grope, stumble wildly on
Engaged in vile absurdity
She sees that

The beasts are tramping o'er the world
The maddened hordes by Man's hand—
While from the North snowlock embrace
frozen fingers beg for bread—
and the questioning cry inevitably comes from her
Where art thou God?

There is a tendency in some poems towards an epigrammatic mode of expression which however is never carried too far. 'How I Love' is a case in point and here she tells us how she hates

'The coward who links arms with regret,
The weaklings who lean on atonement,
The weak-kneed charity of the ultra respectable,
The sterilized vice of the hypocrite,
All who obey too easily."

The 'Echoes' is a beautiful imaginative piece telling us about the fairy queen, and the home of the mermaid and how

'At night the sea would gently moan
With echoes from that hidden home"
'Waiting' is replete with classical recollections, —
'With the masonic Socrates
If virtue be but knowledge true
You did discuss and failed to see
The burning flame that leaped at you
Across the Pincian hills you gazed,
As the immortal city passed
With mournful dirge, your vision cleared
And saw your soul revealed at last

"The Triad" expresses the poetess' longings after the unusual and she asks for pain and love in turn and concludes with a prayer for death —

'Oh send me Death that I may see
The beauty in the mystery
When beaten hope has fled!
For only I ght from flame divine
Can feed this famished soul of mine
When fire bred love has died."

"The Storm" is powerful and picturesque and the irregular metre is effective in the way of illustrating the changeable aspects of the phenomenon. The call of love is again felt in the 'Awakened' and she cries out at the end

'Love, I awake, I awake,
And to life to hope, and to freedom
I add the birth of my laughter"

"The Sketches" lose none of their suggestiveness because of their shortness. Here are two or three

'The snow and rain
Caress and soothe,
But the wind saddens —
It is the deep rumbling
Earth—echo
Of all the gods' despair'

'Sweet white rose sprinkled with the dew,
How well you play your part!
For who would dream on seeing you
The canker eats your heart?'

"A dense dark pall drapes the autumn sky
In premature mourning
Below on Earth a charred altar
Piny incense is placed
As a last sad rite
By the passing forest"

It is useless to multiply quotations for neither the remarks of a critic nor the study of passages taken out of their context can help one to understand the beauty of a piece of literature. On the whole it may be said that for the genuine lover of poetry this book will have a charm of its own and will never fail to attract the discerning reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR SIDDHANTA.

THE PURANAS by A. Raghurama Dandiyaya, pp 32 Travancore

This pamphlet on the Puranas aims to popularise the recondite results of investigation of scholars into the subject. The object is laudable, especially in this

age of pseudo specialisation. But the method adopted for the realisation of that object is far from satisfactory. As a popular treatise it is too much encumbered with quotations from authorities and pedantic digressions. As a scientific monograph it is too narrow in its range of survey and too hasty in its ambitious generalisations. 'History is the biography of Society', 'History is the anatomy of the nation'—such catching reflections are scattered indiscriminately all over the paper, without any attempt to bring out their real significance with reference to the Pauranic literature of Ancient India. As an instance of reckless historical comparison we quote the wild parallelism suggested between the Indian sage Vyasa and the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus. The writer betrays his ardour in social reform. He easily detects "pious frauds and interpolations in" the Puranas. But he forgets that the attitude of a historian towards historic materials is something very different from the attitude of a social reformer using those materials for his propagandism. History is not a Book of Quotations for platform preachers. It is a Book of Life—throbbing, pulsating, evolving life. Every historic material must be approached in that sacred detachment of spirit and deep *Sradha* with which Life never reveals its deepest Truth.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY

A CHALLENGE TO ALL GOD BELIEVERS OF EVERY DENOMINATION

GOD NATH WHAT IT LEADS TO Pamphlets of the Decca Samaj

Trash

VEDANTA AND THE THREE POLICIES by N. Subramanya Aiyar, MA. Pp 4. Reprinted from the Vedanta Kesari

Not worth reading

LECTURES ON (i) RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS AND (ii) NATIONAL EDUCATION by R. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., L.T. Published by E. R. S. Aiyar & Bros. Nagercoil. Pp 16

Good Lectures

THE SINATANA DEFENCE SERIES No 1 by G. Haris Chandra Row, Cocanada. Pp 64. Price 4 annas

A defence of Idolatry

REPORT OF THE ALL INDIA COW CONFERENCE held on 30th and 31st December, 1917, in Calcutta

The object of the Association is noble. Those who wish to be members of the Association may write to the Honorary Secretary, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

THE SUJNA GOKULJI TALA VEDANT PRIZE 1915 by M. T. Telatala, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp 96. Price not known

It discusses how far Sankaracharya truly represents the view of the author of the Brahmasutra. A masterly essay. Criticism sober, unbiassed and scholarly. Should be carefully studied by all the students of the Brahmasutra. Our complaint is—it is so brief.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS: VOL XXI
(Nos 100-103; October 1917 to June 1918)
Vajrasalkya Smṛiti, Mitakshara and Balambhatta
Book I Achara Adhyaya Translated by Rai
Bahadur Srisa Chandra Varu Viharaini Pub-
lished by Babu Sudhindra Nath Varu at the Panini
Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad Pp XX+440
Price Rs 14 (Annual Subscription Rs 12
12 annas, Foreign £1)

The book contains

- (i) a preface by the translator
- (ii) an introduction
- (iii) a translation of the Smṛiti
- (iv) a translation of the Mitakshara
- (v) a translation of the gloss of Balambhatta
- (vi) notes by the translator

The Smṛiti of Vajrasalkya is divided into three adhyayas, viz—Achara adhyaya, Vyavahara adhyaya and Prayaschitta adhyaya. This volume contains the whole of the first adhyaya which contains 13 chapters and 368 stanzas.

The commentary translated in this book is that of Vyasaśwara and is called Rya Mitakshara but is commonly known as Mitakshara. Of all the commentaries it is considered to be the best.

The gloss of Balambhatta professes to have been written by a lady but according to some scholars it was not the lady but her husband that was the real author of the gloss. This gloss is a wonderful production—vast, erudite and encyclopedic in character. In this book a free translation of the gloss has been given and in some places it has been abridged or omitted.

The introduction has been written by Mr. Ramesh Nath Basu, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad. In a foot note he writes—

“My father, the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Viharaini, intended to write an elaborate introduction to his translation of the Achara adhyaya. With this object in view, he jotted down notes in one of his note books. Unfortunately good many of these notes are in shorthand in which he was an adept. It is almost impossible to decipher these notes.

However from some of the notes and from his conversation with me, I have prepared this paper which, I hope, will be useful to those interested in the study of the Hindu Law. It is not for me to say what Sanskrit scholarship has lost by his untimely death. How critically and carefully he studied Hindu Law is evident from his judgment in the well known Benares Caste case. Well versed in Arabic, Greek and Latin, he had in contemplation, to write on the influence of Muhammadanism and Roman Law on Hindu Jurisprudence.”

Whatever he has written, bears testimony to his patience, indefatigable labor and deep scholarship. His *Ashtadhyayi* and *Siddhanta Kaumudi* are monumental works, but for his translations, these would have remained sealed books to many of the Sanskrit students. In the literary world the loss of such a scholar is a calamity and it is irreparable.

The book under review is a scholarly production. Every one who takes an interest in our Smṛitis should read this book, to lawyers it is indispensable.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI
Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras Price
Rs 1-8 Pp 206

We are grateful to our valiant countryman Mr

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the manly stand he always takes for defending the rights of Indians, and the usefulness of a collection of his speeches and writings in a handy form cannot be gainsaid. His speeches and writings unlike those of many other prominent Indians always carry conviction with them and as such they deserve to be widely circulated to wake up the comatose Indians. There are many portraits in the volume, chief among them being those of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Tolstoy, G. K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, H. S. L. Polak and C. P. Andrews.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DR. (SIR) S. SUBRAMANIAM IYER, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION by D. V. Gundappa Part I Published by S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp 414 Price not mentioned

People all over India are anxious to learn more of the author of this volume who has, by renouncing his titles shown a courage and a deep sense of self respect rare in these days of servile timidity. The bold declaration of his faith has amply proved his devotion to and love for the motherland and no Indian should lose this opportunity of acquainting himself with the life story and achievements of this wonderful man. The book is neatly got up and well printed on good paper. There are three portraits of the author in the volume under notice.

SPEECHES OF DAL GANGADHAR TILAK, PART I Edited and Published by R. R. Srivastava from the National Book Depot, Fyzabad Pp 194 Price not mentioned

Lokmanya Tilak has numerous admirers amongst all classes of Indians and there is no doubt his speeches will find ready welcome. The printing and paper are good and there is an excellent portrait of the author.

MAHOMED ALI JINNAH AN AMBASSADOR OF UNITY Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras Pp 324 Price not mentioned.

Heat get up and printing form a regular feature of all publications of Messrs Ganesh & Co., of Madras, and the present volume under review is no exception to the rule. The speeches and writings of Mahomed Ali Jinnah cover a wide field ranging from addresses delivered at the Moslem and Home Rule Leagues and Bombay Provincial Conference to discussions of subjects which affect the civil and other rights of Indians such as ‘Indian Students in England’, ‘Protest Against Internments’, ‘The Congress League Scheme’, ‘The Anglo Indian Agitation’, ‘Elementary Education Bill’, ‘Indian Defence Force Bill’, ‘Simultaneous Examinations’, etc. A biographical appreciation by Sarojini Naidu and a foreword by the Hon’ble Rajah of Mahmudabad enhance the value of the book. An excellent portrait of the author forms the frontispiece.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. SECOND EDITION Published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras Pp 1293+184+A—P+xxii. Cloth Bound Price Rupees four only.

This bulky volume contains an account of the origin and growth of the Congress with full text of all the Presidential Addresses, reprint of all the Congress Resolutions, extracts from all the Welcome Addresses, notable utterances on the movement and portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Publicists and public men will find this book useful as a book of reference.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT by I. Venkata-subbaya and Vaikunth L. Nch'a 1p 191, price Re 1

This is No 4 of the series of political pamphlets brought out under the auspices of the Servants of India Society and written by its members. This number fully maintains the high standard of excellence attained by the three previous publications of the Society, and forms a valuable and up-to-date contribution to the co-operative literature of India. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the growth of the co-operative movement in India and in foreign countries; the second part discusses the various forms of co-operative societies and their organisation, finance and management. The Report of the MacLagan Committee on Co-operation is criticised and the latest developments of the movement and its extension into fields hitherto untapped are fully indicated.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FINANCES. A paper read before the Bengal Social Service League on the 18th April 1918 by Sir Daniel Hamilton

Sir Daniel Hamilton's robust faith in the benefits of co-operation to an agricultural community like India reminds one forcibly of Sir Horace Plunkett. He finds in it the regeneration not only of Indian agriculture but of the whole social and economic life of the country. After listening to Sir Daniel or reading his addresses one can hardly resist the impression that here is a man of the type of which prophets and great reformers are made with enthusiasm enough to move a nation and faith enough to carry a cause to victory. The present address like others delivered by Sir Daniel is adorned with numerous *bons mots*. Speaking of the efficacy of the Usury Act he exclaims 'Will the new Usury Act kill the Kabuli? No the Kabuli bamboo will kill the Act'. The *chamar* today 'works hard for the Kabuli, and drinks hard for the Government'. The Indian *mahajan* also comes in for his due share. 'The Collector of the 24-Pargannas is not my friend Mr W D Prentice, I.C.S., but Ram Charan the *mahajan*.' 'You may have no dealings with the *mahajan*, but he has many dealings with you for it is he who keeps so many of you out of employment. 'Government must look to the *mahajan* and to increased production, rather than to increased taxation for its revenue.' 'It is not the Government money that the people want so much as Government's help to take care of its own.' Sir D Hamilton has not much faith in the future of Sir S P Sinha's Village Self-Government Act because he says, 'I have not yet met a Bengalee or Scotsman who would tax himself.' One would like to see Sir D Daniel given a free hand in carrying out his project of a Co-operative Commonwealth for India.

P C BANERJI.

A MODERN PHEIX—This play by Gervé Baronti is published by the Cornhill Company Boston

It is a protest against the conventional bringing up of children according to the old standards of what is conventionally right and what is conventionally wrong. Lottie, the heroine, is betrayed by Phil who tempts her to go with him and then casts her off. Peter who has loved her all along then marries her and so the play ends. There is a wonderful doctor who comes in, called Dr Von Elatz, who has discovered the principles of mental therapeutics and says many wise things.

The ideas expressed in the play are excellent, but

the whole structure of the plot appears to have its origin in the author's desire to teach certain principles rather than in a natural growth of human lives and characters. It is thus didactic through and through, and the artificiality of this comes out most prominently in Dr Von Elatz's speeches. On the other hand Lottie's character rings true and we feel that she is a real woman.

The play is of interest as showing the confusion that now exists in America as to the ultimate truths, and the noble struggle that is being made by high minded men and women to rise out of that confusion.

C T A

GUJARATI

DHARMADARSINA (ધર્મ દેશના) by Jainadharm Shri Vijnadharm Surti, printed at the Vidyaajayi Printing Press, Bhavnagar, cloth bound, pp 312 Unpriced 1918

Shri Vijnadharm Surti is known as a prolific and facile Jain writer. This is the Second Edition of a book which he wrote several years ago on the precepts of religion. He has embellished the work with apt and popular illustrations so that the reader can fully appreciate the force of his advice. It is not a sectarian work that must be said to its credit.

ANUSI (અનુસ) by Muniraj Shri Vidyaajayi, printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover pp 64 Price Re 0-8-0 1918

The Muniraj has tried to prove by means of several extracts taken from our religious works that the killing of animals, both for the name of religion and for food is prohibited by our shastras. It is very problematical to say as to what influence one such feeble voice would carry in the stoppage of the daily holocaust being offered up in India and elsewhere.

K M J

URDU

TARIKH E UNAN (HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE) by Syed Hashmi Faridabad. Anjuman e Tarraghi e Urdu Series No 22 Pp 252 8-0 (8x5 1/4) Rupees two To be had from the Secretary Anjuman e Taraqqi e Urdu Surangabad (Deccan)

It appears that we are at last beginning to recognise in India that curriculum is no accidental legacy, but is to be determined by the object education has in view. If we wish to awaken in the young generations of this country worthy ideals which shall make it impossible for them to accept slave morality and to settle into dead indifference about matters touching their communal and national life we should reform the curriculum accordingly.

The text books should be inspirational. They should aim at political freedom and social equality and should satisfy all the requirements of free personality. They should retemper the spirit of Indians and give stimulus to national life.

The Tarikh-e Unan (History of Ancient Greece) under review, is such a text book. Mr Syed Hashmi Faridabad seems to realise how a class room text should help to develop the sense of political freedom among young students and give them ideas of public good and true service of motherland. Like Herbert he knows the psychological relation between history and education. "Bewegliche und lenkame Kräfte, die jedoch unter Umstænden eine bestimmte,

Form und allmählig einen dauerhaften charakter gewinnen und die voraussetzungen der Paedagogik und der Politik."

History can be made to repeat itself. Its events are the effect of the interplay of human social laws and the natural and other conditions of environment. Horkunow, the great Russian theorist of law has in his book no passage more pregnant with truth than wherein he says "By studying the organization of another people and its political development a given society can bring about the formation of a political ideal like that of such other people." The author knows this and holds up the Greek ideal of liberty before the gaze of students. His narrative at occasions thrills the readers with the spirit that won at Marathon, Salamis and Platte. He has found his model in the author of *Anabasis* himself.

Mr Syed Hashmi Faridabadi is a sober student of Greek History. He possesses the faculty of Historical reflection to an eminent degree and does not consider history to be a mere record of chance happenings. His method is comparative. When he brings us face to face with great events in the rise and fall of Greece and introduces us to men who made and unmade Athens and Sparta he is all the time comparing, finding analogies and drawing conclusions.

He has carefully read George Grote, John Mahaffy and other great writers of Hellenic history and has investigated all such other sources as were open to him in a liberal spirit. He has been at great pains in finding out the real names of the Persian kings and satraps which occur in Greek history. European writers are used to the Greek forms of these names introduced into history by Herodotus, Xenophon

and others. Even Rawlinson, who may have been expected to throw the light of his research upon them is silent on the subject. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi has looked up all the Persian and Arabic histories of Persia and has gone to Agba Mirza Jehangir Khan Shīrāzi whose monumental history of Persia has helped him most in his investigations. Thus we find that Arabaces is Kariqabad, Cyaxares is Sivawash, Cambyses is Jamasp and Darius is Isfandayar.

The writer has a great admiration for Sparta. With one hand he would award the crown of gold to Athens and with the other the crown of iron to its rival state. Living as we do in the 'iron age' of modern civilization it is not difficult to sympathise with his appreciation of the Peloponnesian discipline. He has done good service in showing the Greco-Persian wars in their true perspective. In spite of the free use of their imagination by the Hellenists it was after all the mere glory of the war that was of European Greece—the victory was of Asiatic Persia.

The style of the writer is facile and at occasions gravely eloquent. He has both insight and imagination and does not lose himself in generalizations. But his supreme quality is his patriotic ardour which, unless the teacher be a Peloponnesian is sure to kindle healthy enthusiasm of the desire for true liberty in the breasts of the students. The Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdū is to be congratulated on the production of this volume and should feel proud of its Secretary Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, whose magnetic personality has gathered such a band of distinguished men of letters round him.

A. R. S.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Calcutta University Affairs

In your Note on Calcutta University Affairs, in the August number of the Modern Review, you make certain remarks as to why the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move at the meeting of the Senate held on 29th June 1918 were ruled out of order. You say, that the motions were ruled "out of order for no other reason than that we can see that they were moved by Sir Ashutosh." Presumably you had not the full text of the Vice-Chancellor's speeches on occasion where the arguments for ruling them out of order, are set forth in detail. I quote following passages from the minutes of the Senate on 29th June 1918 so that your readers can form their own opinion on the question.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: The motion paragraph 7 "in my opinion is out of order" letter which embodies this motion begins in following terms: "I hereby give notice that at next meeting of the Senate I shall bring forward following motion." Members of the Senate are aware that a matter must come up before the Senate before it is placed before the Senate further looking at paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of

Chapter IV of the Regulations, it is clear to my mind that the procedure as to proposing a new regulation is as follows. The Syndicate may from time to time recommend to the Senate such regulations as may seem desirable. Paragraph 14 provides "Any faculty, or any member or number of members of the Senate may make any recommendation to the Syndicate and may propose any Regulation for the consideration of the Syndicate." Therefore the first step is to propose for the consideration of the Syndicate any new regulation. Then it is open to any member of the Senate to move that the Senate approve, revise or modify any decision of the Syndicate in respect thereof or may direct the Syndicate to review it. The latter in question is not a motion to approve, revise or modify a decision of the Syndicate. On the contrary it is a notice that the honourable and learned member will move the new regulation at the next Senate meeting. This is not in order.

"I suggest that the honourable member should place his motion before the Senate at a subsequent meeting after adopting the proper procedure."

"Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee—Upon the question of order we may take it that for whatever reason it may be, this motion has not as a matter of fact, been considered by the Syndicate."

* This embodies a new regulation

Form und allmählich einen dauerhaften charakter gewonnen und die Voraussetzungen der Pädagogik und der Politik."

History can be made to repeat itself. Its events are the effect of the interplay of human social laws and the natural and other conditions of environment. Korkunov, the great Russian theorist of law, has, in his book, no passage more pregnant with truth than wherein he says: "By studying the organization of another people and its political development a given society can bring about the formation of a political ideal like that of such other people." The author knows this and holds up the Greek ideal of liberty before the gaze of students. His narrative at occasions thrills the readers with the spirit that won at Marathon, Salamis and Plataea. He has found his model in the author of *Anabasis* himself.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Calcutta University Affairs

In your Note on Calcutta University Affairs in the August number of the Modern Review, you make certain remarks as to why the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move at the meeting of the Senate held on 29th June 1918, were ruled out of order. You say, that the motions were ruled out of order for no other reason than that we can see than they were moved by Sir Ashutosh. Presumably you had not read the full text of the Vice-Chancellor's speeches on that occasion, where the arguments for ruling the motions out of order, are set forth in detail. I quote the following passages from the minutes of the Senate held on 29th June 1918 so that your readers can form their own opinion on the question.

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor. The motion in paragraph 7* in my opinion is out of order. The letter which embodies this motion begins in the following terms: 'I hereby give notice that at the next meeting of the Senate, I shall bring forward the following motion.' Members of the Senate are aware that a matter must come up before the Syndicate before it is placed before the Senate. Further looking at paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of

Chapter IV of the Regulations, it is clear to my mind that the procedure as to proposing a new regulation is as follows. The Syndicate may from time to time recommend to the Senate such regulations as may seem desirable. Paragraph 14 provides 'Any faculty, or any member or number of members of the Senate may make any recommendation to the Syndicate and may propose any Regulation for the consideration of the Syndicate.' Therefore the first step is to propose for the consideration of the Syndicate any new regulation. Then it is open to any member of the Senate to move that the Senate approve, revise or modify any decision of the Syndicate in respect thereof or may direct the Syndicate to review it. The letter in question is not a motion to approve, revise or modify a decision of the Syndicate. On the contrary it is a notice that the honourable and learned member will move the new regulation at the next Senate meeting. This is not in order.

'I suggest that the honourable member should place his motion before the Senate at a subsequent meeting after adopting the proper procedure.'

'Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee.—Upon the question of order we may take it that for whatever reason it may be, this motion has not as a matter of fact, been considered by the Syndicate.'

* This embodies a new regulation.

milk and milk products as a means of living. The gowalas, however, still hold practically the whole milk supply of the country under their control.

The trade honesty of the gowalas has never been of a high order. Some of them openly declare that they would be infringing their caste rules if they would sell milk without admixture with water, however small the quantity may be. There is a very amusing story told of this class of people which I ask your permission to relate. A certain Indian king wanted to test the honesty of the milkmen living in his capital and issued an order that on a certain night every gowala should supply him with a pitcher of pure milk which he required for some religious ceremony fixed for the next morning. It was so arranged that each milkman bringing his supply would pour it into a pipe leading to a reservoir placed inside a locked room so that nobody could see, touch or pollute it. The night was dark and each gowala brought in his quota and poured it into the reservoir. In the morning when the room was unlocked, the king found that the reservoir contained pure and simple water and no milk in it. It so happened that each gowala thought, with the characteristic mentality of his caste, that as others were sure to obey the order of the king and bring pitchers of pure milk, he would be quite safe if he brought a pitcher of water only and pour it into the common reservoir, and the king would not be able to detect the trick. The story illustrates what class of people we have to depend upon for the supply of one of the vital necessities of life and it will be long before we can expect to see any material change in their psychological condition.

The condition of things in other countries, though not so bad as in India, is nevertheless far from satisfactory. In spite of the advance of education, the vigilance of sanitary authorities, the strict operation of the Food and Drugs Act and the influence of a strong public opinion much of the milk as supplied in England, is hardly of the desirable quality. This has recently been the subject of enquiry by high sanitary authorities and the result is not very encouraging. It is as much a question of adulteration there as of sanitary purity, and Dr. Savage remarks that "the idea that the average cow keeper will, of his own accord and

without outside pressure, supply clean milk instead of a manure laden one, cannot be seriously entertained." The final plea taken by milkmen is the same here as elsewhere, viz., that they produce milk in the same condition as their fathers did and that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them also. The sophistication of milk, although it is not such a universal practice compared with India, prevails to a notable extent even in England.

I have had occasion to examine samples of milk supplied to some of the Government hospitals in Calcutta and Howrah and I am glad to say that it has improved during recent years. Whereas the percentage of samples of adulterated milk supplied to some of the hospitals was 83.6 in 1913, the figure for 1916 was 37.6 and in 1917, all the samples analysed were found to be of good quality. This is very satisfactory, as milk forms a most important diet for the sick, but unfortunately the same cannot be said regarding supply of milk for the general population of Calcutta. The figures of analysis made in the laboratory of the Calcutta Corporation will give you a fairly accurate idea of the quality of milk supplied to the public of Calcutta. I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. S. B. Ghose, Chief Analyst to the Corporation, for his kindly supply to me with the figures I am going to place before you.

TABLE I

Year	Number of samples examined	Percentage of adulterated samples (watered)
1913	593	40.8
1914	496	50.0
1915	490	40.2
1916	403	26.0
1917	436	40.6

The samples were collected by Food Inspectors from the different stalls for the sale of milk in the town as well as from the quantity brought by railways and itinerant vendors. The above table gives you information regarding the number and quality of the samples of milk analysed in the Corporation Laboratory during the last 5 years. It must be stated here that a sample of milk is pronounced to be of good quality when it contains not less than 3 percent of fat. Now, 3

and of these two, the area including Chit-pore, Cossipore and Dum Dum situated in the northern suburbs of Calcutta is the more important. The third source of supply is in the City itself, i.e., in the gowala bustees and in the few dairies and in private houses situated within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Municipality.

Five years ago, Dr. Pierce, the then Health Officer of Calcutta, estimated that about 2000 maunds of fresh milk formed the average daily consumption of Calcutta. One third of this was brought into the City by the different railways and carriers by foot, another third was produced in the town itself in the licensed cow sheds and dairies, and the rest obtained from cows kept in private houses ostensibly for the use of the owners but some times really for sale of milk without coming into the notice of the authorities.

It is very difficult to obtain even approximately accurate figures for the total consumption of milk in Calcutta and the quantity obtainable from each of the above mentioned sources, but one thing is quite clear that an efficient official control can be kept only on the quantity that reaches the town by railways and that it is very difficult to check the supply brought into the City by itinerant vendors who come from many directions and by numberless pathways. It is still more difficult to calculate the quantity produced in private houses which roughly constitutes, according to Dr. Pierce, about the third of the whole supply of the town. This shows that a very large quantity of milk is produced and consumed in Calcutta under conditions which are practically outside the control of the Health Department of the City.

Taking the population of Calcutta to be 900,000 the average daily consumption of milk per head in the City roughly comes to about one twelfth of a seer i.e., about 2½ ounces which appears to be rather a low estimate. As adults form the bulk of the floating population of Calcutta and as they, except in certain communities, generally use very little milk, partly from habit but mostly from inability to buy such a costly article of food, the consumption of the bulk of the milk is confined to children and invalids, and to one's regret, its quality does not come up to the mark.

MILK COWS AND BUFFALOS

The milk as we get it in Calcutta is

derived partly from cows and partly from buffaloes. Almost every gowala in the City and in the suburbs keeps a few she buffaloes along with cows and he sells the milk obtained from this source sometimes as buffalo milk, but more often, diluted with water and with or without admixture of cow's milk, as cow's milk of pure quality. The average quantity of milk given by a Bengal cow is about a quarter of that obtained from a she buffalo, and as the fat in the buffalo milk is nearly double of that in the cow's milk, it admits of considerable dilution with water before it falls below the standard of pure milk ordinarily accepted in this country. Buffalo-milk may indeed be diluted half and half with water and still the minimum limit of fat, viz., 3 per cent. will not be transgressed. Thus the gowala makes a very large profit by selling buffalo milk considerably diluted with water as pure cow's milk. I shall have to say something about the difference in the composition of the two kinds of milk when I come to discuss the minimum standard values of purity of milk.

PURITY OF THE SUPPLY

The present milk supply of Calcutta, to describe it in the mildest terms, is most unsatisfactory. It is not only poor in quality, but it is exposed to so many unfavourable conditions during production and transport that it is an absolutely unsafe article of food for the public unless certain precautions are taken to make it harmless.

According to the social organisation of the Hindus the gowalas or Ahirs (as they are called in Behar and in the U.P.) form a separate caste which is a complete unit by itself in all its social relations and obligations. They rear cattle and are responsible for the supply of all milk and most, if not all, milk products to the community. This confinement of different trades to different castes of the community has no doubt undergone some change with the spread of English education in town areas, but in the far off village communities all over India, the state of things prevails almost in its primitive condition. It is, however, not uncommon to find nowadays people of one caste following the occupation of another, and now, and then, we meet with educated men of higher castes starting dairies and selling

milk and milk products as a means of living. The gowalas however, still hold practically the whole milk supply of the country under their control.

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percent of fat, in my opinion, is too low a standard of purity for milk yielded by Indian cows and many adulterated samples would pass as pure if judged by this minimum standard of purity. I shall have occasion to discuss later on this point when I consider the question of standards. During 1905 and 1906, altogether 521 samples were examined in the Municipal Laboratory, and of these, 78 samples, i.e., only 15 percent were found to be free from adulteration. The rest were mixed with water varying from 10 to 80 percent. From the above table, it will, however be seen that the percentage of adulterated samples examined at the Municipal Laboratory from 1913 to 1917 varied from 26 to 50. This shows an apparent improvement in the milk supply of the town as compared with some of the previous years. It must, however, be borne in mind that during the last 5 years, some limitation I am told, had to be placed on the collection of samples, for during this period the gowals began to take advantage of the loop hole in the Municipal Act of Calcutta and disposed of a good many samples declaring them as 'watered milk' and consequently, these were not collected. The lower percentage of samples found adulterated does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that there has been in fact an improvement in the quality of the milk sold in Calcutta.

Recently, during a visit of the Chair man of the Corporation to the Jorasanko milk market, he found that apparently good milk was being sold there at $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee. This was on the occasion of an important Hindu festival when the price of milk and milk products always goes up very high. Under his orders, 48 samples of the best milk available were collected from the different milk stalls in Calcutta (Jorasanko, Baitakhana, Sealdah, New Market and a few other places) and analysed in the Municipal laboratory. It was found that the average percentage of fat in the samples obtained from Jorasanko was 4.9, from the New Market 4.2 and from other places, a little above 5 percent. From the remarks of the Health Officer on samples thus collected, it appears that good milk could be had at times at Jorasanko even at 8 seers for the rupee at Baitakhana, six seers and at the New Market, $4\frac{1}{2}$ seers, and that during the time of Hindu festivals, the price goes up

very high, specially at Jorasanko, milk being sometimes sold there at eight annas per seer. It is difficult to believe that pure milk could be had in Calcutta at any time at more than 4 seers per rupee and the price is often higher. It may be that when the supply is much above the demand in these markets, milk, being a perishable article, could be had at cheaper rates occasionally. One might reasonably conclude from the high percentage of fat found in many of these samples (about 5 percent) that the milk sold in some of these markets is chiefly buffalo milk diluted with water.

BACTERIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

A very large number of samples were also bacteriologically examined. In the most favourable circumstances, freshly drawn milk does not show more than 500 bacteria in 1 cubic centimeter. Under ordinary conditions, however, the number of bacteria is much larger but they ought not to exceed 6000 in 1 C.C. The number of bacteria found in 1 C.C. of milk sold in market places in Calcutta varied from 1,000 to over 3,000,000 and the bacilli of the Colon group (which indicate contamination with fecal matter) were found to be present even in as small a quantity as $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of 1 C.C. This shows the dangerous character of the milk supply of Calcutta as a carrier of such infectious diseases as enteric fever, cholera, dysentery, etc. As regards tubercle bacilli, their presence was rarely detected.

PROPERTIES OF MILK.

Milk is the secretion of the breast of female mammals for the nourishment of their offspring. It may be considered as the most 'perfect' of all foods, as it contains all the nutritive principles, viz. protein, fat, carbo-hydrate, salts and water in proper proportions for the growth and sustenance of young animals for a certain period of their existence. It is a white opalescent liquid, sometimes with a tinge of yellow, denser than water with which it is perfectly miscible. The density of pure cow's milk varies from 1.029 to 1.034 (the density of water being taken as 1). It is decreased by being mixed with water and increased by abstracting cream from or by adding sugar to it. All these practices are resorted to by artful gowalas to get adulterated milk pass for pure milk. Its whiteness is due to fat in fine division being

suspended in water. If you examine a drop of milk under the microscope, you will see innumerable small rounded globules of fat of varying sizes covering the whole field. It has got a feeble alkaline reaction and in the case of certain animals, it possesses a faint odour of the particular animal yielding the milk.

When fresh milk is allowed to stand for sometime in a cool place, a thick, yellowish layer is found to float on the surface which mostly consists of the fat of the milk mixed with a certain amount of its nitrogenous constituents. This is what is called "cream", and when removed, the milk becomes much poorer in quality, and such milk is known as 'separated' or 'skimmed' milk. The gowalas take full advantage of this property of milk. They draw the milk generally at 3 o'clock in the morning and allow it to stand for 2 or 3 hours in a cool place and then, after removing the separated cream and adding a little water, sell the milk to their customers as pure milk. The fraud cannot be detected by the Lactometer (an instrument for determining the density of milk) which is the only instrument in the hands of the householder to test the purity of the sample. The removal of cream raises the density of the milk and the addition of a little water brings it down again to normal density. Thus the indication of the Lactometer in such a case is valueless. Skimmed milk, when not watered, cannot strictly be called "adulterated", but it is not genuine milk and the sale of it as pure milk brings the vendor within the penalty of the law.

We shall limit our consideration to cow's and buffalo's milk only in this paper. The following table gives a comparative average composition of the two kinds of milk and shows at a glance the enormous difference in their fat constituents.

TABLE II

Kind of Milk	PERCENTAGE.				
	Water	Protein (Casein)	Fat (Butter)	Carbohydrate (Milk sugar)	Salts (Mineral matter)
Cow's	86.4	4.0	4.3	4.4	0.90
Buffalo's	81.8	4.52	8.2	4.6	0.88

From the above table, it will be seen that there is about 13.6 per cent of solid

matter in cow's milk and nearly one third of it is fat. In buffalo's milk, the solid matter is much larger, being about 18.2 per cent and a little less than half of it is fat. I have already mentioned that much of the milk sold in Calcutta is buffalo milk diluted with water, and if the purity of milk is judged on the sole consideration of the percentage of fat contained in it, the buffalo milk may be diluted with more than equal part of water and may still be passed as pure cow's milk. Fortunately, other facts are taken into account to judge of the purity or otherwise of a sample and this enables one to detect the fraud and bring the offender to book.

ADULTERATION NATURE OF ADULTERANTS.

I. The chief adulterant of milk is water, and if the water so added is from a dirty tank or well, the quality of milk not only deteriorates but it often becomes the carrier of dangerous infectious diseases. This mostly applies to milk brought into the town from outside which constitutes about one third of the whole supply of Calcutta.

II. Cow's milk is also largely mixed with buffalo's milk, watered, and then sold as cow's milk. This kind of milk forms a very large proportion of the total milk supply of Calcutta.

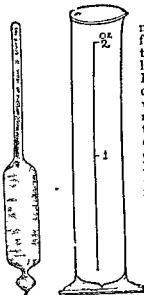
III. Part of the fat in the milk is abstracted in the form of cream, the density of milk thus raised is reduced to normal by addition of requisite quantity of water and the milk then sold as pure milk.

VI. The most common method of adulteration is to water the milk and then raise the lowered density by adding brown sugar to it in the form of sugar-cakes (Batasa). You will see this being practiced by the gowalas in the streets of Calcutta every morning on their way to the houses of the customers. This kind of adulteration baffles detection by Lactometer.

V. It is believed that watered milk is sometimes thickened with some kind of cheap starch or chalk, but such fraud is not often practised.

DETECTION OF ADULTERATION.

Without going into the details of milk analysis, I propose to briefly mention a few practical tests which would go to help the householder to ascertain the purity or otherwise of the supplied to him.



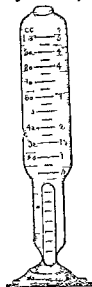
Lactometer

The instrument most commonly used for testing the quality of milk by the householder is the Lactometer. In the case of pure milk, when the instrument is allowed to float in the fluid, the surface of the milk should be on a line with the lowest mark 'M' on the stem of the instrument or very near it. The higher marks viz 3 2 and 1 (or $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$) roughly indicate 25 50 and 75 percent respectively of water added to the milk.

A little correction is needed for the temperature of the milk, as the instrument has been standardised at a definite temperature but it is hardly necessary for, after all it is a rough method and the reading gives sufficiently accurate information for all practical purposes. Our gowalas, however, know all about the Lactometer and they adulterate their commodity in such a way that the indication of the instrument becomes perfectly valueless. On removing some cream from the milk, the "M" mark rises above the surface and by adding water until the "M" touches again the surface of the milk, the gowala sells his adulterated commodity as pure milk with out fear of detection by the Lactometer. In such a case however, the milk becomes thinner and any experienced eye would find out the fraud. Then again, if the milk is watered and then some sugar is added to it, the density is raised and such milk would also defy the test by the Lactometer. The fraud, however, could be detected by a simple test for cane sugar which I shall presently describe.

There is another instrument called the Lactoscope which gives direct information about the percentage of fat in the milk. The instrument is so graduated that

if you take just sufficient milk to fill up the lower space and then add water until certain black marks on the procelain stem fixed in the centre become just visible, the percentage of fat in the sample is indicated by the figure against which the surface of the diluted milk rests. This is a very handy instrument, much more reliable than the Lactometer and enables you to detect the watering of the milk or removal of cream from it.



Lactoscope

For the detection of added cane sugar in the milk, it may easily be found out by taking a little milk in a test tube, adding a small pinch of Resorein and a small quantity of strong Hydrochloric acid and heating the test tube over a spirit lamp, when if cane sugar is present, the milk would turn deep red. The apparatus required for this test are simple viz, a test tube and a spirit lamp only and the few chemicals could be got from any druggist's shop at a very small cost and they would keep for any length of time. The test is quite easy of application and helps to detect the fraud which is commonly practised by the gowalas.

If any kind of starch is added to the milk to thicken it, its presence could at once be detected by putting a drop of milk under the microscope and noticing its peculiar sized striated granules. Starch can also be detected by boiling the milk and adding to the cooled milk a few drops of tincture of iodine, the development of blue colour would indicate the presence of starch.

Adding powdered chalk to milk to thicken it is a clumsy trick and could easily be detected by adding a few drops of Hydrochloric acid to the milk when it will froth.

Part of a paper read at a meeting of the Social Study Society, Calcutta

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

MATERIAL CONDITIONS

JUST as the climate of Fiji is exception-
ally good for Indians to live in, under
normal conditions, so also the material
prospects are exceptionally good, when
once the abnormal conditions of indenture
have been entirely removed. I propose, in
this article, to state the facts as fully as I
am able.

But since in a quite recent document,
published and circulated by the Planters
Associations in Fiji, the indenture period
itself has been spoken of as a time of com-
parative prosperity, it is necessary to
explain clearly once more, as we did in our
former Report, how this is by no means the
case. On the contrary, a deliberate fraud
has been practised, for a large number of
years, in the contract itself made with the
Indian labourers before they embarked. It
is all the more necessary to recall this
fact, at the present time, because there are
some thousands of Indian labourers still
under indenture, upon whom this fraud
has already been used as a means to induce
them to go out. Their lot to day, during
the war, is an exceptionally hard one.

The fraud consisted in this, that while
dealing with ignorant and illiterate Indian
peasants, the agents of the Fiji Government
gave no information whatever about the
food prices in Fiji. They used their superior
intelligence to exploit the weak, and the
Indian Government allowed this. The
offer of twelve annas a day, which seemed
a fortune to the simple minded Indian
peasant, was a pure fraud, and a cruel
fraud at that. I have met many in Fiji
who were earning four annas a day before
they embarked and found it easier to make
two ends meet in India, on that wage, than
on their nominally higher wages in Fiji.
This fraud when carried out on a large
scale in the name of a responsible Govern-
ment is quite inexcusable.

To make my meaning absolutely clear,
let me work out the sum. The villager is
told by the recruiter in India, that he will
get twelve annas a day in Fiji, and he
signs a contract with the Fiji Government
before a magistrate to that effect. But
the first thing he learns, in Fiji, is that he

will only get the promised wage, of twelve
annas, on five and a half days out of the
seven, because Sunday and half Saturday
are not working days. This at once re-
duces twelve annas to 9½ annas a day.
He next learns that the prices of the neces-
sities of life are some of them four times,
some of them three times and some of
them twice as dear as in India. This reduces
his 9½ annas to 4 annas or thereabouts.
The war time has enormously increased
both the hardship and the cost of living
in Fiji. Yet during the War itself this
deliberate deception,—of offering twelve
annas a day in India without any informa-
tion as to the Fiji prices,—continued to be
practised.

When Mr W W Pearson and I reached
the Fiji Islands in 1915, this was one of
the very first subjects of our enquiry, and
we went most carefully into each item of
the cost of living. We immediately sent
home to India the news of what was going
on. In February 1916, on our return, we
reported it to the Viceroy himself and to
the Member of Council in charge of emigra-
tion. In March, 1916, the Honourable
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya brought
forward the question in the Imperial
Council, and a pledge was given by the
Government of India that, in future, so
long as indenture lasted, the prices of food
stuffs in Fiji should be inserted in the con-
tract. This was no slight matter, for it
would affect the life-choice of thousands of
poor people, who were dependent on the
Indian Government for their protection.
The pledge, which the Indian Government
gave, was quite public and explicit, no
one ever dreamt, at the time, of its being
broken.

Therefore it was a matter of extreme
surprise to find, in March, 1917, that this
engagement entered into by the Govern-
ment of India had not been fulfilled, and
that through the year 1916 Indian men
and women had been recruited for Fiji on
the old fraudulent terms. I do not know
who was responsible for this refusal to
carry out the Government of India's
pledged word, but the

that refusal I witnessed, with my own eyes, when I landed in Fiji in the year 1917. Those who had recently come out under indenture instead of getting in Fiji the equivalent of what they could purchase for twelve annas a day in India, (as they expected and had every right to expect, being simple, unlettered people) were living in the coolie lines in an impoverished condition with the war prices continually rising. One of these a Madrasí had attempted to commit suicide by hanging himself, and gave evidence in Court that he could not bear to hear his children crying for food and yet have nothing to give them. During the first month after my arrival in Fiji I spent a considerable amount of time investigating this question. I went very carefully into the cost of living and checked all figures from independent sources such as the retail store keepers' prices. By going in and out among the Indian labourers it was easy to discount any exaggerations and to arrive at the true facts which were palpable enough. I laid the information I had gathered before His Excellency the Governor, who told me with some annoyance and surprise that it had not before been brought to his notice. The whole case was also placed before the Planters in the north of the main Island at their Association meetings and it is a pleasure to record that, in a short time, after consultation with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's representative, (who was visiting the Islands) an advance of 25% in wages was agreed upon. This undoubtedly saved the Indians still under indenture from very great hardship and compensated in some slight degree for the fraud which had been practised on them at the time of their recruitment. But it does not at all excuse the Indian Government for refusing to carry out its pledge.

I wish to add, at this point that I met again and again among the Planters with individual instances of remarkable kindness towards their employees. Assistance was sometimes given them in the keeping of cows at the cane cutting season I have on payment day, as much as 18 to 20 shillings a week earned, on piece work by skilful indentured Indians, and various other privileges were allowed which ameliorated the hard conditions of life. But these things were by no means universal, and there were not seldom cases of exactly the

opposite description—such as the refusal to give any compensation for injuries received during work and the cutting of wages on every slight occasion, such as sickness, failure to finish the task, a summons to the court excessive rain, or other causes. While the extra wages earned on piece work brought up the average these deductions on the part of hard employers brought it down. Records are given by the Immigration Department as late as the year 1916 (the last Report received) of whole plantations where the average wage given per working day only amounted to nine pence instead of the standard minimum of one shilling, which was guaranteed to the indentured labourer.

These average wages in pence, per working day for the whole colony (including all extra earnings as well as all cutting down of wages) may be seen as follows:

	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Men	12.24	12.29	12.55	12.72	12.90
Women	6.06	6.54	6.61	6.54	6.06

The rates may appear high at first sight but all the facts which I have already mentioned must be taken into account with regard to the cost of living in Fiji.

During the time of my second visit, in 1917 the great Australian Strike was in operation for nearly three months and this very greatly increased the price of food stuffs in Fiji, especially of flour. Extreme distress was experienced in consequence by the indentured labourers. In certain parts of the Island large crowds assembled to make their appeals to the magistrates and to state their grievances and hardships. I fully expected that some further relief would be given to the Indians in the coolie lines in this their hour of greatest need for this new rise in prices had far more than swallowed up the 25 per cent rise in wages. But in no direction could I see any attempt being made to meet the situation. It was a time surely when the enormous war profits which had been obtained by the Sugar Companies and the Planters, (and to a certain extent by the Fiji Government also) should have been shared with the indentured labourers. But nothing whatever was done.

To give some idea of the war profiteering—I asked the question point blank at a large Planters' meeting whether it was true that more than £100,000 extra profits had been put into their pockets

owing to the War. The answer was 'yes, and I was afterwards told by the highest authority that I had named much too low a figure. To these extra profits of the Planters must be added the far larger profits of such a great Company, as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company with its millions of capital invested. Yet not one fraction of all these immense war profits had been distributed among the indentured labourers during the whole of the first three years of the War, though, all the while, the cost of living had been rising. Not only had there been no thought on the part of the Planters and the Companies of giving relief of their own accord, but the Fiji Government had been no supine as to acquiesce in this unfairness, although they stood in the position of protectors and guardians of Indian interests and had themselves entered into a direct contract in India with them, being responsible for bringing them out.

The more carefully and thoroughly I have studied the situation, the more I have been brought to the conclusion that the present Fiji Government, whose financial prosperity is so closely bound up with the material interests of such a monopoly as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, cannot be expected to do full justice in the larger matters of Indian interest where they appear to clash with those of the C S R Company. For this reason, as I shall advocate later, it would seem to me advisable that Fiji should come under Australia or New Zealand at the end of the war. While the Fiji Government does its best to relieve individual cases of hard ship, and performs satisfactorily the functions of justice in respect to individuals, it is too weak and too local to hold its own under the pressure of such forces as those exercised by a giant monopoly such as the C S R Co.

It has been with great reluctance, and after much hesitation, that I have felt myself obliged to write the above paragraph, which, I am well aware, is a contradiction of our earlier Report. I would wish it clearly to be understood that I hold as strongly as ever that the Government officials in Fiji are high minded men, who wish to do justice, but I can no longer speak with the same confidence as I did in 1915 of their freedom from external pressure with regard to their larger judgments and actions. Examples

will be found, in the course of the present Report, which will help to explain the reason for my changed opinion. I should add, that I am regarding the matter, purely from the social, and not from the political standpoint.

It is necessary to record that I found far greater bitterness among the indentured Indians and greater hatred of the Englishman, as their oppressor, than I did on my former visit. In some districts which I visited, I had the impression that at any time this smouldering discontent might break out into a flame of revolt. I gathered from those who were likely to know best, that discontent among the Fijians was spreading very rapidly also.

An instructive incident happened quite recently in Fiji, which left a deep impression on the indentured Indians' minds, who heard the tale in an exaggerated form; indeed it was the subject of common talk in the coolie 'lines'. A ship load of Chinese coolies was brought to Fiji, surreptitiously, under indenture, on the North side of the main Island. The wages offered were more than double those given to indentured Indians. But when the Chinese saw the coolie 'lines' and the conditions under which they were expected to live, their anger was so great that they mutinied on the spot.

"I thought," said one of the Company managers to me, "that they would have murdered the lot of us, they looked so ugly and threatening."

The sequel to the story is of great interest. The President of the Chinese National Association in Suva came over in person to the plantations and examined conditions on the spot. He agreed, after inspection, that the terms offered were degrading and made arrangements for the repatriation of his fellow countrymen. Shortly after this, the Chinese National Association entered into correspondence with the Chinese Government asking the latter to prohibit indentured labour altogether.

Immediately on my arrival in Fiji, in June 1917, I was faced with the question of a direct breach of contract which the Fiji Government had committed on a large scale in relation to those under indenture. This breach of contract was admitted, but it was put down to the exigencies of the War. I received great help from Mr.

Manlal, of Rewa, in dealing with the legal aspects of this case. He pointed out to me that there could probably be no remedy obtained in a Court of Law, but, as a case for equity, some action should immediately be taken—if possible by the Indian Government,—in order to aim at getting terms more favourable to the interests of the Indian labourers than those now obtaining.

The issue may be explained very briefly as follows—

The Fiji Government gave a definite undertaking to each Indian labourer before embarkation for Fiji that his passage back to India should be provided for him free of cost. There are now already many thousands whose claims for a free return passage cannot be met on account of the shortage of shipping. The Fiji Government and the Sugar Companies have taken advantage of the labour of the Indians during the War to make immense profits out of the sugar but they have themselves appropriated that part of the labourers' earnings which was to pay for their return passages. The Indian labourer notes that the great Sugar steamers ply their trade as usual, but not one of these steamers can be spared to repatriate the labourers who have helped to grow the sugar. The funds go on accumulating in the Fiji Government treasury while the distress is growing among the labourers. Thus the Government engagement with the Indian labourers has been directly and palpably broken and the profits remain in the hands of the Fiji Administration.

This is the main factor in the breach of contract which has been committed. But there are other circumstances which must be taken into account, for they greatly aggravate the situation. They must be explained, in some detail, in order to make them quite clear—

(1) *Commutation*. One of the very few privileges which Indians had obtained in recent years, was the right of buying off a part of their five years' indenture by payment of a sum of money. This was called commutation, and the right was very highly valued, especially in certain hard cases. But one clause was inserted,

the Planters' interests which is now being used against the labourers. The Planters had insisted when the Bill was passed that no commutation should take place, until the employers could replace

the labourer from a new emigrant vessel. But now, as no ships are arriving with new labourers, this commutation law has become a dead letter.

In order to show the extreme tenacity with which the employers are taking advantage of the Indian labourers' helplessness the following incident is significant. When the Planters insisted that all commutation rights were null and void, I tried to obtain relief from the Fiji Government in the hardest case of all—the case of a legitimate wife being forced to remain on, under indenture, amid the frightful moral evils of the coolie lines, after her husband's indenture had expired. I asked that in this case, at least, the right of commutation (the husband paying the money due) should be absolute and immediate. There was strong opposition to this among some of the Planters. [One of them actually told me face to face, that he was against it as it would increase the disproportion of men to women in his lines.] His Excellency the Governor appointed a Committee on which four leading Government officials (Heads of Departments) seven members of the Fiji Legislative Council and four Planters' representatives sat together to consider this and other questions. My own proposal, which was put before them, was rejected, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That in the opinion of this Committee commutation of indenture should be allowed (when desired by a female immigrant legally married to an immigrant whose indenture has expired) provided that the husband and wife, if required by the employer first, by combined effort, work off the number of days to complete the wife's indenture.

[The italics are in the copy given to me by the Colonial Secretary.]

Thus according to these gentlemen, including among their number the most responsible members of the Fiji Government the wife's position of extreme moral danger is to be exploited in order to induce the husband to work off half her time and thus give the employer the advantage of a man's work instead of a woman's. There are certain public actions which speak volumes as to the general level of opinion reached in any small community and this appears to be one of them.

I am tempted to go still further in the

way of illustration and relate the facts with regard to an Indian child, which came under my own personal observation. The child, a boy of twelve, had been taken from India in charge of some nominal guardian or 'parent'. When he reached Fiji, his 'father' would have nothing more to do with him, and for some months he hung about the coolie 'lines' in a filthy, half-starved condition. At last he went to one of the free Indians and worked in his shop for a small wage, but, for this act of kindness, the free Indian was prosecuted by the Planter, on the charge of "harbouring a deserter", and fined 18s. The child was taken back to the 'lines' and again became half-starved. This time the boy went to the Missionary for protection. The Inspector of immigrants finding no other way out of the difficulty appointed the Missionary as the legal guardian of the child, and when I saw the boy under his new guardian's care he was the picture of health and receiving a good education. But, by the laws of indenture, as soon as the child reached the age of fifteen, he would be forced to go back into the coolie 'lines', to live in a small compartment with two grown-up men (probably steeped in vice) and to go out as an indentured 'coolie' in the field gangs,—and all this would take place, though he had never in all his life signed any indenture agreement. There was one of those hard cases' where the right of commutation would make all the difference. I was able personally to commute two such cases on my previous visit, (where the gravest moral danger threatened the young,) but I was told that in this instance the Planter would refuse to commute and that the law could not make him do so. I had to appeal direct to the Governor over the Planter's head. It will be seen from such examples as these, (which might be multiplied from my own personal experience) how vital to the Indian labourers this right of commutation is, which has now been taken away. While there is no actual breach of contract here, as there is concerning the refusal of the return passage, still a very grave new situation has arisen.

(2) *High cost of living*—Here again there is no actual breach of contract; but, from all that I have said above and need not repeat, it will be seen that there is a clear case for equity.

The war has changed the whole aspect of affairs since the time the contract was made and now in the fourth and fifth years of the war the original contract has become altogether one-sided,—in favour of the employer, who is making enormous profits, and against the employee, whose small daily pittance is becoming ever less and less in value. The mere 25 per cent. rise in wages does not by any means cover the whole difference of expenditure. It has been but a palliative, not a real sharing of profits.

(3) *The immorality in the coolie 'lines'*. By far the strongest ground, in my opinion, for the immediate closing down of the present indentures,—thus making all Indians free,—is the moral one. Here higher considerations of statesmanship come in, rather than legal rights or money payments. It has been proved up to the hilt that the coolie 'lines' of Fiji lead directly to the prostitution of the Indian women, and also that there is no possible remedy while women are forced by law to remain against their will in what are, for all practical purposes, brothels. This condition of things should surely not be allowed to go on. The statement definitely made, in the Fiji Government Medical Report, and published by the Fiji Government itself, that, "one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders" is so completely final, coming as it does officially along with the Government of India's own Despatch of October, 1913, that no Administration worthy of the name should tolerate for a moment such a state of things, whatever financial inducements might be held out for their continuance.

This moral argument is further strengthened by the fact, that the Indian community in Fiji, owing to the long years of past indenture, has reached a demoralised condition. The cancellation of the remaining indentures will bring relief, not only to the indentured labourers themselves, but to the Indian community generally, whose recovery of self respect is the most vital factor to be considered. I have seen with my own eyes the depression which has come to the Indians in Fiji and how they have been despised even by the Fijians themselves on account of their semi-servile status. This outlook of subjection and depression, which is so often apparent in spite of prosperous natural

conditions would vanish and a new attitude of recovered dignity would supervene if once it were understood by all in the islands—Fijians, Europeans and Indians themselves—that not one single Indian was any longer under the bondage of indenture, but that every Indian in Fiji was free.

The planters on the North Side of the main Island were ready to meet me in order to consider together, as one question, the commutation and the closing down of all indentures. They had already agreed to the advance in wages of 25 per cent and the moment seemed favourable for settling the larger issue. I put before them the proposition that they should agree to close down the whole system in Fiji at the end of the year 1919 and allow the commutation of all hard cases during the interval. These Planters of the North represented about two thirds of the whole Sugar industry. After several meetings and discussions they came to an informal agreement among themselves to advocate the above terms and this was ratified unanimously by an executive committee at which I was invited to be present. It should be understood that I had no official authority and they had a perfect right to change their opinion afterwards if they chose. What did happen was that for the time being the Planters on the North Side agreed to the reasonableness of this demand that indenture should close in 1919 instead of in 1921.

The first obstruction to this agreement came from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Though not directly refusing to participate in these discussions, there was a warning note sounded by them, and it became fairly clear on which side the Company would throw its weight, if the scale began to swing back. Then came the Governor's Committee in Suva mentioned above on which the Planters of the South were strongly represented. The subject was warmly debated. In the end an entirely new Resolution was passed which served the purpose of blocking all further efforts at negotiation. The Resolution was in the form of a bait to the Indian public and ran as follows—

That this Committee considers that all indentures should be commuted as soon as a new system of free emigration be satisfactorily established public funds

being employed to meet the cost of commutation. [The italics are mine.]

This resolution was carried,—the hope being that it might induce the Indian public to allow recruiting for Fiji to be reopened in India. I assured everyone that such a hope was ridiculously vain and futile. But from the time of the meeting of the Governor's Committee and the transference of the seat of discussion to the South of the Island, no further informal progress was possible. Indeed, towards the end of my visit, after I had published a preliminary statement of my findings, as to the state of the coolie lines and the immorality that prevailed there I could not help but notice a change of attitude even in the North and an unwillingness to discuss things further. This was due in a great measure to the influence of the Planters' Association in the South which had refused all along to meet me. But it appeared to be due also to the fact, that I had taken what the Northern Planters held to be a far too pessimistic view of the moral conditions.

I would not wish to end the personal narrative of these informal negotiations (which at one time seemed so very nearly successful) without expressing my sincere respect for the Planters on the North side of the Island, and my appreciation of the genuine efforts they made to consider fairly and even generously the Indian labourers' difficulties, when they were placed clearly before them. I have also very warm recollections of personal acts of kindness on their part which touched me deeply. I would add that I met with individual cases of the same kind in the South, though the Planters' Association there was hostile throughout.

There have been certain material improvements in the lot of the indentured labourer in recent years to which I very gladly bear witness. The hours of work have now been so arranged, and the tasks have been so proportioned that both men and women get back to the line much earlier in the day than before. There has also been a remission of the harsh and unjust penal laws, which compelled the indentured labourers, either to do their appointed task each day or else be treated as criminals. Certain sanitary improvements have been introduced which have greatly diminished the unhealthiness

of the old coolie lines' All these things have produced a marked improvement on the past

There used to be, under the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in the old days a system in operation called "speeding up" which led to cruelties unpardonable in a civilised community. These have been related to me by the European overseers themselves who were brought up within the system. What happened was, that one overseer was "speeded up" against another and each in turn was compelled on pain of dismissal to get his area of work done at a fraction less cost than that of his fellows. In order to achieve these 'speeded up' results, the very last ounce was taken out of the Indian labourer by bullying, threatening and flogging.

It was in these days, that the suicides of despair took place with such frequency. I have talked with many overseers who have witnessed them. They invariably took place, so I am told, between 3 A.M. and 4 A.M. in the morning soon after the coolie had been awakened from sleep by the loud clanging of the gong. The hated sound would enter into his tired brain, the pulse of life would be beating at its lowest, the misery of year after year of this sweated labour (from which there was no escape) would appear to be unending, and in consequence one early morning the coolie would be found hanging dead. Those who have seen the bodies after death have described to me one feature—the feet were drawn up tightly, whereas they could have easily been let down to touch the ground. The 'will to die' was stronger than the 'will to live'.

All these things have passed away. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company now leases out its lands, instead of employing paid official agents, and these responsible employers, managing their own estate, are, on the whole, kindly in their treatment. On the North side of the Island—where the profits during the war have been so enormous,—the humanitarian treatment of Indians has become markedly evident.

It now remains in order to complete the picture, to turn from what happens to the indentured labourers and to give an account of the prosperous conditions of those who have gained their freedom.

Immediately on the expiry of indenture

the wages of even indifferent Indian labourers become doubled and often more than doubled, and there are always a number of employers eager to obtain their services. Those Planters, who have gained a reputation for kindness, have no difficulty in retaining most of their old labourers, on increased wages, even after the indenture is over. But those employers, who are noted among Indians for their harsh treatment, find it very difficult indeed to get any men at all, now that recruiting in India has ceased. There can be no question that this one simple factor of shortage of labour has been more potent than all government regulations to bring about a better state of things.

A very large number of the more enterprising Indians year by year, refuse to work any longer as hired labourers. They purchase instead some land of their own on a short lease. Many of these become, in time prosperous farmers. The rich, fertile soil of Fiji (only a fraction of which has been brought under cultivation), is very extensive in area and very cheap. Cattle grazing is comparatively easy on account of the abundance of grass all the year round. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company and the other companies are ready to buy the sugar cane from Indian growers at fair prices and every year the proportion of Indian grown sugar-cane is becoming greater. These independent Indians have, of course, shared in the immense war profits, as well as the Europeans. They do not, however, enter into the indenture labour problem at all, for nearly all of them have only very small estates, which they work by themselves, or along with two or three partners, hiring free Indian labour only for the 'cutting' season. I have never yet met a single Indian Planter who has ever employed in indentured labour.

In order to show the very remarkable material prosperity among the free Indians, who have long ago finished their indentures and settled down in the Islands, it will be most convenient for readers in India, if I tabulate, in a way that can be easily understood, the statistics presented to Government by the different Sugar Companies and published in the Emigration Department's Report.

It should be borne in mind, in estimating these figures, that the total number of free Indians, in 1916, was roughly 50,000,

of whom 30,000 were males. The proportion of grown up men among this number would be fairly large. The figures do not refer to the indentured population.

The following are the returns, in the different districts, for the sugar cultivation by free Indians.

DISTRICTS OF TAVUA AND BA (C S R Co)

Number of Indian growers	429 men
Area under cultivation	5,422 acres
Number of tons crushed	58,957 tons
Total amount paid	£38,538
Greatest tonnage of a single Indian	2,852 tons
Least tonnage of a single Indian	3 tons
Greatest single amount paid	£1,565 0 0
Least single amount paid	£1 14 0

DISTRICTS OF LAUTOKA AND NADI (C S R Co)

Number of Indian growers	450 men
Area under cultivation	7,300 acres
Number of tons crushed	98,519 tons
Total amount paid	£58,690

DISTRICT OF MACCLATA (C S R Co)

Number of Indian growers	126 men
Area under cultivation	850 acres
Number of tons crushed	7,440 tons.
Total amount paid	£4,106

DISTRICT OF REWA (C S R Co)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	5,000 acres
Number of tons crushed	42,742 tons
Total amount paid	£22,790

DISTRICT OF NAVUA (Vancouver S Co)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	3,500 acres
Number of tons crushed	31,637 tons
Total amount paid	£10,510

DISTRICT OF RA (Melbourne Trust)

Number of Indian growers	5
Area under cultivation	325 acres,
Number of tons crushed	3,920 tons
Total amount paid	£2,314
Greatest single amount paid	£1,347

It will be seen from these certified returns that, in the year 1916, the free Indians received for their sugar crop the sum of £142,948. I have a later return for the year 1917, which shows an increase of £3,000 for the Indian sugar return in the Ba District alone. We should, therefore, be well within the mark if we were to put the whole Indian sugar return for 1917

at over £150,000, say, 23 lakhs of rupees. We must add to these returns the amounts received for cereals and bananas which came roughly to another £25,000, making a total of £175,000 for a community of 50,000 persons. If we reckon in the yearly return for the cattle also, we may put the annual agricultural return at 30 lakhs.

It must not, of course, be imagined that the returns given above are clear profit. By far the greater number of Indian cultivators are still heavily in debt, either to Europeans, or to Fijians. I traced out one large transaction, which may be regarded as fairly typical. A European had bought some new cane land for £1,500. He sold it again almost immediately to an Indian cultivator for £4,000, which sum was to be paid off in 5 instalments of £800 each, if payment were delayed a certain interest was to be charged (I think 8 per cent), but if any of the payments became overdue by more than a year, then all the land, together with all the money paid, was to be forfeit. Those were, as far as I can remember, the terms. It did not appear to me that such a forfeiture would be allowed in a court of law, but many transactions take place of this kind, and land speculation has become a form of gambling to which many Indians have become addicted.

It may be said roughly, that the very high prices given for sugar and cereals during the war have enriched the free Indians and enabled many to become entirely free from debt, while at the same time they have kept in grinding poverty the indentured Indians. It is when this situation is fully appreciated, that the need of helping the indentured Indians becomes so urgent.

The rapid increase in Indian sugar cultivation during recent years makes the question a practical one, whether the free Indians will not in time take the place of the European planters altogether. I have not the complete figures before me and I found them difficult to obtain, but it is probable that already the Indian sugar returns represent nearly 30 per cent. of the whole crop. If the same rapidity of advance takes place in the future, it is not improbable that, within the next ten years, one half of the whole sugar-cane crop will be Indian grown. The original European planters, who, after obtaining

immense profits are now faced with short age of labour, are likely to sell out in order to realise their gains, and every estate, as it falls in, will be cut up into Indian blocks.

I take from my own notes, as they were written on the spot, an account of one of the most pleasant Indian scenes which I witnessed during my two visits to Fiji. It happened in the district of Nadi, where the free settlements of Indians are very numerous and where the climate is most conducive to a vigorous, healthy life. My notes run as follows—

There were some two thousand Indians on the lawn, which was the centre of a Fijian settlement, beautifully kept. They were dressed in gay colours especially the women and it appeared exactly like an Indian *Mela*. The children looked the very picture of health. For pure enjoyment it would be very hard to beat what I saw that day, even in North India. The arrangement for the Red Cross Day had been made by the Indians themselves. The Europeans were their guests and they were shown every courtesy and hospitality in true Indian fashion. What I was especially glad to see was the good humoured chaff that went on between the two races, and also the kindly freedom and naturalness with which the women of the two races mingled. It was a racial scene quite unlookable in South Africa and very rare, I should imagine, in India itself.

There was a first rate wrestling match in the afternoon. Two champions, of rival districts, were the combatants. But though feeling ran high there was never any loss of temper, either on the part of the crowd or of the wrestlers themselves. A European Planter was the umpire, and one of his own labourers was the champion of the Nadi District. The match went against him. A very muscular Musalman (the son of a rich Indian Zamindar) won the match after a great struggle. Later on in the day some cattle were sold at auction and the low prices astonished me,—a good milking cow being auctioned for twenty seven rupees. But I was told that cattle were usually sold at about those rates. At the end of the day it was found that £275 had been collected for the Red Cross.

The District Magistrate was keenly interested in the whole affair. He is very greatly respected by all the Indians of the

Nadi District. Another popular figure was one of the overseers of the Lautoka Mill, who was asked by the Indians to be their auctioneer. He carried out his work in the most amusing style, to the great enjoyment of the crowd.

A remarkable individual case of prosperity is that of the Hon. Badre Maharaj, who came out to Fiji from the North of India under indenture thirty years ago. He has gained a name for uprightness of conduct and steady industrious work all over the Islands. Little by little he has built up a prosperous plantation in connexion with the Mill of the Melbourne Trust. He pays his men who are free, a reasonable wage and he has started a school of his own for Indian children. Both his sons have gone to New Zealand for their education and have done well there. One boy is still at school the other hopes to go to Oxford after the war.

Among the European Planters and overseers there are a considerable number who bear an honourable record among Indians for kindly treatment. It would be invidious to single out names from among those who are in the Islands to-day, employing Indian labour on their plantations but I would wish to state generally that I have had the privilege during my two visits of meeting with those for whom my respect deepened the longer I knew them. I saw them at all hours of the day while they were engaged in their daily round of duties and I noticed with great pleasure the frankness of the relations which existed in their case, between employer and employed. That I saw others of an opposite character goes without saying human nature being what it is, but I can state with some confidence from personal observation that these were comparatively few as far as those parts of the Islands were concerned which I chiefly visited.

If it is considered that an undue proportion of this section of the Report on the material conditions has been taken up with the needs of the small number of Indians still under indenture, the reason has been that I cannot but regard the present position of these indentured Indians as an unfair one and their grievances as just. It was therefore necessary to state them at length, in the hope that they may be rectified as soon as possible by Indian Government action.

C. F. ANDREWS

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

CHAPTER IX

BIMALA'S STORY

13

FOR a time I was utterly at a loss to think of any way of getting that money. Then the other day in the light of intense excitement suddenly the whole picture stood out clear before me.

Every year my husband makes a reverence offering of six thousand rupees to my sister-in-law at the time of the Durga Puja. Every year that is deposited in her account at the bank in Calcutta. This year the offering was made as usual but it has not yet been sent to the bank being kept meanwhile in an iron safe in a corner of the little dressing room attached to our bedroom.

Every year my husband takes the money to the bank himself. This year he has not yet had an opportunity of going to town. How could I fail to see the hand of Providence in this? The money has been held up because the country wants it—who could have the power to take it away from her to the bank? And how can I have the power to refuse to take the money? The Goddess revelling in destruction holds out her blood cup crying, 'Give me drink. I am thirsty.' I will give her my own heart's blood with that five thousand rupees. Mother the loser of that money will scarcely feel the loss but me you will utterly ruin!

Many a time in the old days have I inwardly called the Senior Rani a thief. I charged her with wheedling money out of my trusting husband. After her husband's death she often used to make away with things belonging to the estate for her own use. This I used to point out to my husband but he remained

I would get angry and say, 'If I feel generous make gifts by all means but why allow yourself to be robbed?' Providence must have smiled then at these complaints of mine for to-night I am on the way to rob my husband's safe of my sister-in-law's money.

My husband's custom was to let his keys remain in his pockets when he took off his clothes for the night leaving them in the dressing room. I picked out the key of the safe and opened it. The slight sound it made seemed to wake the whole world! A sudden chill turned my hands and feet icy cold and I shivered all over.

There was a drawer inside the safe. On opening this I found the money not in currency notes, but in gold rolled up in paper. I had no time to count out what I wanted. There were twenty rolls all of which I took and tied up in a corner of my sari.

What a weight it was! The burden of the theft crushed my heart to the dust. Perhaps notes would have made it seem less like thieving but this was all gold.

After I had stolen back into my room like a thief it felt like my own room no longer. All the most precious rights which I had over it vanished at the touch of my theft. I began to mutter to myself as though telling mantras, *Bande Mataram, Bande Mataram* my Country, my Golden Country, all this gold is for you for none else!

But in the night the mind is weak. I came back into the bedroom where my husband was asleep closing my eyes as I passed through and went off to the open terrace beyond on which I lay prone clasping to my breast the end of the sari tied over the gold. And each one of the rolls gave me a shock of pain.

The silent night stood there with forefinger upraised. I could not think of my house as separate from my country. I had robbed my house. I had robbed my country. I or this sin my house had ceased to be mine, my country also was estranged from me. Had I died begging for my country even unsuccessfully that would have been worship acceptable to the gods. But theft is never worship—how then can I offer this gold? Ah me! I am doomed to death myself in that I desecrate my country with my impious touch!

The way to put the money back is

closed to me I have not the strength to return to the room take again that key, open once more that safe—I should swoon on the threshold of my husband's door. The only road left now is the road in front. Neither have I the strength deliberately to sit down and count the coins. Let them remain behind their coverings. I cannot calculate.

There was no mist in the winter sky. The stars were shining brightly. If I thought I to myself as I lay out there I had to steal these stars one by one like golden coins, for my country—these stars so carefully stored up in the bosom of the darkness—then the sky would be blinded the night widowed for ever and my theft would rob the whole world. But was not also this very thing I had done a robbing of the whole world—not only of money but of trust of righteousness?

I spent the night lying on the terrace. When at last it was morning and I was sure that my husband had risen and left the room then only with my shawl pulled over my head could I retrace my steps towards the bedroom.

The Senior Rani was about with her brass pot watering her plants. When she saw me passing in the distance she cried: Have you heard the news, Junior Rani?

I stopped in silence, all in a tremor. It seemed to me that the rolls of sovereigns were bulging through the shawl. I feared they would burst and scatter in a ringing shower exposing to all the servants of the house the thief who had made herself destitute by robbing her own wealth.

Your band of robbers, she went on, have sent an anonymous message threatening to loot the treasury.

I remained as silent as a thief.

I was advising brother Nikhil to seek your protection, she continued banteringly. Call off your minions, Robber Queen! We shall offer sacrifices to your *Bande Mataram* if you will but save us. What doings there are these days—but for the Lord's sake spare our house at least from burglary.

I hastened into my room without reply. I had put my foot on quicksand and could not now withdraw it. Struggling would only send me down deeper.

If only the time would arrive when I could hand over the money to Sandip!

I could bear it no longer its weight was breaking through my very ribs.

It was still early when I got word that Sandip was awaiting me. To-day I had no thought of adornment. Wrapped as I was in my shawl I went off to the outer apartments.

As I entered the sitting room I saw Sandip and Amulya there together. All my dignity, all my honour seemed to run tingling through my body from head to foot and vanish into the ground. I would have to lay bare a woman's uttermost shame in sight of this boy! Could they have been discussing my deed in their meeting place? Had any vestige of a veil of decency been left for me?

We women shall never understand men. When they are bent on making a road for some achievement they think nothing of breaking the heart of the world into pieces to pave it for the progress of their chariot. When they are mad with the intoxication of creating, they rejoice in destroying the creation of the Creator. This heart-breaking shame of mine will not attract even a glance from their eyes. They have no feeling for life itself—all their eagerness is for the object. What am I to them but a meadow flower in the path of a torrent in flood?

What good will this extinction of me be to Sandip? Only five thousand rupees? Was not I good for something more than only five thousand rupees? Yes indeed! Did I not learn that from Sandip himself and was I not able in the light of this knowledge to despise all else in my world? I was the giver of light of life of *shakti* of immortality—in that belief in that joy I had hurst all my bounds into the open. Had any one then fulfilled for me that joy I should have lived in my death. I should have lost nothing in the loss of my all.

Do they want to tell me now that all this was false? The psalm of my praise which was sung so devotedly did it bring me down from my heaven not to make heaven of earth but only to level heaven itself with the dust?

14

The money Queen said Sandip with his keen glance full on my face.

Amulya also fixed his gaze on me. Though not my own mother's child yet the dear had is brother to me for mother all the world over.

guideless face, his gentle eyes, his innocent youth he looked at me. And I, a woman,—of his mother's sex,—how could I hand him poison, just because he asked for it?

"The money, Queen!" Sandip's insolent demand rang in my ears. For very shame and vexation I felt I wanted to fling that gold at Sandip's head. I could hardly undo the knot of my *sari*, my fingers trembled so. At last the paper rolls dropped on the table.

Sandip's face grew black. He must have thought that the rolls were of silver. What contempt was in his looks. What utter disgust at incapacity. It was almost as if he could have struck me! He must have suspected that I had come to parley with him to offer to compound his claim for five thousand rupees with a few hundreds. There was a moment when I thought he would snatch up the rolls and throw them out of the window, declaring that he was no beggar, but a king claiming tribute.

"Is that all?" asked Amulya with such pity welling up in his voice that I wanted to sob out aloud. I kept my heart tightly pressed down, and merely nodded my head.

Sandip was speechless. He neither touched the rolls, nor uttered a sound.

My humiliation went straight to the boy's heart. With a sudden, feigned enthusiasm he exclaimed, "It's plenty. It will do splendidly. You have saved us." With which he tore open the covering of one of the rolls.

The sovereigns shone out. And in a moment a black covering seemed to be lifted from Sandip's countenance also. His delight beamed forth from his features. Unable to control his sudden revulsion of feeling he sprang up from his seat towards me. What he intended, I know not. I flashed a lightning glance towards Amulya, —the colour had left the boy's face as at the stroke of a whip. Then with all my strength I thrust Sandip from me. As he reeled back, his head struck the edge of the marble table and he dropped on the floor. There he lay awhile, motionless. Exhausted with my effort I sank back on my seat.

Amulya's face lightened with a joyful radiance. He did not even turn towards Sandip, but came straight up, took the dust of my feet and then remained there, sitting on the floor in front of me. O my little brother, my child! This reverence

of yours is the last touch of heaven left in my empty world! I could contain myself no longer, and my tears flowed fast. I covered my eyes with the end of my *sari*, which I pressed to my face with both my hands, and sobbed and sobbed. And every time that I felt on my feet his tender touch, trying to comfort me, my tears broke out afresh.

After a little, when I had recovered myself and taken my hands from my face, I saw Sandip back at the table, gathering up the sovereigns in his handkerchief, as if nothing had happened. Amulya rose to his seat, from his place near my feet, his wet eyes shining.

Sandip coolly looked up at my face as he remarked, "It is six thousand."

"What do we want with so much, Sandip Babu?" cried Amulya. "Three thousand five hundred is all we need for our work."

Our wants are not for this one place only," Sandip replied. "We shall want all we can get."

"That may be," said Amulya. "But in future I undertake to get you all you want. Out of this, Sandip Babu, please return the extra two thousand five hundred to the Maharani."

Sandip looked inquiringly at me. "No no," I exclaimed. "I shall never touch that money again. Do with it as you will."

"Can man ever give as woman can!" said Sandip, looking towards Amulya.

"They are goddesses!" agreed Amulya with enthusiasm.

"We men can at best give of our power," continued Sandip. "But women give themselves. Out of their own life they give birth, out of their own life they give sustenance. Such gifts are the only true gifts." Then turning to me, "Queen!" said he, "if what you have given us had been only money I would not have touched it. But you have given that which is more to you than life itself!"

There must be two different persons inside men. One of these in me can understand that Sandip is trying to delude me, the other is content to be deluded. Sandip has power, but no strength of righteousness. The weapon of his which rouses up life smites it again to death. He has the unfailing quiver of the gods, but the shafts in them are of the demons.

Sandip's handkerchief was not large

enough to hold all the coins "Queen," he asked, "Can you give me another?"

When I gave him mine, he reverently touched with it his forehead, and then suddenly kneeling on the floor he made me an obeisance "Goddess!" he said, "it was to offer my reverence that I had approached you, but you repulsed me, and rolled me in the dust—Be it so I accept your repulse as your boon to me, I raise it to my head in salutation!" with which he pointed to the place where he had been hurt.

Had I then misunderstood him? Could it be that his outstretched hands had really been directed towards my feet? Yet, surely, even Amulya had seen the passion that flamed out of his eyes, his face. But Sandip is such an adept in setting music to his chant of praise that I cannot argue. I lose my power of seeing truth, my sight is clouded over like an opium eater's eyes. And so, after all, he gave me back twice as much in return for the blow I had dealt him,—the wound on his head ended by making me bleed at heart. When I had received Sandip's obeisance my theft seemed to gain a dignity, and the gold glittering on the table to smile away all fear of disgrace, all stings of conscience.

Like me Amulya also was won back. His devotion to Sandip, which had suffered a momentary check, blazed up anew. The flower vase of his mind filled once more with offerings for the worship of Sandip and me. His simple faith shone out of his eyes with the pure light of the morning star at dawn.

After I had offered worship and received worship my sin became radiant. And as Amulya looked on my face he raised his folded hands in salutation and cried *Bande Mataram*. "I cannot expect to have this adoration surrounding me forever, and yet this has come to be the only means of keeping alive my self respect."

I can no longer enter my bedroom. The bedstead seems to thrust out a forbidding hand, the iron safe frowns at me. I want to get away from this continual insult to myself which is rankling within me. I want to keep running to Sandip to hear him sing my praises. There is just this one little altar of worship which has kept its head above the all-pervading depths of my dishonour, and so I want to cleave to it night and day, for on whichever

side I step away from it, there is only emptiness.

Praise praise, I want unceasing praise. I cannot live if my wine cup be left empty for a single moment. So, as the very price of my life, I want Sandip of all the world, to day.

15

When my husband now a-days comes in for his meals, I feel I cannot sit before him, and yet it is such a shame not to be near him that I feel I cannot do that either. So I seat myself where we cannot look at each other's faces. That was how I was sitting the other day when the Senior Rani came and joined us.

"It is all very well for you, brother," said she, "to laugh away these threatening letters. But they do frighten me so. Have you sent off that money you gave me to the Calcutta bank?"

"No I have not yet had the time to get away," my husband replied.

"You are so careless brother dear, you had better look out."

"But it is in the iron safe right inside the inner dressing room," said my husband with a reassuring smile.

"What if they get in there? You can never tell!"

"If they go so far, they might as well carry you off too!"

Don't you fear, no one will come for poor me. The real attraction is in your room! But joking apart, don't run the risk of keeping money in the room like that."

"They will be taking along the government revenue to Calcutta in a few days now, I will send this money to the bank under the same escort."

"Very well. But see you don't forget all about it, you are so absent minded!"

"Even if that money gets lost, while in my room, the loss cannot be yours, Sister Rani."

"Now, now, brother, you will make me very angry if you talk in that way. Was I making any difference between yours and mine? What if your money is lost, does not that hurt me? If providence has thought fit to take away my all, it has not left me insensible to the value of the most devoted brother known since the days of Lakshman."

* Of the Ramayana. The story of his devotion to his elder brother Rama and his brother's wife Sita, has become a by word.

"Well, Junior Rani, are you turned into a wooden doll? You have not spoken a word yet. Do you know, brother, our Junior Rani thinks I try to flatter you. If things came to that pass I should not hesitate to do so, but I know my dear old brother does not need it!"

Thus the Senior Rani chattered on, not forgetting now and then to draw her 'brothers' attention to this or that special delicacy amongst the dishes that were being served. My head was all the time in a whirl. The crisis was fast coming. Something must be done about replacing that money. And as I kept asking myself what could be done and how it was to be done the unceasing patter of my sister in law's words seemed more and more intolerable.

What made it all the more uncomfortable was, that nothing could escape the Senior Rani's keen eyes. Every now and then she was casting side glances towards me. What she could read in my face I do not know, but to me it seemed that everything was written there only too plainly.

Then I did an infinitely rash thing. Affecting an easy, amused laugh I said, "All the Senior Rani's suspicions I see, are reserved for me,—her fears of thieves and robbers are only a feint."

The Senior Rani smiled mischievously. "You are right, sister mine. A woman's theft is the most fatal of all thefts. But how can you elude my watchfulness. Am I a man, that you should hoodwink me?"

"If you fear me so," I retorted, "let me keep in your hands all I have as security. If I cause you loss, you can then repay yourself."

"Just listen to her, our simple little Junior Rani!" she laughed back turning to my husband. "Does she not know that there are losses which no security can make good, either in this world or in the next?"

My husband did not join in our exchange of words. When he had finished, he went off to the outer apartments, for now a days he does not take his mid-day rest in our room.

All my more valuable jewels were in deposit in the treasury in charge of the cashier. Still what I kept with me must have been worth thirty or forty thousand. I took my jewel box to the Senior Rani's room and opened it out before her, saying

"I leave these with you, sister. They will keep you quite safe from all worry."

The Senior Rani made a gesture of mock despair. "You positively astound me, Junior Rani!" she said. "Do you really suppose I spend sleepless nights for fear of being robbed by you?"

"What harm if you did have a wholesome fear of me? Does anybody know anybody else in this world?"

"You want to teach me a lesson by trusting me? No, no! I am bothered enough to know what to do with my own jewels, without keeping watch over yours. Take them away, there's a dear, so many prying servants are about."

I went straight from the Senior Rani's room to the sitting room outside, and sent for Amulya. With him Sandip came along too. I was in a great hurry, and said to Sandip, "If you don't mind, I have a word or two with Amulya. Would you

Sandip smiled a wry smile. "So Amulya and I are separate in your eyes? If you have set about to wean him from me, I must confess I have no power to retain him."

I made no reply but stood waiting. "Be it so," Sandip went on, "finish your special talk with Amulya. But then you must give me a special talk all to myself too, or it will mean a defeat for me, I can stand everything, but not defeat. My share must always be the lion's share. This has been my constant quarrel with Providence. I will defy it the Disposer of my fate, but not take defeat at his hands. With a crushing look at Amulya, Sandip walked out of the room.

"Amulya my own little brother, you must do one thing for me," I said.

"I will stake my life for whatever duty you may lay on me, Sister."

I brought out my jewel box from the folds of my shawl and placed it before him. "Sell or pawn these," I said, "and get me six thousand rupees as fast as ever you can."

"No, no, Sister," said Amulya touched to the quick. "Let these jewels be. I will get you six thousand all the same."

"Oh don't be silly," I said impatiently. "There is no time for any nonsense. Take this box. Get away to Calcutta by the night train. And bring me the money by the day after tomorrow positively."

Amulya took a diamond necklace out of

the box, held it up to the light and put it back gloomily.

"I know," I told him, "that you will never get the proper price for these diamonds, so I am giving you jewels worth about thirty thousand. I don't care if they all go, but I must have that six thousand without fail."

"Do you know, Sister," said Amulya, "I have had a quarrel with Sandip Babu over that Rs 6,000 he took from you? I cannot tell you how ashamed I felt. But Sandip Babu would have it that we must give up even our shame for the country. That may be so. But this is somehow different. I do not fear to die for the country, to kill for the country,—that much *shakti* has been given me. But I cannot forget the shame of having taken money from you. There Sandip Babu is ahead of me. He has no regrets or compunctions. He says we must get rid of the idea that the money belongs to the one in whose box it happens to be,—if we cannot, where is the magic of *Bande Mataram*?"

Amulya gathered enthusiasm as he talked on. He always warms up when he has me for a listener. "The *Gita* tells us," he continued, "that no one can kill the soul. Killing is a mere word. So also is the taking away of money. Whose is the money? No one has created it. No one can take it away with him when he departs this life, for it is no part of his soul. To-day it is mine, to-morrow my son's, the next day his creditor's. Since, in fact, money belongs to no one, why should ~~my~~ blame attach to our patriots if, instead of leaving it for some worthless son, they take it for their own use?"

When I hear Sandip's words uttered by this boy, I tremble all over. Let those who are snake charmers play with snakes, if harm comes to them, they are prepared for it. But these boys are so innocent, all the world is ready with its blessing to protect them. They play with a snake not knowing its nature and when we see them smilingly, trustfully, putting their hands within reach of its fangs, then we understand how terribly dangerous the snake is. Sandip is right when he suspects that though I, for myself, may be ready to die at his hands, this boy I shall wean from him and save.

"So the money is wanted for the use of your patriots, I suppose," I asked with a smile.

"Of course it is!" said Amulya, proudly. "Are they not our kings? Poverty takes away from their regal power. Do you know, we always insist on Sandip Babu travelling First Class? He never shirks kingly honours,—he accepts them not for himself, but for the glory of us all. The greatest weapon of those who rule the world, Sandip Babu has told us, is the hypnotism of their display. To take the vow of poverty would be for them not merely a penance,—it would mean suicide."

At this point Sandip noiselessly entered the room. I threw my shawl over the jewel case with a rapid movement.

The special talk business not yet over? he asked with a sneer in his tone.

Yes, we've quite finished," said Amulya apologetically. "It was nothing much."

"No, Amulya," I said, "we have not quite finished."

"So exit Sandip, for the second time, I suppose," said Sandip.

"If you please."

"And as to Sandip's re-entry. . ."

"Not to-day. I have no time."

"I see!" said Sandip as his eyes flashed. "No time to waste, only for special talks!"

Jealousy! Where the strong man shows weakness, there the weaker sex cannot help beating her drums of victory. So I repeated, firmly, "I really have no time."

Sandip went away looking black. Amulya was greatly perturbed. "Sister Ranj," he pleaded, "Sandip Babu is annoyed."

"He has neither cause nor right to be annoyed," I said with some vehemence. "Let me caution you about one thing, Amulya. Say nothing to Sandip Babu about the sale of my jewels,—on your life!"

"No, I will not!"

"Then you had better not delay any more. You must get away by to-night's train."

Amulya and I left the room together. As we came out on the verandah Sandip was standing there. I could see he was waiting to waylay Amulya. To prevent that I had to engage him. "What is it you wanted to tell me, Sandip Babu?" I asked.

"I have nothing special to say."

small talk. And since you have not the time

"I can give you just a little."

By this time Amulya had left. As we entered the room Sandip asked, "What was that box Amulya carried away?"

"The box had not escaped his eyes. I remained firm. 'If I could have told you, it would have been made over to him in your presence.'"

"So you think Amulya will not tell me?"

"No, he will not."

Sandip could not conceal his anger any longer. You think you will gain the mastery over me? he blazed out. That shall never be. Amulya, there, would die a happy death if I deigned to trample him under foot. I will never, so long as I live allow you to bring him to your feet.

Oh, the weak! the weak! At last Sandip has realised that he is weak before me! That is why there is this sudden outburst of anger. He has understood that he cannot meet the power that I wield, with mere strength. With a glance I can crumble his strongest fortifications. So he must needs resort to bluster. I simply smiled, in contemptuous silence. At last have I come to a level above him. I must never lose this vantage ground never descend low again. Amidst all my degradation this bit of dignity must remain to me!

"I know," said Sandip, after a pause. "It was your jewel case."

You may guess as you please, said I, but you will get nothing out of me.

So you trust Amulya more than you trust me? Do you know that the boy is the shadow of my shadow, the echo of my echo,—that he is nothing if I am not at his side?

"Where he is not your echo, he is himself, Amulya. And that is where I trust him more than I can trust your echo."

You must not forget that you are under a promise to render up all your ornaments to me for the worship of the Divine Mother. In fact your offering has already been made.

"Whatever ornaments the gods leave to me will be offered up to the gods. But how can I offer those which have been stolen away from me?"

Look here, it is no use your trying to give me the slip in that fashion. Now is the time for grim work. Let that work be finished, then you can make a display

of your woman's wiles to your heart's content—and I will help you in your game.

The moment I had stolen my husband's money and paid it to Sandip, the music that was in our relations stopped. Not only did I destroy all my own value by making myself cheap, but Sandip's powers, too, lost scope for their full play. You cannot employ your marksmanship against a thing which is right in your grasp. So Sandip has lost his aspect of the hero, a tone of low quarrelsome ness has come into his words.

Sandip kept his brilliant eyes fixed full on my face till they seemed to blaze with all the thirst of the midday sky. Once or twice he fidgeted with his feet, as though to leave his seat as if to spring right on me. My whole body seemed to swim, my veins throbbed, the hot blood surged up to my ears, I felt that if I remained there, I should never get up at all. With a supreme effort I tore myself off the chair, and hastened towards the door.

From Sandip's dry throat there came a muffled cry. Whither would you flee, Queen? The next moment he left his seat with a bound to seize hold of me. At the sound of footsteps outside the door, however, he rapidly retreated and fell back into his chair. I checked my steps near the bookshelf, where I stood staring at the names of the books.

As my husband entered the room, Sandip exclaimed, "Lay, Nikhil, don't you keep Browning among your books here? I was just telling Queen Beg of our college club. Do you remember that contest of ours over the translation of those lines from Browning? You don't?"

She should never have looked at me
If I meant I should not love her
There are plenty men you call such,
I suppose she would discover
All her soul to false pleasures
And yet leave much as she found them
But I am too and she knew it
When she fixed me glancing round them

I managed to get together the words to render it into Bengali, somehow, but the result was hardly likely to be a joy forever to the people of Bengal. I really did think at one time that I was on the verge of becoming a poet, but providence was kind enough to save me from that disaster. Do you remember old Dakshina? If he had not become a Salt Inspector, he

would have been a poet I remember his rendering to this day

"No, Queen Bee, it is no use rummaging those bookshelves Nikhil has ceased to read poetry after his marriage,—perhaps he has no farther need for it But I suppose 'the fever fit of poesy', as the Sanskrit has it, is about to attack me again"

"I have come to give you a warning, Sandip," said my husband

"About the fever fit of poesy?"

My husband took no notice of this attempt at humour "For some time," he continued, "Mahomedan preachers have been about stirring up the local Mussulmans They are all wild with you, and may attack you any moment"

"Are you come to advise flight?"

"I have come to give you information, not to offer advice"

"Had these estates been mine, such a warning would have been necessary for the preachers, not for me If, instead of trying to frighten me, you give them a taste of your intimidation, that would be worthier both of you and me Do you know that your weakness is weakening your neighbouring zamindars also?"

"I did not offer you my advice, Sandip I wish you, too, would refrain from giving me yours Besides it is useless And there is another thing I want to tell you You and your followers have been secretly worrying and oppressing my tenantry I cannot allow that any longer So I must ask you to leave my territory"

"For fear of the Mussulmans, or is there any other fear you have to threaten me with?"

"There are fears the want of which is cowardice In the name of those fears, I tell you, Sandip, you must go In five days' time I shall be starting for Calcutta I want you to accompany me You may of course stay in my house there,—to that there is no objection"

"All right, I have still five days' time, then Meanwhile, Queen Bee, let me hum to you my song of parting from your honey hive Ah! you poet of modern Bengal! Throw open your doors and let me plunder your words The theft is really yours, for it is my song which you have made your own—let the name be yours by

all means, but the song is mine With this Sandip struck up in a deep, husky voice, which threatened to be out of tune, a song in the *Bhairavi* mode

In the spring time of your kingdom my Queen
Meetings and partings chase each other in their end
less hide and seek
And flowers blossom in the wake of those that droop
and die in the shade

In the spring time of your kingdom my Queen
My meeting with you had its own songs
But has not also my leave taking any gift to offer
you?

That gift is my secret hope which I keep hidden in
the shadows of your flower garden
That the rains of July may sweetly temper your
fiery June

His boldness was immense,—boldness which had no veil, but was naked as fire *Oae finds no time to stop it it is like trying to resist a thunderbolt the lightning flashes it laughs at all resistance*

I left the room As I was passing along the verandah towards the inner apartments, Amulya suddenly made his appearance and came and stood before me

Fear nothing Sister Rani,' he said "I am off to night and shall not return unsuccessful"

"Amulya," said I, looking straight into his earnest, youthful face, 'I fear nothing for myself, but may I never cease to fear for you'

Amulya turned to go, but before he was out of sight I called him back and asked "Have you a mother, Amulya?"

'I have'

'A sister?'

'No, I am the only child of my mother My father died when I was quite little'

"Then go back to your mother, Amulya"

'But Sister Rani, I have now both mother and sister'

"Then, Amulya, before you leave to night, come and have your dinner here"

"There won't be time for that Let me take some food for the journey, consecrated with your touch"

"What do you specially like, Amulya?"

"If I had been with my mother I should have had lots of *Poush* cakes Make some for me with your own hands, Sister Rani"

(To be continued)

Translated by
SUNDARATH TAGORE

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Tendency and Possibilities of English Poetry

The review of the character of English poetry is continued in *Arya* for July Coming, as it does, from Aurobindo Ghose, himself a poet and scholar of a very high order, having an amount of insight into English and classical literature which is rare amongst Indians, it deserves the serious consideration of all true lovers of literature.

The progress that English poetry has made is due to "a series of bold experiments less shackled by the past than in countries which have a stronger sense of cultural tradition." Mr Ghose goes on to say

Form is a great power, but sureness of form is not everything. A strong tradition of form gives a sure ground upon which genius can work in safety and be protected from its own wanderings; but it limits and stands in the way of daring individual adventure. The spirit of adventure if its path is strewn with accidents, stumblings or fatal casualties, brings, when it does succeed new revelations which are worth all the price paid for them. English poetry is full of such new revelations. Its richness, its constant freshness, its lavish expenditure of genius exulting in freedom, delivered from all meticulous caution, its fire and force of imagination, its lambent energy of poetic speech, its constant self-liberation into intensest beauty of self-expression are the rewards of its courage and its liberty. These things are of the greatest value in poetry.

We have to accept one constant tendency "of the spirit of English poetry, which loves to dwell with all its weight upon the presentation of life and action, of feeling and passion, to give that its full force and to make it the basis and the source and not only the point of reference but the utility of all else. A strong hold upon this life, the earth-life is the characteristic of the English mind, and it is natural that it should take possession of its poetry. The pure Celtic genius leans towards the opposite extreme, seems to care little for the earth-life for its own sake, has little hold on it or only a light and ethereal hold, accepts it as a starting point for the expression of other life, is attracted by all that is hidden and secret. The Latin mind insists on the presentation of life, but for the purposes of thought, its eye is on the universal truths and realities of which it is the visible expression—not the remotest, the spiritual or soul truths but those which present themselves to the clarities of the intelligence. But the English mind looks at life and loves it for its own sake in all its externalities, its play of outer individualities, its immediate subjective idiosyncracies. Even when it is strongly attracted by other motives, the intellectual, the æsthetic or the spiritual,

it seldom follows these with a completely disinterested honesty, but comes back with them on the external life and tries to subject them to its mould. This turn is not universal,—Blake escapes from it,—nor the single dominant power,—Keats and Shelley and Wordsworth have their hearts elsewhere, but it is a constant power.

English poetry is much more powerfully and consciously personal and individual than that of any other language, and aims much less directly at the impersonal and universal.

Three general characteristics emerge. The first is a constant reference and return of the higher poetical motives to the forms of external life, as if the enriching of that life were its principal artistic aim. The second is a great force of subjective individuality and personal temperament as a leading power of the poetic creation. The third is a great intensity of speech and ordinarily of a certain kind of direct vision.

In following out the possible lines of the future the defect of the English mind is its inability to follow the higher motives disinterestedly to their deepest and largest creative results but this is being remedied by new influences. The entrance of the pure Celtic temperament into English poetry through the Irish revival is likely to do much, the contribution of the Indian mind in work like Tagore's may act in the same direction.

The high intensity of speech which English poetry has brought to bear upon all its material, its power of giving the fullest and richest value to the word and the image is needed for the expression of the values of the spiritual, which will be one of the aims of a higher intuitive utterance. If the pursuit of the higher godheads into their own sphere will be one of its endeavours, their return upon the earth life to transform our vision of it will be its other side.

Exploitation or Education?

Under the above significant heading, a teacher points out the thoughtless selection of text books in our schools and the wrong method of instruction pursued therein, in the pages of *Brerians Review* for August. Says he—

One of Ruskin's prose pieces published at a cheap cost was chosen for the first form, this had been once set for the matriculation examination. The working term began and the class teacher found this a very hard nut to crack for himself, much worse was the experience of boys in the first lesson. So after a two days' trial the selection was given up to give place to another. Similar was the fate of two historical readers which were placed in the hands of two aster classes. The host of allusions to European history baffled even the professor of history—much more the poor matriculate teacher in charge.

Naturally I was very much touched by such instances of gross malselection. Questions like the

before they have lived and have had an emotional life of some depth and reality. They learn in small classes of fifteen to twenty-five. They draw maps on the earth and floor, and they have rambles, and outings and also friends who write to them and send them post cards, and who put to them in words the charm of other lands and countries. They hear tales in the lighted pavilion after dusk. The night wind, and the dawn, the hail, the rain, and the rainbow are their friends, also the night sky, and the quiet companions of the stars. In winter they sleep and live outdoors as in summer, and their best health records were taken in January.

The *Educational Review* for July has an important article from the pen of K. B. Ramanathan entitled

The Development of Literary Kinds

from which we are glad to present a few extracts to our readers

Each literature is regarded as a distinct entity the language in which it is embodied sufficiently differentiating it from others. We have not yet arrived at the stage when we can regard all literatures as the manifestation of the human spirit as having a unity and as capable of a treatment in the large way that is possible with regard to history and philosophy. When we speak of the study of philosophy, what we have in mind is not the reading of Greek philosophic writers by persons interested in Greek studies, and the reading of German philosophers by persons interested in German studies, and the like, apart from all this we recognise that there is the thing philosophy, with an independent interest and history of its own, the whole being something quite different from the sum of the parts. Similarly Tacitus and Livy, Xenophon and Thucydides, Gibbon and Macaulay are not Latin or Greek authors or English authors so much as historians and there is a unity of history. But in the case of literature we have not come to such a unified conception yet.

Literature must be realised as an entity independent of the languages it uses, independent of authors functioning in it. The study of literature with its development and critical principles, independent of languages embodying it, independent of questions affecting the performance of particular authors, has been pompously called *literatology*. If literature is recognised as a social phenomenon, as Mme. De Staël suggested it was long ago, the new science will rank as a sociological, anthropological or human science. Such a line of study is taken up by writers like Messrs. H. M. Posnett, A. S. Mackenzie and Moulton.

The evolutionary idea should be applied to the various activities of man among other things, to literature.

Literature appears as one of the arts, one of the fine arts, though it is difficult to extrude the useful side of arts in the larger sense. Just as spoken language

in its present form may be shown to have risen from all but inarticulate cries or exclamations of the savage, as all forms of written language, of painting and sculpture have their origin in the rude drawings on skins and cavern walls by which savages celebrated the notable achievements of their chiefs, so out of the dances of the savage combining rhythm in speech rhythm in sound, and rhythm in motion the arts of poetry, music and dancing have developed.

M. P. Brunetiere was among men of letters the one who made the most striking application of the evolutionary principle to the study of French literature. *The development of literary kinds* means according to him five things. 1. The existence of *Genres*. These are then merely convenient categories, imagined by the critic for his own delectation, conceptions to co-ordinate and unify characteristics infinitely diverse and confusing otherwise. Are they existing independently in nature and in history? Suppose they exist. How do they disengage themselves from their earlier stage of primitive indeterminateness? It is plainly analogous to our trying to know how in natural history from one primordial homogeneous substance the individuals detach themselves in their particular forms and become thus the stock of varieties, races and species. 3. Again as in nature when circumstances favour such a thing the species are not incapable of permanence and fixity. These are periods when particular kinds of literature spring up and flourish and decay. Then the kinds get modified. 5. Lastly there is the transformation of one into another kind because of such modification. The French tragedy is an illustrious literary kind. Every thing useful is known of its birth, growth, culmination and decline and fall. In the pulpit eloquence of the 17th century France we have an example of a literary transformation into the later lyrical poetry of Lamartine, d'Hugo and de Musset. In the history of the French romance we have an example of a genre fashioned out of the debris of many others.

Certain works of literature have a general resemblance and are loosely classed together (for the sake of convenience) as lyric, comedy, tragedy, epic, pastoral and the like, the classicists made of each of these divisions a fixed norm governed by inviolable laws. The separation of *genres* was a consequence of this law of classicism: comedy should not be mingled with tragedy, nor epic with lyric. But no sooner was the law enunciated than it was broken by an artist impatient or ignorant of its restraints, and the critics have been obliged to explain away these violations of their laws, or gradually to change the laws themselves. But if art is organic expression and every work is to be interrogated with the question, 'what has it expressed, and how completely?' there is no place for the question whether it has conformed to some convenient classification of critics or to some law derived from this classification. The lyric, the pastoral, the epic, are abstractions without concrete reality in the world of art. Poets do not write epics, pastorals, lyrics; they express themselves, and this expression is their only form. There are not, therefore, only three or ten or a hundred literary kinds, there are as many kinds as there are individual poets.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Decadent Movement in Literature.

Arthur Symonds, in the course of a brilliant critical review contributed to the *London Quarterly Review*, speaks of the Decadent, Symbolist and Impressionist schools of literature, and introduces us to their main apostles. Lovers and writers of Bengali poetry, especially those belonging to the Tagore cult, will be interested to read the paragraph dealing with *le vers libre*, as we all know of the unique success achieved by Rabindranath Tagore in his very recent attempts at *vers libre*. Says Mr Symonds:

The most representative literature of the day—the writing which appeals to, which has done so much to form, the younger generation—is certainly not Classical nor has it any relation with that old antithesis of the Classic, the Romantic. After a fashion it is no doubt a decadence, it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the quantities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence—an intense self-consciousness, restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity. If what we call the classic is indeed the supreme art—those qualities of perfect simplicity, perfect sanity, perfect proportion, the supreme qualities—then this representative literature of today, interesting, beautiful, novel as it is, is really a new and beautiful and interesting disease. Healthy we cannot call it, and healthy it does not wish to be considered. For its very disease of form, this literature is certainly typical of a civilisation grown over luxurious, over inquiring, too languid for the relief of action, too uncertain for any emphasis in opinion or in conduct. It reflects all the moods, all the manners, of a sophisticated society, its very artificiality is a way of being true to nature, simplicity, sanity, proportion—the classic qualities—how much do we possess them in our life, our surroundings, that we should look to find them in our literature—so evidently the literature of a decadence?

Impressionist and Symbolist have more in common than either supposes, both are really working on the same hypothesis, applied in different directions. What both seek is not general truth merely, but *la vérité vraie*, the very essence of truth—the truth of appearances to the senses, of the visible world to the eyes that see it, and the truth of spiritual things to the spiritual vision. The Impressionist, in literature as in painting, would flash upon you in a new, sudden way so exact an image of what you have just seen, just as you have seen it, that you may say as a young American sculptor, a pupil of Rodin said to me on seeing for the first time a picture of Whistler's, "Whistler seems to think his picture upon canvas—and there it is!" Or you may find, with Sainte-Beuve, writing of Goncourt, the "soul of the laud escape"—the soul of whatever corner of the visible world has to be realized. The Symbolist, in this new,

sudden way, would flash upon you the "soul" of that which can be apprehended only by the soul—the finer sense of things evident. And, naturally necessarily, this endeavour after a perfect truth to one's impression on to one's intuition—perhaps an impossible endeavour—has brought with it, in its revolt from ready-made impressions and conclusions, a revolt from the ready-made language, from the bondage of traditional form, of a form become rigid. In France, where this movement began and has mainly flourished, it is Goncourt who was the first to invent a style in prose really new, impressionistic, a style which was itself almost sensation. It is Verlaine who has invented such another new style in verse.

What the Goncourts have done is to specialize vision, so to speak, and to subtilize language to the point of rendering every detail in just the form and color of the actual impression. Edmond de Goncourt once said to me—varying, if I remember rightly, an expression he had put into the *Journal*—"My brother and I invented an opera glass the young people nowadays are taking it out of our hands."

An opera glass—a special, unique way of seeing things—that is what the Goncourts have brought to bear upon the common things about us; and it is here that they have done the "something new," here more than anywhere. They have never sought "to see life steadily and see it whole," their vision has always been somewhat feverish, with the diseased sharpness of over-excited nerves. "We do not hide from ourselves that we have been passionate, nervous creatures, unhealthily impressionable," confesses the *Journal*. But it is this morbid intensity in seeing and seeing things that has helped to form that marvelous style—"a style perhaps too ambitious of impossibilities," as they admit—a style which inherits some of its color from Gautier, some of its fine outline from Flaubert, but which has brought light and shadow into the color, which has softened outline in the magic of atmosphere. With them words are not merely color and sound they live. That search after *l'image peinte* *l'épithète rare*, is not (as with Flaubert) a search after harmony of phrase for its own sake—it is a desperate endeavor to give sensation, to flash the impression of the moment, to preserve the very heat and motion of life. And so, in analysis as in description, they have found out a way of noting the fine shades, they have broken the outline of the conventional novel in chapters, with its continuous story, in order to indicate—sometimes in a chapter of half a page—this and that revealing moment, this or that significant attitude or accident or sensation. For the placid traditions of French prose they have had but little respect.

What Goncourt has done in prose—inventing absolutely a new way of saying things, to correspond with that new way of seeing things, which he has found—Verlaine has done in verse.

Muscle first of all and before all, he insists, and then, not color, but *la nuance*, the last fine shade. Poetry is to be something vague, intangible, evanescent, a winged soul in flight "toward other and other loves." To express the inexpressible—speaks of beautiful eyes behind a veil, of

tating sunlight of noon, of the blue swarm of clear stars in a cool autumn sky—and the verse in which he makes this confession of faith has the exquisite troubled beauty—"sans rien en lui qui pose ou qui pose"—which he commends as the essential quality of verse. In a later poem of poetical counsel he tells us that art should, first of all, be absolutely clear, absolutely sincere.

To fix the last fine shade, the quintsence of things, to fix it fleetingly, to be a disembodied voice, and yet the voice of a human soul—that is the ideal of Decadence, and it is what Paul Verlaine has achieved. And certainly, so far as achievement goes, no other poet of the actual group in France can be named beside him or near him. In Stéphane Mallarmé with his supreme pose as the supreme poet, and his two or three pieces of exquisite verse and delicately artificial prose to show by way of result, we have the prophet and pontiff of the movement, the mystical and theoretical leader of the great emanation. No one has ever dreamed such beautiful, impossible dreams as Mallarmé: no one has ever so possessed his soul in the contemplation of masterpieces to come. All his life he has been haunted by the desire to create not so much something new in literature, as a literature which should itself be a new art. He has dreamed of a work into which all the arts should enter and achieve themselves by a mutual interdependence—a harmonizing of all the arts into one supreme art—and he has theorized with infinite subtlety over the possibilities of doing the impossible. An aristocrat of letters, Mallarmé has always looked with intense disdain on the indiscriminate accident of universal suffrage. He has wished neither to be read nor to be understood by the bourgeois intelligence, and it is with some deliberateness of intention that he has made both issues impossible. Catulle Mendès deifies him admirably as a difficult author, and in his latest period he has succeeded in becoming absolutely unintelligible. The latest poems (in which punctuation is sometimes entirely suppressed for our further bewilderment) consist merely of a sequence of symbols, in which every word must be taken in a sense with which its ordinary significance has nothing to do. Mallarmé's contortion of the French language so far as mere style is concerned is curiously similar to the kind of depravation which was undergone by the Latin language in its decadence. It is, indeed, in part a reversion to Latin phraseology, to the Latin construction and it has made, of the color and flowing French language, something irregular, unquiet, expressive with sudden surprising felicities, with nervous starts and lapses, with new capacities for the exact noting of sensation. Alike to the ordinary and to the scholarly reader it is painful, intolerable, a jargon, a massacre. Supremely self-confident, and backed, certainly by an ardent following of the younger generation, Mallarmé goes on his way, experimenting more and more audaciously, having achieved by this time, at all events, a style wholly his own.

Probably it is as a voice, an influence, that Mallarmé will be remembered. His personal magnetism has had a great deal to do with the making of the very newest French literature, few literary beginners in Paris have been able to escape the rewards and punishments of his contact, his suggestion in regard to the construction of verse, Mallarmé has always remained faithful to the traditional syllabic measurement but the freak of the discovery of *le vers libre* is certainly the natural

consequence of his experiments upon the elasticity of rhythm upon the power of resistance of the caesura. *Le vers libre* in the hands of most of the experimenters becomes merely rhymeless irregular prose. I never really understood the charm that may be found in this apparently structureless rhythm until I heard Dujardin read aloud the as yet unpublished conclusion of a dramatic poem in several parts. It was rhymed, but rhymes with some irregularity, and the rhythm was purely and simply a vocal effect. The rhythm came and went as the spirit moved. You might deny that it was rhythm at all, and yet, read as I heard it read in a sort of slow chant, it produced on me the effect of really beautiful verse. But *vers libres* in the hands of a school are the most intolerable and easy and annoying of poetical exercises.

Joris Karl Huysmans demands a prominent place in any record of the Decadent movement. His work, like that of the Goncourts, is largely determined by the *maladie du siècle*—the diseased nerves that, in his case, have given a curious personal quality of pessimism to his outlook on the world, his view of life. Part of his work—*Marthe*, *Les Soeurs Vatard*, *La Vieillesse*, *La Vau de l'au*—is a minute and searching study of the minor discomforts, the commonplace miseries of life, as seen by a pervasively disordered vision delighting, for its own self torture in the insistent contemplation of human stupidity, of the sordid in existence. Yet these books do but lead up to the unique masterpiece, the astonishing caprice of *Les Rebois* in which he has concentrated all that is delicately depraved, all that is beautifully, curiously poisonous in modern art. *Les Rebois* is the history of a typical Decadent—a study, indeed, after a real man but a study which seizes the type rather than the personality.

It is on that one exceptional achievement, *Les Rebois* that his fame will rest, it is there he has expressed not merely himself, but an epoch. And he has done so in a style which carries the modern experiments upon language to their furthest development. Formed upon Goncourt and Flaubert it has sought for novelty, *l'usage peint* the exactitude of color the forcible precision of epithet, wherever words, images or epithets are to be found. *Barham* in its profusion, violent in its emphasis, wearying in its splendour, it is—especially in regard to things seen—extraordinarily expressive, with all the shades of a painter's palette. Elaborately and deliberately perverse, it is in its very perversity that Huysmans' work—so fascinating, so repellent, so instinctively artificial—comes to represent as the work of no other writer can be said to do, the main tendencies, the chief results, of the Decadent movement in literature.

Hope in Bad Times

Whatever calamity the war may bring upon civilization and the human race, however monstrous man's misdeeds have been, the qualities of kindness, pity, honor and devotion to noble ideas are bound to endure. Thus asserts a writer in the Nation.

If the depth of sorrow is the memory of past happiness, some alleviation may be gained by remembering unhappier things in times of extreme adversity and suspense, it is safest to grant the worst at once. Let it be granted then, that much of man's history is a record of brutality.

Let it be granted that the present slaughter, the present anguish of suspense, and the present fear for all that a free and self-reliant people has most valued come to us only in natural succession to the Persians' attempts to exterminate Greece, to Sparta's destruction of Athenian individualism, and to the desolation brought by earlier barbarians upon the civilized world. Still we need not assume that man's belief in violence as advantageous, and in bloodshed as medicinal, are permanently characteristic of his nature. We have all his religious much of his poetry, a fair amount of his philosophy, and some of his history, which assume and even prove the contrary. The daily lives of millions—the true average of living—are a testimony against it. Even the contemplation of those ancient disasters reveals a real change, which for want of a stronger word we call progress or improvement. Horrors are perpetrated, as in all wars from the beginning but, beyond a certain limit, their perpetration raises a protest even in the nation guilty of them—a slight protest, but stronger than any we read in the Book of Joshua or even in the history of Greece except as coming from a few unusual minds.

The New Provincialism

The war has put limitations on the freedom of movement and choice of people engaged in the war. Pre-war conditions have all been upset giving place to economy with regard to food, clothing, fuel and even the social amenities of life. The rich and poor have suddenly been brought to the same level not only in the field of battle but away from it, in their homes, in the matter of cutting down all superfluous and in the want of leisure, which was up till now the special privilege of people possessing money. Now-a-days money is no concern. One good effect has been that the more or less artificial life of the rich and professional men has ceased to exist and they have been brought face to face with the realities of life. A writer talks of these things in the pages of *The Spectator*. He says

It is not easy no doubt to say what provincialism means. It has no longer any exclusively local suggestion. It suggests limits rather than locality and all limitations are narrowing whether they are imposed upon us by the circumstances of our peaceful village environment or by the world catastrophe of a great war.

Already the professional man and woman feel a new sympathy for the poor—not a new pity, but a new understanding of the limitations imposed by lack of leisure, especially the lack of society.

The women and children at home not to speak of the young men at the front have moved nearer to one another, and must, we think, henceforth regard life more nearly from the same point of view, a more matter-of-fact and primitive one, a more limited and realistic one, than—so far as educated women are concerned—they have ever done before. Is this regrettable? We

suppose not but it is idle to say that many of us will not regret it. It was wrong no doubt, of the better-off folk to take the ease of life for granted, to forget the endless toil which made of the great towns one huge shop where everything had its price and nothing that could be desired could not be seen and where an artificial life seemed the only natural one. If we live another ten or twenty years, we shall many of us look back to it and tell young people about it as a time of great happiness. It produced a type which has been very suddenly broken. The stamp of the war broke it.

John Redmond.

An informative impression of John Redmond, the great Irish leader, appears in the *Contemporary Review* from the pen of Harold Spender. The following extracts from the article under notice will be found interesting.

John Redmond understood Ireland. He was Irish from head to foot in every thought and feeling, in every affection and pursuit.

Being Irish he was not in the least degree a revolutionary. On the contrary, he was in general politics a Conservative. It is only stupid people who imagine that because the Irish Nationalists want Home Rule they are therefore in any sense revolutionary or even Radical. No race in the past has shown less sympathy with the democratic revolutionary movements of Europe. It was solely a matter of high politics that he should work and vote with the British Liberal Party. He did it because he had made up his mind that it was the only way to get Home Rule for Ireland. Having once made up his mind he never changed it. He pursued his course with extraordinary persistence.

In most ways John Redmond was just a Tory of the Center. He was not even a Tory Democrat. He was indeed, a conventional Catholic in regard to all matters of education. He was a small squire and he was all against land nationalization. His ideas of land reform stopped like those of most Irishmen, at the point of desiring peasant proprietorship. There his feeling for his race was reinforced by a strong belief that peasant proprietorship would give ballast and weight to the new Irish social fabric whenever Home Rule was once established.

Redmond's whole heart went out to Nationalism of that old fashioned type which now in this country is tending to fade before the new class warfare.

His passion for the war against Germany was absolutely sincere. It was partly the passion of a Catholic who saw a Catholic country being ravaged and Catholics being slaughtered by a great Protestant Power. It was partly the sympathy of a chivalric man for a little nation. In any case, no one who knew him could doubt that it was fiercely honest and passionate—so passionate that for the moment he was carried off his feet and taken out of that calm, cautious mood which had hitherto made him infinitely calculating in all his dealings with Englishmen. For once he let himself go. He trusted England. He showed what all his friends knew, that at heart he was a simple-minded man. But complete as his confidence was in British sympathy at that high moment, absolute as was his trust, just so deep and so wrathful was his passion.

ment when England failed to respond. In October, 1916, some time after the Irish Rebellion, I spent a long morning with him at his flat, and heard from his mouth, in the form of a criticism of the War Office in its dealings with Ireland since 1914, one of the most scathing indictments of our rule in Ireland that, I suppose, he has ever uttered.

Personally, John Redmond was one of the simplest of men. In Ireland he lived in a shooting box that once belonged to Parnell, the life of the Irish squirrel—hunting, riding and fishing—always with the keenest enjoyment of that happy, open air life of his own land. In London he resided in a small, very simply furnished flat in Wynn's Gardens, Kensington. He went little into London society. He generally dined with his wife in the Harcourt Room. Of her I will only say that no politician could have wished for a more devoted partner of his labors. She stood and worked by his side through all the hardest and most critical years of his stormy career.

Family affection was with him as with most Irishmen, a very profound passion. The devotion he showed to his wife was reflected in all his other family relationships. The fact that his brother Willie and he had married sisters doubtless drew them together by closer ties. But Willie always held his heart.

When his brother was killed on the field of battle John Redmond was a stricken man. Willie's death went to the heart of John Redmond, and from that moment he was not the same man. It so happened that shortly before he had lost a daughter in America. Owing to the war he had been unable to go to her. Of that distant death in exile he spoke to me with breaking voice and tears in his eyes.

He was one of the world's few great orators. I have heard him countless times in the House of Commons—I have listened to him on public platforms

above all, in Ireland, among his own people. Every where he struck the same high note. He was never small. He was among those speakers who lift you instantly from the valleys to the splendid heights. There he walked with ease, dignity and a certain majesty which awed his listeners. He used few notes, often none. He was always studiously temperate, and with this end in view he prepared his speeches with great care.

Like Parnell, he was not a great reader, except of newspapers. He knew the use and value of the Press, and in this delicate relationship he was always easy of access and frank of view.

He felt very deeply the breakdown of the Home Rule negotiations in 1916. He laid the blame on British statesmanship. He always held that pledges had been given to him which made it a necessity of honor that the British Coalition of the moment—Mr. Asquith's Coalition—ought to have resigned unless they carried the settlement through. He had nothing but praise for Sir Edward Carson's share in those transactions. Ireland was the center of his stage—the apple of his heart's desire. To him—and may he not possibly have been right?—it was the test issue of the war. By her treatment of Ireland all England's high professions were to be judged.

It is vain to talk morality to Germany," he would say, as long as Ireland is ruled as she is. It is vain to hope for the best efforts from America—it is also vain to hope for the best from the Dominions. It is vital—it is a world issue!

Like most Irishmen, Redmond was inclined to be an Imperialist. It is partly that they like the pomp of Empire, partly because they are very closely associated with the Dominions. The Australian wives of the Redmonds linked the brothers closely with the Empire. But in that they were only typical of many Irish families.

THE ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ART

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

UPON few subjects has so much philosophical moonshine been shed as upon that of aesthetics. Owing to the disquisitions of philosophers, the question of beauty has been shrouded in such impenetrable mystery that the ordinary layman shrinks from expressing himself upon the subject. Art we take for granted, but beauty, which is the quality of art and the subject matter of aesthetics, we scarcely dare venture an opinion upon, lest we should bring down the anathemas of a whole host of critics and philosophers. Yet just because so much has been said concerning beauty, its meaning and value,—so much that is confusing, contradictory and mysterious,—by the metaphysicians,

one feels the need of the layman's interpretation, of a clear and practical statement upon the subject. Right down to modern times, almost every thinker and philosopher who has worked out a theory of life has dealt with the question of beauty, aesthetics. To some, beauty is a Divine Essence incapable of analysis. To others it is an illusion. To a very large number it is a purely subjective judgment, being absolutely devoid of objectivity, and thus of ethical significance. While to a few it is an objective reality, and is governed by the moral law. That great confusion exists in the minds of men and women as to the meaning and significance of beauty, one may soon prove by asking

one's friends to define it. Yet it is important that we should have sound and clear ideas on this subject in order that art may be made a more conscious and effective force, and play more fruitful.

For good or ill beauty exercises a tremendous influence upon most people's lives, determines their conduct to a far greater extent than they themselves realise; consequently we ought to know what beauty is, what is its function, what it is capable of doing. If beauty is a helpful force then we ought to make good use of it, but if a capricious, then we ought to know why that we may be on our guard. Because beauty is a powerful factor in experience—common sense says that it must have some meaning for that experience. Consequently it will be our aim in the present article to show what that meaning is, the part beauty ought to play in the attainment of the Good of life.

With the view that beauty has and can have no universal standard but is a purely subjective judgment and exists solely to give pleasure, I am in entire disagreement. I cannot believe that such a powerful and universal force as beauty is devoid of objectivity,—of all ethical significance and thus of life value. Nature does not work at random, for all her great creations are purposive, and serve in some way the great ends of life. It is not the object of beauty simply to give pleasure, for the simple reason that it always does so very much more. It is the nature of beauty to please,—which is why it attracts—but beauty is a spiritual force and points to a deeper life beyond, for which reason if we saw truly, we really love it. In the last article I assumed that art was a moral force which led to the good, in the present article I wish to prove that assumption, to show that art has its foundations in ethics, in spiritual need, and thus that every work of art is a judgment of value, an interpretation of life, a force for good or evil.

The question which naturally arises at this juncture, therefore, is this: is man a unity? or, in other words is the instinct for beauty at one with the instinct for life? Is beauty a factor which man can use for the attainment of his purposes, for the realisation of life? or is it something apart, a means of harmless diversion, a sort of foil with which to relieve the ten-

sion caused by work, the monotony of life?

Perhaps the best way to answer these questions will be to study the things we call beautiful, to see if we can discover what it is causes us to pass such a judgment upon them. If we can find a universal cause we shall have proved that man is indeed a unity that beauty is purposive and in no sense a capricious and calculable force.

In the first place let us consider beauty with respect to the human body. Now what is it that determines our judgments of beauty in regard to the human body? Is there some standard from which we all judge? And if so what is that standard? If we think a little I think we shall find that there is such a standard and that it is health, strength, fitness to do all that it may be called upon to do. If we consider Greek statuary which is universally acknowledged to be among the most beautiful in the world we find that its models are of their heroes and heroines, their strong men and virtuous women, their warriors and athletes, men who were renowned for their strength, bravery and courage, and women for their noble-mindedness. To the Greeks strength and beauty always went together as parts of the same thing, and in all their statuary two things are manifest: (1) the subordination of the body to the mind, and (2) the identification of beauty with health and physical fitness, that body being counted beautiful which best enabled its owner to fulfil his purposes and attain his ends.

And the Greek idea is implicit in all abiding art. For who could or dare say that a statue of a human form, shaped altogether disadvantageously for the life and work of man, were beautiful? No one would ever dream of saying that a short leg or a hunched back was beautiful or that a green complexion was beautiful. For the former are an indication of unsuitability while a green complexion is a sign of disease, and nothing that denotes ill health can by any conceivable means be called beautiful. The woman who uses the rouge pot is the idle and unhealthy society dame who seeks to produce by artificial means what she has failed to produce by natural means. A complexion that has become blotchy or sallow, like a body that has become

Now a judgment of beauty is a judgment of the same mind which works towards ends, seeks a certain good, and endeavours to realise life in a thousand activities and experiences from which it follows that a judgment of beauty must, as an act of the self be made with reference to and in consistency with the purpose which, consciously or unconsciously, is at the root of every life. Even the things we do instinctively, without ever thinking about them are, when we come to examine them in accordance with the fundamental purpose of our life. It is true that the subconscious mind is wrapped in mystery, but the more we know of it the more we find that it is the servant of conscious mind, and quite at one with it. The subconscious mind is not an arbitrary and capricious agent but a veritable part of the self, and works, as Kant and Hegel have shown with marvellous precision in accordance with principles. Every experience every emotion leaves an impression upon and gives a bias to the mind according to its value or supposed value and these are the factors which govern the subconscious mind. And in regard to new objects and experiences which we are inclined to call beautiful, it is a force of attraction which is really a promise of good, leads us to make such judgment. Probably this force of attraction is the result of an analogy with some other object or experience with which we are familiar and which we know to be good. But this feeling of attraction is the cause of our denominating such things beautiful and at root it is the promise of well being.

That our judgments of beauty are determined by our purposes, is proved by the modification which takes place in such judgments after we have changed our general outlook upon life. A man of the world who suddenly turned Roman Catholic or a Salvationist who became aitudinarian, would find the whole world changed both in appearance and significance—in appearance because in significance. All things would have passed away and all things become new. New truth leaps into the mind like a flash as if it had been thrown there by a god and floods everything with its effulgence creating for man a new heaven and a new earth. Conversions are the result of a deeper thinking and are sudden illuminations of truth which transform all things,

and raise one to a higher level of experience. In the new world thus created everything will have a different value, in consequence of which all one's loves, interests and pursuits will naturally and inevitably have to be reconstituted.

Then too, most people can point to the time when they first began to appreciate truth and beauty with respect to certain things. They can tell exactly when they began to appreciate Nature, when certain forms of music, or literature, first appealed to them, when human character began to have interest for them. Yet nature has been much the same throughout the ages. The explanation is that man only comes into the inheritance of beauty when his intelligence has developed sufficiently for him to perceive spiritual values. The external world changes little from age to age but to men it changes wonderfully. As the aspiring soul develops, the mind begins to look further afield for the means of self advancement and self realisation with the result that one begins to see beauty and meaning in things that formerly were devoid of significance.

Thus beauty is a judgment of value founded on experience. Beauty is not a quality which exists in things apart from a judging mind, something that stands out in objects so that all are compelled to see it. Yet it is not an arbitrary judgment, being in accordance with the nature of things and thus as universal as mind. It only requires that the nature and value of a certain reality or experience shall be known in order to qualify it as beautiful or ugly so that the growth of a knowledge of truth is sure to lead to universal standards of beauty.

The reason beauty is so often thought to be an arbitrary judgment is that it originates insensibility, being an expression of the harmony of the feelings. But what is the harmony of the feelings but a sign of truth, a recognition that a certain experience is at one with all our ideas and ideals? As a matter of fact a judgment of the feelings with respect to beauty is as logical and as trustworthy as a judgment of reason with respect to truth as both are expressions of the harmony of the soul. In fact the domain of sensibility is broader than the domain of reason. A man's conscious life is never as wide as his subconscious life just as his life is always broader than his creed, his philosophy.

Consequently there is no reason why feeling, if deliberately appealed to, should not give as true and trustworthy a decision as reason. A national judgment on life may be very logical and yet on account of false first principles, be untrue. Feeling is as integral as thought, and is, if fully and deliberately regarded able to guide man to the Good. The Good is the object of the whole self, sentient as well as rational, and is as jealously sought after by the one as by the other. Reason attains truth through logic, or the harmony of ideas the sentient self through beauty, or the harmony of the feelings. In the former case truth is demonstrated, in the latter case it is felt. Strictly speaking therefore, aesthetics is a part of ethics, being the presentation of truth at a stage further back than ethics, at the feeling or tentative stage rather than at the logical or demonstrative stage.

Life is moral through and through and nothing that a man does can strictly speaking be called non-moral. Every act of a man's life affects his well-being either creates or destroys life. In the same way every work of art is a judgment upon life, and is, whether we know it or not, either harmful or beneficial, the outcome and embodiment of a true or a false interpretation of life. Art is not a mere copy of external events, but an interpretation of experience in terms of value. And all valuation implies a standard from which to judge, a theory of values. No matter how simple the experience be which art attempts to portray, it exhibits the artist's estimate of its value, what it means to him, what he 'sees' in it.

We hear a great deal in these days about realistic art, as if it were possible to depict the cold, bare facts of nature, of human conduct, etc., without imparting to them any personal touch—without that is, interpreting them. Even if it were possible—which it is not—art would be robbed of all its spiritual and idealistic force, while the finest artist would be he who combined the finest executive power with the completest ignorance. The personal element will and must always enter into art, or it will be meaningless, dead. The man who paints even fields and buildings without any soul in them does so because he himself is without soul. Whatever a man describes his object is and must be to convey a certain, meaning something that

he feels, otherwise he could not paint any thing. The very fact of painting proves that something has attracted him, and the cause of such attraction is the meaning which the artist tries to convey, consciously or unconsciously.

To describe by means of art is to give meaning to things, to value experience, it is to put life in colour, and thus to make it attractive or repulsive according as we estimate it. To describe an experience in attractive colours is to say that it is good, has a certain life value. Thus to describe a harmful experience in attractive colours would be to lie, and to lead many astray. Consequently to represent an experience by means of art, without taking into consideration ultimate as well as immediate effects is to become a danger to society. An unthinking artist is a snare for art comes to close grips with life and vitally affects conduct through its influence upon the imagination. False art is that which makes evil attractive, and says, in effect that evil is good. Thus the artist who describes scenes of revelry and self-indulgence, and stops his narrative just where the intoxication of pleasure reaches its height, may be a clever and powerful artist, but he is an evil teacher, a corrupt social force. The full and real effect of the experience he describes not being given, hence he is a deceiver, a liar.

Art reflects life, it is true, but not in the same way that water reflects the sky, for it interprets, imparts meaning and value to things. Art throws out from the gallery of the imagination scenes and pictures of life done up in the heart's own colours according to its estimate of their value. Thus art does not so much tell us what a thing is as what the heart feels about it. What the physical eye sees is the skeleton, so to speak, which the heart clothes and converts into a living thing. In other words, art is a beautiful teacher, being the revealer of the soul of things.

Such being the case art ought always to be the product of thought, a means of expressing such truth as the artist has garnered. The true artist is he who feels the deep harmonies of earth and heaven surging within his soul which harmonies are the fruit of a wide and profitable experience. Every work of art deals with a section of experience, a portion of life separated from the whole, to which is

parted the truth of the whole. In the artist's mind the details of life stand out significant, as parts of an illuminated whole, the truth and significance of which they embody. In art, life is spread out in colour, as it were, each part being interpreted according to the artist's estimate of its value. To the ordinary mind life is a medley of duties whose meaning is not understood, a conglomeration of activities

which have their origin in custom and physical necessity; whereas to the artist life is a whole of truth which he endeavours to portray in its appropriate light and shade. It follows, therefore, that every artist ought to be something of a philosopher. For man, as an aspiring soul, needs teachers, artists to interpret life, to point the way to the fountain whose waters are life.

NOTES

A Contemporary Writer on Ram Mohun Roy

Eighty five years ago Raja Ram Mohun Roy breathed his last at Bristol. As he died on the 27th of September, meetings are held every year on that day in most provinces of India in honour of his memory, and a temporary interest is created in his personality and career. In view of the approaching anniversary it may be interesting to read what a contemporary English writer wrote about him. There is a book called *Considerations on the State of British India* by Lieutenant A. White, "of the Bengal Native Infantry." It was published in 1822. The following passages are taken from that book—

"When we look back to the profound abyss in which the human mind was sunk in Europe from the third to the fourteenth century, and recollect what the discovery of the art of printing did in raising humanity from this depression, is it too much to expect that the same beneficial influence will result from its application to Indian literature? This alone may effect a moral change in the vast continent of Asia. Already the dawn of improvement has manifested itself: the celebrated Brahmin Rammohun Roy, having demonstrated from the Vedas, that the unity of the Supreme Being is inculcated in these works, and that he alone is the object of worship. He regards the worship of inferior deities, the institution of caste, the restrictions with regard to food, and numerous observances of this faith, as aids required by the imperfections of the human faculties, and which may be discarded by those who have attained to the knowledge of this truth. He has established a small sect in Calcutta, the worship of which approaches nearly to that of a philosophical deism. It is encumbered with no dogmas or ceremonies; it consists principally of hymns expressing the unity of the Supreme Being, the love which human creatures owe to the benevolent author of their existence, and the beauty and grandeur visible in his works. I write from recollection of a translation of one of these hymns

which appeared in a Calcutta newspaper, and may be in error as to the character which I have ascribed to their worship, but such is the present impression upon my mind. It is a mistake to suppose that the lower orders of the Hindoos are ignorant of the existence of the Supreme Being; at least, they are familiar with the name, independent of the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Shiva, but what is remarkable, no separate worship is paid to the Creator. In this respect, they are precisely on the same footing with the Catholics with whom the intellectual idea of the Deity is effaced by the more powerful impression which is made upon the senses by the visible representations of the virgin or the saints. This enlightened Hindoo Rammohun, has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband. He has endeavoured to prove, by extracts from the Vedas, that this duty is unsanctioned by Scripture. This naturally produced a defence of this doctrine, with numerous texts from the sacred writings in support of it. This controversy has excited a powerful interest amongst the intellectual few, as might be expected the force of numbers seems to be with the established opinion, but at least it is consolatory to reflect that his reasonings have had a fair hearing, which affords every hope that the cause of humanity will ultimately triumph. Nothing can be inferred from the quotations from the Vedas which have been exhibited by either party. Like the sacred books of other religions, they afford texts which support each side of the question. Of late the attention of this benevolent man has been directed to the laudable purpose of introducing the pure morality of the gospel among his countrymen.

"Although unconverted to Christianity, he has published a compilation of the moral precepts of Jesus entitled '*The Guide to Peace and Happiness*.' The peculiar doctrines on which the salvation of the Christian rests, are omitted, on the principle that historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and Anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at least to carry little weight with them. Such are the sentiments expressed in its preface, which are further illustrated in a note to this passage, which

places the Christian miracles on the same footing with those of the Hindoo mythology. See the above extract of his sentiments in a review of his work, in an interesting missionary publication *The Friend of India*, for September 1820. It is to be regretted that Rammohun had not expressed himself in a more becoming manner on this important subject, it would have been better if he had clearly stated the grounds on which he rejected the evidence of the Christian miracles.' (Pp 59-62)

Elsewhere in his book the same writer says in the course of a discussion on the subject of the press —

'Beyond the suburbs the [English] language is unknown. The example of Rammohun, and one or two individuals, may be cited as instances of individuals who have attained some notions of civil liberty but he, like Bacon or Galileo has outstripped the genius of his age' (P 100) (The italics are ours)

The comparison with Bacon and Galileo shows how powerfully Ram Mohun had impressed an intelligent contemporary belonging to a conquering race and professing a different religion.

Mr Hasan Imam's Presidential Address

Mr Hasan Imam's presidential address delivered at the special session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay is not an "extremist" pronouncement. Even some well known "moderates" have gone much further than he both in criticism of the Reform Scheme and in constructive proposals, of which there are not very many in his speech.

Appreciation and Compliments

In speaking of the authors of the report, whom throughout his speech he calls "*illustrious*," he is not niggardly in appreciation and compliments, as the following extract will show —

Our task is burdensome, for we have to discuss the proposed constitutional reforms as emanating from a Secretary of State and a Viceroy who, at least in their declarations, have not been wanting in a spirit of sympathy towards Indian demands. Their frank acknowledgment of the justice of our claim to equal civic rights with the rest of the British Empire lends to their proposals a sincerity, which it is difficult to question. But in a matter so grave as the laying of the foundation of our constitutional structure, the duty of analysing and sifting the proposals outweighs all considerations of mere courtness or thanksgiving. While acknowledging the high purpose of the British Cabinet in directing an investigation into the present Indian situation and in desiring to find a solution thereof and while rendering the fullest tribute of praise to Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the single-mindedness with which they have collaborated in formulating their proposals, we, as the persons most affected, yet have to examine the proposals on their merits. Reading their joint Report it will

strike any observer that in the first portion of it—which I regard as a historical survey of events leading to the present situation—the illustrious authors have by their declarations, furnished strength to our demand for that charter of liberty for which we have been fighting for the third of a century through the Congress, in spite of much discouragement, at times attended with unseemly and indecent ridicule.

The proposals and the cause of their Deficiencies

Even when speaking of the defects of the proposals, the speaker is charitable enough not to blame the authors. He says —

The Report is full of generous acknowledgments of our claim and if acknowledgments alone could not merely gratify but satisfy us, the need for us to meet in this Congress would not exist. It is when we come to the proposals themselves that disappointment meets us. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy, it has to be admitted, have made their proposals with a genuine desire to ultimately secure for us the right of governing ourselves and determining our own future, but the proposals in themselves seem to be afraid of themselves and do not comprise any such real measure of reform as we had a right to expect. We realize the difficulty of their delicate task, placed as they have been between conflicting bureaucratic and Indian interests. The deficiencies of the proposals appear to me to be due not to any intention on their part to withhold from us what we should have, but to a spirit of compromise to secure the support of the bureaucrats. It, therefore, behoves us to consider the proposals in a spirit of sympathy and not of mere carping criticism.

It will therefore be conceded that Mr Hasan Imam has not been guilty of the heinous and unpardonable crime of being "irreconcilable." Our opinion is that to be irreconcilable to whatever does not make for India's full freedom is a rare virtue.

[Rejection and Acceptance.

That his attitude or position is that of a peace maker and unifier will appear from his views on the question of rejection or acceptance of the proposals embodied in the report.

Now our criterion is the Congress-League Scheme and, if the proposals lack the essentials of that, we should with all the emphasis that we can command, make our protest, but we must guard against a hasty rejection of the proposals. Opinion in the country is more or less divided on the subject of the acceptance or the rejection of the proposals. There is a small section of political thinkers that advocates a rejection of the proposals. I treat their views with respect, for their attitude of mind is based upon the political sagacity of not allowing a consent decree to be passed against them and upon the political philosophy that national rights have to be won and not merely to be received as gifts. Underlying their principle of rejection is the desire to continue struggle for freedom and every one will admit

the severer the struggle the greater the vigor of the race. On the other hand there is another class of our political thinkers that stands for the acceptance of the proposals with the proviso that we must go on asking for more. The country, however, is agreed that the proposals, as they stand certainly do not embody the essentials of our demand and are not calculated to satisfy our just aspirations. If you will permit me to point out there seems to me no material difference between those that advocate rejection and those that advise acceptance, for the common feature of both is to continue the struggle till our rights are won. In politics as in war not combat but victory is the object to be pursued and where ground is yielded not to take it would be to abandon what you have won. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their Report have earnestly exhorted us to pit our heads together in constructive statesmanship and I have no doubt that at this crucial juncture in our political history we shall preserve that deliberative calm which is necessary for the building of a great project.

He has clearly and unequivocally expressed the opinion that 'the proposals have placed us under a great disappointment, for though the essentials of our demand are acknowledged in theory they have not been conceded in substance. He observes incidentally, and, we think, rightly "We know no extremists and we know no moderates, names that have been devised by our enemies to divide us."

The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State

Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes that though "the Legislative Assembly is to have an elected majority of two thirds of its total strength," it "is to have no power and must remain content with exercising that shadowy stuff, 'Influence.' To render that ineffectual a Council of State has been designed." He points out the mischief of the proposal to constitute a Council of State, in the following passage—

Apart from the objection that the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly will be over ridden by a body of men not representative of the people the mischief of the proposal is situated by according to the members of the Council of State the status of a class by themselves. I see in that the danger of a division of our people the formation of new caste. This will no doubt further strengthen the already existing arbitrary powers of the Government of India and, considering that it is proposed that British control over the Government of India should be relaxed the danger of reckless irresponsibility in the Central Government will be enhanced. Our demand for the amenability of Provincial and Central Governments alike to the people's wishes but instead we are being given a Central Government more autocratic than ever. The Joint Report admits that the bureaucratic system that has

prevailed hitherto is no more suited to our needs but the second Chamber that is proposed and which is to have the decisive voice is to consist of bureaucrats and their nominees with a powerless minority of elected members. It would be to my mind the perpetuation of the bureaucratic rule that we have been striving to remove. We cannot give our willing assent to a packed second Chamber created to render inoperative what the people's representatives decide. The proposal is reactionary in its character and by no manner of means can it be described as a reform intended to increase popular control. The creation of such a Second Chamber is a confession of the distrust of the people—a distrust that is visible in the proposals as a whole.

In his opinion the legislative procedure described in the report makes the nervousness of the authors manifest.

The Central Government must be Saved from Popular Tyranny!

There is quiet humour, perhaps unconscious, in the sentence in which Mr. Hasan Imam says that, "reading the proposals contained in Chapter IX of the Report dealing with the so called reforms in the Government of India, the impression is left on the mind of the reader, that the Central Government had been in the past the object of much tyranny and oppression by the people and special measures were needed to protect that Government." He goes on to observe "It is difficult to estimate the political reasons that have induced the illustrious authors of the Report to treat the Government of India and the people of India as two combatants constantly pulling in opposite directions—the Government of India being always right and the people of India always wrong."

The popular ideal has been correctly stated.

The ideal that we have always set before us is that the Government of India should be so constituted that that Government should be the Government of the people. So long as these extraordinary safeguards are devised and exist, it would be but natural for us to feel that those that carry on the Government are removed from us and as human beings subject to human failings will subordinate the people's interest to theirs. No one can conceal the facts that the interests of the bureaucrat whatever his services may have been, have been widely different from the interests of the people and if the same bureaucrat is to shape the destinies of India even at this juncture the reason for the special safeguard is obvious. The cardinal principle of our demand is that Indian interests are not any more to be subservient to the interests of others and if the proposed reforms are intended to restore to us what we have lost then the reformation of the Government of India should not be and must not be on the lines of the proposals but on those that would secure to the people at least an effective voice in the governance of the country. The Congress League Scheme has been discarded as un-

numerous as those of the Reserved class. I believe that the transferred subjects will afford to us sufficient opportunities of administrative training in the first few years to enable us to qualify ourselves for the transference of all the subjects to popular control." He speaks simply of the numbers of the reserved and the transferred subjects. But do the numbers alone matter? The relative importance of the subjects in the two groups ought rather to receive the greatest and most serious consideration. Then again, it cannot be accepted that administrative training in any subject makes one fit to have charge of any other subject. If a man were placed in charge of ferries, pounds, and village drains, would the experience gained in such work qualify him, e.g., for the maintenance of law and order? In fact, the division of the functions of government proceeds upon the assumption in general terms that the people are unfit at present to have charge of any of the functions connected with the maintenance of peace and order, and with good government (including sound financial administration). We do not think that it can be safely assumed that administrative training in functions which have nothing to do with "peace, order and good government" can qualify a man to undertake those functions. In fact, Mr. Hasan Imam appears himself to admit this when he says.

"Whatever the underlying policy of two compartments of the Government may be and whatever its justification, I am decidedly of the view that a total unconcern of the Ministers in the Reserved subjects is not desirable, for the objective being the ultimate realisation of responsible government, the association of Ministers in some form or other with the administration of the Reserved subjects will better prepare them for the ultimate devolution of power on the people. If expediency does not permit that they should have an effective voice in the Executive Council they should at least be given a place therein of more or less advisory character, as additional members. The constitution proposed is open to the very serious objection that until actual transference takes place the people's representatives will have but little touch with subjects of the Reserved class, while at some future date, and let us hope not a distant date, it is they that will be asked to assume charge of the administration of those subjects."

Though nowhere in his address does the speaker take any notice of the power of retransferring subjects from the transferred to the reserved list proposed to be given to the Government of India and the periodic parliamentary commissions, he

makes mention of a serious objection to the system of dual government.

The objection to the scheme, as a whole, lies, however, in the proposal that at the end of a period of five years the Reserved Subjects are not to come automatically under popular control but it will be open to the Central Government to hear applications from either the Provincial Government, or the Provincial Council for the modification of the Reserved and the Transferred subject lists of the province, and it will be upon the recommendation of the Central Government that the Secretary of State is to approve the transfer of further subjects. While this method of devolution of power has the merit of providing the incentive to the peoples' representatives for earnest and statesmanlike discharge of their duties, it has the demerit of withdrawing the stimulus that they would have, if they were now assured that at the end of five years the responsibility of the entire provincial administration would devolve upon them. In the language of the Report itself, advance can only come through previous failures and exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it.

Supplies for the two groups of Subjects.

The address makes some very pertinent and outspoken comments upon the financial arrangement provided for effecting the administration of the two branches of provincial governments. From the revenues raised in the provinces, the demands of the Government of India are first to be met, the reserved subjects are then to be provided for, and the residue will be available to the Ministers for the purposes of the transferred subjects. If this be insufficient, as it is sure to be, if the Ministers are to discharge their duties adequately, fresh taxation must be resorted to.

The question of any fresh taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers and the Executive Government as a whole will not bear the responsibility for the proposal. Considering that the Governor is not expected to refuse, ordinarily, assent to the proposals of the Ministers, it is apparent that the responsibility of a fresh taxation will in effect rest upon the Ministers. It is admitted that the new developments which are to be anticipated will necessitate fresh taxation. Thus it comes to, this that the odium, which is inseparable from a new levy, is to be borne by the Ministers alone, the sequel to which may be the engendering of a repugnance in the people against popular Government. The responsibility for administering Transferred subjects will be the Minister's, while the power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility will be retained in official hands.

The proposed arrangement, it strikes me, is unfair. It is giving to the popular side of the Government an unsatisfactory start. The collective responsibility of the Executive Government in matters of fresh taxation is necessary for the success of the reforms. The obvious defects of the system proposed

ber in the Provincial Executive Council should be one to possess courage to present the Indian view of a question faithfully. If the nominations, in the past, in the Provincial Executive Councils had been as satisfactory as, happily, the nominations have been in the Governor-General's Executive Council, our apprehension regarding the search for a safe man would never have come to exist.

Fiscal Policy

We are in agreement with what has been said as regards fiscal policy. A protective tariff has been advocated.

Much of the political situation in India is due to economic forces that have been silently but surely working. It has often been said that foreign capital, which means British capital has done much for the development of Indian resources. That is true if the development of resources as an abstract idea detached from actual benefit, were regarded as a title of the British capitalist to the gratitude of the Indian people. The question is has the kind of development, that we have had brought to the Indian the prosperity that he wants. The Indian has merely been the producer of raw materials for the benefit of British manufacturers who have purchased the materials from him at low prices and sold the manufactured articles to him at high prices. Industrially we have been left so utterly untrained that we have not been able to free ourselves from the importation of foreign manufactures, while the export of raw materials has continued on an ascending scale. Frankly stated our conviction has been that our industrial backwardness has been positively encouraged in the interest of British manufacturers. This conviction is not based upon a mere prejudice that one race may have against another but it is based upon facts of history dating from the time when the commercial development of the country was fostered by the Company as a matter of business. The traditions of the Company inherited by the Government under the Crown we believe, have not been departed from and British commercial interests have had the same fostering care as in the days of the Company. The maintenance of the duty on cotton goods manufactured in the country has been unquestionably in the interest of Lancashire.

The Public Services

Mr. Hasan Imam seems tacitly to take it for granted that the proposals relating to the public services really amount to "the removal of all racial bars." That is not our view, as our remarks on the subject in our last issue will show.

We also demur to the unqualified statement that "the Indian Empire of to day is a production of Great Britain." As if the people of India, under their great religious, social, educational, political and industrial leaders, and inspired by their poets and other authors, have not contributed very largely to the making of modern India.

As regards the achievements of the Indian Civil Service, and as to whether they are entitled to our gratitude or not, Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes —

No one minimises the record of the Indian Civil Service. From its inception that Service has comprised earnest and ardent workers of Great Britain and the Indian Empire of to day is a production of Great Britain in which they have had a considerable, if not the main, part. Judged from our point of view their labours have not been altruistic, but incidentally, while they have worked for their own country, they have helped us to ideas of freedom and liberty, of nationhood and political rights, which I treat as acquisitions of the greatest value for the upbuilding of that India which is our dream to day and we hope will be our realization to-morrow. No question of gratitude arises in this as we have paid heavily for what we have received. It would be unjust to construe our demand for a larger share in the Services as denoting any hostility towards the members of the Services.

The Army

The brief paragraph which the address devotes to the army is unsatisfactory. The promise of King's commissions to Indians is good as a promise. But considering the vast numbers of the Indian population and the strength of the Indian army, actual and prospective, the number of commissions proposed to be given is insignificant, and the conditions, too, with which the "concession" is hedged round, make it almost an apology for a concession.

'Hypocrisies.'

The penultimate paragraph of the address contains an extract from Macaulay.

Macaulay has said 'Of all forms of tyranny I believe that the worst is that of a nation over a nation and the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger.' That is as true now as in the days of Macaulay and his observation applies as much to India as to any other country. To deny that India feels the yoke of the stranger is to shut one's eyes to fundamental facts.

What the apologists of British rule in India say are characterised as "hypocrisies."

The apologists of British rule in India have asserted that the presence of the British in this land has been due to humane motives, that British object has been to save the people from themselves, to raise their moral standard, to bring them material prosperity, to confer on them the civilising influences of Europe, and so forth and so on. These are hypocrisies common to most apologists. The fact is that the East India Company was not conceived for the benefit of India but to take away her wealth for the benefit of Britain. The greed of wealth that characterised its doings was accompanied by greed for territorial possession and when the transference of rule from the Company to the Crown took place, the greed of wealth and lust of power abated not one jot in the inheritors. The only difference being that tyranny became systematised and plunder became scientific. The people know it, they feel it, and they are asking for a reparation for the incidents of the past.

Some Modifications Proposed by the National Liberal League

We have said above that many 'moderates' have gone much further than Mr. Hasan Imam in their discussion of the Reform Scheme. In support of our remark we will quote some of the modifications in the scheme proposed by the National Liberal League of Bengal

4 There should be no further increase in the pay pension and allowance of the civil or any higher grades of any other public service in India

5 The department of police should always be placed in charge of the Indian member of the executive council

6 Additional official members without portfolios or votes should not be appointed in any executive council as members of the government as provided for in para. 220 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

7 Such persons should only be appointed members in the provincial governments as enjoy the confidence of the legislative councils

8 The Committee, which will discuss and make recommendations on the division of Indian from provincial subjects and on the subjects to be transferred and reserved in every provincial government should be directed to put into the category of transferred subjects as many subjects and services as the progress of each province may require and as few as may be considered absolutely necessary to be placed under reserved heads

10 The elected element in the provincial legislatures should be four fifths of the total strength of the councils, at least in the more advanced provinces

11 Where the necessity of a province demands there should be two instead of one co-opted Indian member in the Electorates Committee to be appointed for the purposes described in para. 220 of the Report.

12 In view of the fact that the administration of law, justice and police are likely to be reserved subjects in all provincial governments for some time a complete separation of judicial and executive functions in all district officers should be made at once and the judiciary placed everywhere under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the province

13 Instead of 33 per cent. of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service being recruited for in India as suggested in the Report, the recruitment into this service should be made at the rate of 50 per cent. of the total number of appointments made every year

14 If only 33 per cent. of the recruitment to the C.S. is made in India from now then it will take nearly 20 years before 33 per cent. of the total strength of this Service come to be held by Indians

14 A certain number of members, say a fourth of the total number of members in every council should be allowed opportunity to ask for the adjournment of the house for the purpose of discussing questions of urgent public importance

15 No more than three months should intervene between the closing of one session of a council and the opening of another

16 The cost of the Indian Office should be placed on the British Estimates

17 Some provision should be made for the

appointment or co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic Indian Commissions

18 Subject to the limitations that may be imposed on the tariffs of different parts of the Empire as the result of the decisions of the imperial post-war Conference on the subject the Government of India acting under the control of the Indian Legislature should be accorded full power to regulate the Indian tariffs

With regard to item 6 of the above proposal, it is necessary to tell the reader that Mr. Hasan Imam says in his address that he sees no objection to the appointment of additional official members without portfolios or votes to the provincial executive council. He is also satisfied with the proportion of 33 per cent. of the superior posts in the Indian civil service proposed to be recruited for in India. But the National Liberal League wants a larger proportion, and that, too, of the total number of appointments made every year vide item 13 above. As regards reserved and transferred subjects, he is content merely with saying that the transferred subjects will be as numerous as the reserved ones, and that the administrative training to be obtained by having charge of the former for five years will be sufficient to fit our Ministers to have charge of all subjects at the end of that period. He has nothing to say as to whether reserved subjects should be fewer than the officials would want them to be, nor as to whether any subject, such as the police, which the officials would place in the reserved group, should be under the charge of the Indian Minister or Indian Member of the Executive Council. The reader will see that the National Liberal League makes detailed suggestions on these points. Some of the other important suggestions of the League are on matters on which the president of the special congress has made no constructive proposals whatsoever. We do not mean to say that he ought to have suggested definite modifications on all or any matters dealt with in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, that is clearly the work of the Congress, the president's main duty being to discuss principles and offer criticisms on the Reform Scheme. What we mean to say is that if 'extremism' and 'moderation' are to be measured by the character of the criticism offered and the suggestions made by persons, then the National Liberal League's Pronouncement as published in the *Bengalee* is in some respects characterised by greater 'extre-

nism" and less "moderation" than the address of the president of the special session of the Congress held at Bombay. In fact, so far at least as the Reform Scheme is concerned, there is no clearly marked line of demarcation between "extremists" and "moderates," and there is nothing to show that those joining the special congress are more extreme in their views than the seceders. The distinction between "extremists" and "moderates" is more or less fictitious and artificial.

A Bishop on Jute Profits

The Bishop of Chota Nagpur writes thus in the *Chota Nagpur Diocesan Paper* for August on the subject of the enormous profits made by the Jute Mills, and the duty of the shareholders of the Mills to share their gains with the jute cultivators whom the war has hit hard.

Owing to the war certain industries in India have enjoyed unparalleled prosperity and for some reason the Government has not thought well to impose an excess profits tax. I am not wise enough to understand why, for on the face of it it seems a course of simple justice. But in the case of the jute trade which has profited perhaps more than others the situation is made worse by the fact that the excess profits of the shareholders have been enhanced by the low price of the raw material due to the stoppage of its export. In other words the war has lowered the price of the raw article to half the pre-war rate, bringing thereby acute distress upon the cultivator while it has increased the price of that part of the manufactured article which is sold in the open market to the enhancement of manufacturing profits. Both factors have added to the profits of the trade.

Now it is easy to say that the price of the raw jute has been fixed by the ordinary law of supply and demand, but that is in this case untrue, for the war has stepped in to interfere with the operation of this ordinary law. Could the jute have been exported there would doubtless have been a rise rather than a fall in price. Surely the Government whose restrictions taken in the interests of the Empire as a whole, have brought distress upon one section of the people, while enriching another should take some steps to ensure a more equitable distribution of profits. Bring the situation to the test of our Lord's judgment and can there be any doubt as to what He would say. His moral indignation would be poured forth on those who claim to be fighting the cause of the oppressed and the weak and yet are enriching themselves at the expense of their poorer brethren. I know it is easier to point out evils than to cure them but the first step to their cure is to realise them. And there may be others like myself who had not realised the position. I have not the experience or knowledge to suggest the remedy but there must be those, experienced in business and versed in economics who are able to solve the difficult problem. But meanwhile I would urge that shareholders seek ways by which they may share their gains with those whom the war has hit so hard.

These sentiments are quite worthy of

the Bishop. Would that they tell on all ears!

The Cotton Mills are also making enormous profits. These should also devote part of their gains to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth.

Cloth Distress in Bengal

Of the religious bodies in Bengal two have been making efforts to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth and the consequent inability of the poor to buy cloth. They are the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and the Rama Krishna Mission. Those who wish to help these bodies to carry on their urgent philanthropic work should send their contributions to (1) Dr. Pran Krishna Achary, Secretary Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and (2) Secretary, Rama Krishna Mission, 1 Mukerjee Lane, Calcutta or (3) President, Rama Krishna Mission, North, Belur, Howrah.

The few contributions received by the treasurer and the secretary of the Bankura Sammilani for the alleviation of cloth distress in Bankura will be acknowledged in our next number.

A Righteous Gift

A righteous and kind-hearted English gentleman has sent the editor of this Review Rs. 1,000 for providing clothing for those in the jute districts who have been distressed by the low price of jute, with the following letter—

Dear Sir,

I own a few shares in the Jute Mills which have been making enormous profits and I understand that this is in part due to the very low price of the raw jute owing to the stoppage of export. I further understand that this low price of jute has caused very severe distress to the cultivators. I do not wish to profit by this. I learn that you are administering a fund for the relief of distress among these cultivators and I have pleasure in sending you my cheque for Rs. 1000 which I hope you will use for me in providing clothing for those in the Jute districts which are thus distressed. I should take this as a real favour.

Yours very truly, —

The amount sent by this noble donor has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Good News from Fiji.

One of the Sugar Companies in Fiji, called the "Melbourne Trust," the smallest of them, has taken the initiative and of its own accord appointed a very highly qualified Nurse (one of those who had volun-

tered to Mr C F Andrews to come) to go and act as a Lady Doctor in the Company's District and Hospital. She will have an official position as Matron of the Hospital and will be paid for entirely by the Company. As this Company has taken the lead, it is most likely that the others will now have to follow suit and this may be an immense uplifting to the Indian community in Fiji.

It is evident that the pressure of the Australian ladies interested in the welfare of the Indians in Fiji has begun to bear fruit.

Our Frontispiece

It is always difficult to name a picture. The name given to the frontispiece in this number is ours. What the artist wishes to typify by this picture may be understood from what a friend of his wrote to us at his request, and which is given below in a somewhat modified form.

The picture represents the condition in which some of our leaders are about the performance of their duties towards our nation and our country. The picture is observed with a little care seems to be symmetrical and some parts of it seem to be quite artificial as for instance the pose of the figure and the lamp borne on its head, and to an ordinary eye the figure looks like a statue or it appears that it is assumed that artificial posture under pressure of external conditions there being an absence of naturalness in it. The figure in the picture represents some of those men who aspire to be our leaders and are actuated by the mere desire for popularity. They wish that people should gather round them as moths gather round a flame. But as they do not possess the natural gifts and virtues to attract men they feign those qualities by a lamp over the head of the figure. The lamp is naturally capable of attracting moths towards it. But these self-styled leaders think that the moths that is to say, the people have gathered round them on account of their own light. It is their assumed qualities, not their real characters which make people gather round them. The eyes of the figure are covered by the veil of selfishness symbolising the fact that the self-styled leaders are blind to the actual situation and real needs of the country. The figure is that of a woman to

denote the effeminacy of these aspirants to leadership.

Lord Ronaldshay's Speech at Mymensingh

It is usual for rulers to receive addresses from the people of the districts and towns visited and to reply to them. Lord Ronaldshay recently visited some towns in Bengal and received addresses there and replied to them. In several addresses he was told that many innocent men had been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act. The Governor however, nowhere admitted that any innocent man has anywhere been harshly dealt with even by mistake. This assumption of universal official infallibility and universal popular infallibility is not inexpressible but it is incredible that the people of whole towns or districts should all be mistaken and the Governor who is only a man like the rest of us should be right in every instance. It is also noteworthy that even the speeches of Lord Carmichael whose assumption of official infallibility was not as patent as that of the present governor could not convince the people that the enforcement of the Defence of India Act had not been attended with injustice.

We intend to notice some points in the speech of His Excellency the Governor in reply to the address of the Mymensingh People's Association. That address contained the following passage—

We shall be wanting in our duty if we allow this opportunity to slip without bringing to Your Excellency's notice the widespread discontent which pervades throughout the country on account of the great harassments caused by the indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys with at any trial and often put into solitary cells under the Defence of India Act. We cannot in adequate terms describe the great and heart-rending miseries of the others and other relatives of the detenues who have thus been taken away from them and whose prospects in life have thus been blasted. The belief among groups of that our mere suspicion on many innocent men are being unjustly dealt with under the said Act and we can only hope that Your Excellency will not be slow to do something for remedying this extremely undesirable state of things and we can confidently assure Your Excellency that nothing is more likely to restore peace to the country and remove this discontent than a general amnesty to all such persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act.

Let us now consider some of the passages in the Governor's reply.

The addresses of the People's Association on speaking of indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys I have personally

made an examination of the number of house searches, arrests and internments in this district, and I am satisfied that there are not the smallest grounds for your statement that they have been made indiscriminately. On the contrary, I am satisfied that they have been made only after the circumstances leading up to them have been most carefully weighed and sifted.

We have read in the papers of numerous house searches which did not lead to the discovery of anything incriminating, or to the arrest of anybody, sometimes they lead to the arrest of some persons who were soon after released. Though it cannot be admitted that every one arrested after a house search and kept deprived of liberty without a trial, is guilty, it can be safely assumed that the persons in whose house nothing incriminating is found and who are not arrested after the search, or who, if arrested, are released soon after, are innocent. If our memory does not play us false, there have been such fruitless and needless house searches in Mymensingh. Now, the people, who are the sufferers, consider these fruitless and useless house searches indiscriminate and harassing. The officials, on the other hand, think they were not indiscriminate, and that there were reasons for them. Unless the people know these reasons, how can they take it for granted that the officials are right? The *Sanjibani* office in Calcutta was searched three or four times quite unsuccessfully from the police point of view, and needlessly from the popular point of view. The *Bengalee* office was once similarly searched. It is certain there were similar unsuccessful and needless searches in Mymensingh.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has published the following —

The local paper 'Charu Mahir' has the following in reply to His Lordship's statement —

"Thirty or forty houses were searched in the town of Mymensingh in one morning. The bustle and activity of the Police led the people to believe that numerous revolvers, pistols, ammunition and revolutionary pamphlets would be found. But nothing of the kind was discovered in any place. May we ask His Excellency if he enquired as to whether the Police had got anything incriminating in the houses of Babu Atul Chandra Chakravarty, Babu Harihar Chakravarty, Rai Shama Charan Rai Bahadur, Babu Anath Bandhu Guba, and others after they had been searched? The general public are under the impression that these searches are only the prelude to arrest suspects. We think the authorities are aware of the views of the public with regard to the generality of the arrests made by the C. I. D. Then again, in many cases, the authorities had to release persons after their arrest. Under such circumstances, how can these searches, arrests and internments may be

called "discriminate." And we cannot understand how His Excellency could be satisfied on this point after making enquiries into such cases. His Excellency is certainly aware of the result of the searches which were made in Calcutta in the 'Bengalee' office of the Honble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and the 'Sanjibani' office of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter."

The Mymensingh paper then publishes an old account which appeared in some Calcutta paper describing the situation in Mymensingh at the time on account of the activities of the C. I. D. It runs as follows —

At present Mymensingh is again under Police Rule pure and simple. Only about a month ago the whole town was put into turmoil by indiscriminate house-searches and arrests—a number of houses of respectable men were searched but not a single incriminating article was recovered from a single house. God alone knows what the materials are upon which these search warrants were issued. About 33 arrests were made then but final order has not been yet passed on any to the knowledge of the public, but only this much is known that some had to be discharged on the ground that they had been arrested under mistaken identity."

Two years have elapsed since the account appeared and no one has contradicted it.

Here are certain facts for the information of His Lordship. Not only were some persons released afterwards for want of identification but a large number were let off after they were kept in confinement.

There may be excellent official reasons why innocent people should be subjected to worry and insult by having their houses searched in this fashion. But the people who suffer do not know them and cannot in consequence appreciate their beauty. That is also why they cannot derive any consolation from the Governor's assurance that the searches were not indiscriminate.

Then as to the nature of the internment, except for the period during which the enquiry is being prosecuted where it is necessary to prevent those whose conduct is being enquired into from communicating with their associates, persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are not kept in cells of any kind. They are interned in villages where all can see how they live and are treated, and where they are visited by non-official visitors. You spoke of their injured prospects. It is doubtless true that a man cannot play with fire without burning his fingers, but then the remedy is for the young men to give up playing with fire. The remedy lies not with Government but with the young men themselves.

It is well known, and the Governor admits, that detenus are kept in solitary cells during the period of the enquiry. Descriptions of these cells and the conditions of life of the detenus there have appeared in the papers, leading to the impression in the public mind that those to whom no offence has been brought home after public trial ought not to be subjected to such treatment, even for a month. There are also reasons to believe that the

tured to Mr C. F. Andrews to come) to go and act as a Lady Doctor in the Company's District and Hospital. She will have an official position as Matron of the Hospital and will be paid for entirely by the Company. As this Company has taken the lead, it is most likely that the others will now have to follow suit, and this may be an immense uplifting to the Indian community in Luj.

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Lord Ronaldsday's Speech at Mymensingh

It is usual for rulers to receive addresses from the people of the districts and towns visited and to reply to them. Lord Ronaldsday recently visited some towns in Bengal, and received addresses there and replied to them. In several addresses he was told that many innocent men had been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act. The Governor, however, nowhere admitted that any innocent man has anywhere been harshly dealt with even by mistake. This assumption of universal official infallibility and universal popular fallibility is not inexplicable, but it is incredible that the people of whole towns or districts should all be mistaken and the Governor, who is only a man like the rest of us, should be right in every instance. It is also noteworthy that even the speeches of Lord Carmichael, whose assumption of official infallibility was not as patent as that of the present governor, could not convince the people that the enforcement of the Defence of India Act had not been attended with injustice.

We intend to notice some points in the speech of His Excellency the Governor in reply to the address of the Mymensingh People's Association. That address contained the following passage—

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Let us now consider some of the passages in the Governor's reply.

The address of the People's Association speaks of indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys. I have personally

made an examination of the number of house searches, arrests and internments in this district, and I am satisfied that there are not the smallest grounds for your statement that they have been made indiscriminately. On the contrary, I am satisfied that they have been made only after the circumstances leading up to them have been most carefully weighed and sifted.

We have read in the papers of numerous house searches which did not lead to the discovery of anything incriminating, or to the arrest of anybody; sometimes they lead to the arrest of some persons who were soon after released. Though it cannot be admitted that every one arrested after a house-search and kept deprived of liberty without a trial, is guilty, it can be safely assumed that the persons in whose house nothing incriminating is found and who are not arrested after the search, or who, if arrested, are released soon after, are innocent. If our memory does not play us false, there have been such fruitless and needless house searches in Mymensingh. Now, the people, who are the sufferers, consider these fruitless and useless house searches indiscriminate and harassing. The officials, on the other hand, think they were not indiscriminate, and that there were reasons for them. Unless the people know these reasons, how can they take it for granted that the officials are right? The *Sanjibani* office in Calcutta was searched three or four times quite unsuccessfully from the police point of view, and needlessly from the popular point of view. The *Bengalee* office was once similarly searched. It is certain there were similar unsuccessful and needless searches in Mymensingh.

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It is well-known, and the Governor admits, that detenus are kept in solitary cells during the period of the enquiry. Descriptions of these cells and the conditions of life of the detenus there have appeared in the papers, leading to the impression in the public mind that those to whom no offence has been brought home after public trial ought not to be subjected to such treatment even for a month. There are also reasons to believe that the

cases of insanity, suicide, death from preventable disease, and cases of such diseases as phthisis, are to a large extent due to confinement in cells under insanitary conditions.

As for internment in villages, if detenus had nowhere felt it to be a great hardship, they would not have broken the internment rules to get imprisoned. The judgment in the Kutubdia detenus' case contains the following sentence: "In a case of this nature, we should have been inclined to hold ordinarily that a sentence of simple imprisonment would have been a sufficient punishment; but unfortunately, it appears that these misguided youths prefer the easy life of the gaol to the semi-freedom of internment; so simple imprisonment would be no deterrent." The kind of life really led by detenus in some villages can be guessed from this illuminating sentence. We would ask all to buy a copy of the "Report of the Trial of Kutubdia Detenus Case" published by the Bengal Civil Rights Committee, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta (Price Re 1-8). It is as interesting as a romance and gives a vivid idea of the life of detenus in solitary cells and villages.

Regarding non-official visitors, Lord Ronaldshay no doubt does not require reminding that they were appointed as a result of agitation in and outside his Council Chamber—agitation which he would ascribe to sympathy with anarchists and revolutionaries. Hundreds of men have been released soon after arrest, or some time after confinement in jail or compulsory domicile in villages. These are some of the "many innocent men" who have been spoken of in the Mymensingh address as "being unjustly dealt with under the said Act." People are justified in holding that those who have been thus released are innocent, and that there are many more such innocent men who are still kept in a state of semi-freedom without trial. So far as we can understand the drift of the address, it prays for a general amnesty to all such innocent persons only, not to all detenus and suspects. We, too, think that all detenus and state prisoners who have been deprived of liberty for political reasons alone and against whom there is no proof or suspicion of complicity in dacoities, murders, or similar offences against property, life and limb, should be set free under proper safe-

guards, and the rest tried *in camera*, being given an opportunity to defend themselves with the aid of lawyers.

It is certainly true that if in playing with fire a man gets his fingers burned, it is he who is to blame. But we believe many of the men released never played with fire. At any rate, Government has released them only after being convinced that they would not again play with fire. All the same, some of them who were students cannot get admission into colleges, and some who had some remunerative employment before can get no work, the employers being afraid of the police putting them to trouble. Whether the remedy here lies with the Government or not, it is for Government to judge, but it certainly does not lie with the men themselves. We would in this connection draw the attention of our readers to the following passage from "The Small and the Great" by Sir Rabindranath Tagore printed in the *Modern Review* for December, 1917, page 601:

"Just as no one cares to eat a snake-bitten fruit, so no one dare to hold commerce with a police-tainted person. Even that most desperate of creatures, the Bengali father with an unmarried daughter to get rid of—to whom neither willingness nor vice, nor age nor disease is a bar,—even he refrains from sending the match-maker to him. If the one-time police-suspect tries to do business, the business fails. If he begs for charity, he may rouse our pity, but cannot overcome our dread. If he joins any good work, that good work is doomed."

Lord Ronaldshay gave an account of revolutionary crimes in Mymensingh during the ten years from 1907 to the end of 1916, "when systematic action was first taken under the Act."

During the period there were in this district alone 26 revolutionary outrages in the course of which 12 persons were violently done to death, 27 persons were injured, and property to the value of Rs 1,02,000 was looted. The year 1917 was the first year for five years during which your district was free of political crime.

Then the Governor said: "You, of course, abhorred those outrages just as much as did the Government; but were you able to do anything to bring them to an end?" In "The Small and the Great" Sir Rabindranath Tagore tells of the reply that he gave to an Englishman whom he met in a railway train and who referred indirectly to the demand of Home Rule by the people in spite of their inability to prevent Hindu-Muslim riots. Sir Rabindranath's reply to his fellow-passenger was:

'These Hindu Mahomedan riots have not occurred under our Home Rule *this is the first time that I hear of a division of labour where one is to have the weapons and another to do the fighting*' Lord Ronaldshay's question reminded us of this reply. The weapons with which revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary outrages can be successfully fought are both material and non material. The material weapons are fire arms and other arms which Government and the dacoits and assassins have got but which the people for the most part have not got. How can the latter therefore be expected to fight? Is it reasonable to ask them to fight? In spite of their want of proper weapons the villagers have in some places fought dacoits some getting killed in the encounter. The non material weapons consist in the power to change the political economic educational and similar social conditions in which revolutionary ideas and crimes have originated. But the people possess very little of this power. Government possesses most of it. We think therefore that Lord Ronaldshay's question was not reasonable. It was like expecting people to make the proverbial bricks without straw.

It is implied in his answer that the diminution in revolutionary outrages is due solely to the systematic action taken under the Defence of India Act. But are there not other factors? There has been an addition to the strength of the police and improvement in their training and personnel, public opinion as expressed in the press and on the platform has discouraged such crimes in the villages the feeling of helplessness in the presence of organised gangs has been gradually giving place to a manlier attitude the spirit of adventure of youth has found legitimate scope in the Bengal Ambulance Corps the Bengal Regiment and other forms of service abroad and political despondency has given place to the expectation of political improvement. It is not statesman like to ignore all these factors and give all the credit to repressive methods.

Nor should statesmen forget that peace and order may be purchased at too heavy a price. Personal and civic liberty and a fearless spirit ought not to be sacrificed at the altar of 'Peace and Order'. Hence order ought to be secured mainly by measures which bear political and econo-

mical injuries and produce normal and progressive political and economic conditions. We are certainly in favour of temporary special methods and special laws if necessary, to punish actual criminals but we are entirely against methods which have the effect of terrorising the whole population of a country. National greatness power and progressiveness can neither be attained nor preserved without running some risks. A high spirit always goes with national greatness power and progressiveness. But this same high spirit is disliked by a foreign bureaucracy. No methods of repressing crime ought to be adopted which has the effect of preventing the growth of this high spirit where it does not exist and of crushing it where it does. And in our anxiety to be protected we ought not to acquiesce in any methods and laws which have this tendency. If all persons were kept handcuffed and fettered every day from 6 in the evening till 7 in the morning peace and order could be safeguarded to a far greater extent than by the enforcement of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818. But we would not agree to be deprived of liberty for 13 hours every day even for the sake of peace and order.

Lord Ronaldshay gave an extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report to show why a general amnesty cannot be given. As we have said before we have understood the Mymensingh People's Association's suggestion regarding an amnesty to mean that they wanted the release of the many innocent men who have been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act not of all the men interned under that measure. Let us however, give His Excellency's quotation.

In the margin I permit me to call your particular attention to the opinions which are unanimously expressed by the Commission upon the question of a general amnesty. If you turn to paragraph 10th of the Report you will find that speaking on this aspect of the case they say: 'There are the persons as to whom I can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some if not most of these persons are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate the automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of four murders and has been concerned in eighteen dacoities of which five involved further murders. There are altogether 16 men both in custody or at large.'

The extract made by His Excellency

conveys a wrong impression of what the Rowlatt Committee have said. It conveys the impression that they speak of *all* the men who have been deprived of liberty as having been parties to murders and dacoities. But they have said nothing of the kind. They speak of only "a limited class of persons" as of this description. In order to show that Lord Ronaldshay's quotation is misleading, we shall have to make a longer extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report and italicise some portions. We shall begin to quote from about the middle of paragraph 195.

These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influence of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy [So in the Committee's opinion only some are desperadoes. Ed. V. R.] Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and in a measure reason.

196. The scheme above set forth is as has already been pointed out designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

There are however a limited class of persons namely those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for these cases.

In the first place there are a number of persons still at large such as Kashi Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case who if tried at all ought to be tried even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires under special provisions. Moreover further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand it would not be proper to proclaim in a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

Secondly there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

Some, if not most of these persons are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities of which five involve further murders. There are others like

him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organisers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1818. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

Assuming however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation we ought to suggest an alternative.

Lastly, it may be that a few of those now merely interned and some of the convicts who will be released may require some control. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually.

In the light of the longer extract given above, let the reader judge whether Lord Ronaldshay's quotation conveyed a correct impression of the opinion and suggestions of the Committee.

We do not know how the Committee came to such a positive conclusion about the undoubted guilt of some internees solely on the untested and *ex parte* evidence placed before them by the police, nor why, if the guilt of these men is so undoubted, they have not been brought to trial.

In order to convince the people that the opinion of the Committee is entirely trustworthy, Lord Ronaldshay said:

Remember these are not words spoken by the Government. They are words written by an absolutely impartial Commission, two of whose members were Indian gentlemen whom no one will accuse of being subservient to the Government.

There are several implications in these two sentences. One is that the Government including pre-eminently Lord Ronaldshay, may not be absolutely impartial. The second is that the Rowlatt Committee were "absolutely impartial." The third is either that Indian gentlemen as a whole are not subservient to the Government, or that Indian gentlemen nominated by Government for a particular purpose are not subservient, or that only the two Indian gentlemen who sat on the Committee were not subservient. Let the public judge of the correctness of these implications.

In civic and political matters, English men are far more experienced than ourselves. Let us, therefore, see who in the opinion of Englishmen in their own country are considered impartial and who prejudiced. We would in the first place ask our readers to draw their conclusions from what took place during

the debate in the House of Commons, on May 9, which followed the publication of General Maurice's letter on some statements made by Mr Lloyd George about the army Mr Asquith said

The Government had admitted that there was a case for enquiry. He regarded the proposal that two judges of experience should hold such an enquiry in such circumstances as unsatisfactory. Such a tribunal would be impotent unless it had statutory powers and he suggested a non party committee of five members of the House of Commons who could probably reach a decision which would be respected by the House and the country in two or three days.

He proceeded

Any Government statement of facts would be *ex parte* and made in the absence of those who had impugned the accuracy of previous statements. Mr Asquith urged that it was in the honour and interest of the Government, the House, the Army the nation and the Allies and the unhampered prosecution of the war, to establish a tribunal of enquiry which from its constitution and powers would be able to give a prompt decisive and authoritative judgment. He hoped regarding some of these matters that there had been honest misunderstanding but the clearer the case the Ministers had for proving the accuracy of the impugned statements the more cogent was the argument in favour of an enquiry under conditions which nobody could suspect of partiality or prejudice (Laughter, in which Mr Bonar Law joined)

Mr Asquith turning to Mr Bonar Law asked whether Mr Bonar Law thought that a Select Committee of the House was not an unsuspected tribunal

Mr Bonar Law replied that every member of the House of Commons was either friendly or unfriendly to the Government and therefore prejudiced

Mr Asquith retorted I am very sorry to hear the leader of the House suggest that there cannot be five members of the House of Commons who are not so steeped in party prejudice that they cannot be trusted to judge a pure issue of fact I leave it there

The reader is to bear in mind that here the freedom from prejudice of Englishmen who were either His Majesty's Judges or Members of Parliament was the subject under consideration, and some of the men who were pronouncing opinion on it were men of Cabinet rank

The Rowlatt Committee was presided over by a judge of the High Court of England and had an Indian and a European judge of two Indian High Courts among its members. Regarding the omniscience and infallibility of judges, the *Indian Daily News* recently quoted the following paragraphs from the well known British newspaper the *New Witness*

The method of investigation proposed by the Government is far from satisfactory. They propose to submit the whole question to the secret investigation and arbitrary decision of two judges, and we

suggest that the public keep a very sharp eye on those two judges, on who they are and on what they do. We have never seen the sense of keeping up the superstition that every judge is a premature day of judgment, awful as omnipotence and impartial as omniscience. There are good judges and there are decidedly bad judges. But the commonest method of selecting and appointing judges makes them, with certain highly honourable exceptions, men quite peculiarly ill fitted to decide boldly and fairly about a charge against politicians. They are themselves not only the nominees of such parliamentarians, but have earned such notice as a rule by long service, if not servility, in parliamentarianism.

An ambitious lawyer stands for Parliament on the secret party Fund votes, speaks and is silent to order, moves convenient amendments (like the celebrated Buck master amendment) and is given a certain sort of wig and gown as a reward by the statesmen he has served. And then he, and another with the same history may be locked up in a private room with a bundle of papers, to decide at their solitary and despotic pleasure whether the man who has rewarded them is to be ruined or expelled from public life. We can see that there is a case for the enquiry not being in the ordinary sense public since it involves military designs and details. But there is no case for it not being in the ordinary sense representative and it should specially represent the real critics of the Government.

We will give one more extract from Lord Ronaldshay's speech, in which he laid down the duty of newspapers and public men

'You may ask me, perhaps whether there is any way in which you can help in bringing about this desirable state of affairs. I reply most emphatically that there is. You can do more than anyone else can simply by desisting from encouraging in the minds of these people the belief that you are in sympathy with them. I am sure that you do not realise how much harm you do even by giving publicity to views like those which you have embodied in your address to me today. Perhaps I can bring it home to you by giving you a concrete example by way of illustration. The question of releasing a certain political prisoner from jail was recently under consideration, but before a decision could be come to it was necessary to find out whether he had repented of his former deeds. He was accordingly interviewed by a person who was related to him, and this is what he said. "I regret that I have ever made any disclosures to the police. I made this mistake simply because I was not fully then sure of the sympathy of my countrymen. Recent publications in the newspapers have cleared up my vision and I now see that my countrymen have fully appreciated the work done by us. This is why newspapers and leaders in Congresses, Conferences and Leagues have been fighting tooth and nail for our cause and are moving heaven and earth to turn the Defence of India Act into a dead letter." Let those words sink deeply into your minds. There you have the case of a man who was inclined to repent of his former ways but was suddenly persuaded to return to them by the writings of a certain section of the press and by the thoughtless utterances of certain public men. I would that both the press and the public would weigh carefully the awful responsibility which unknowingly perhaps, they are laying on our doors.

Lord Ronaldshay thinks that the *detenus* are under the impression that a certain section of the press and some public men are in sympathy with them. By way of proof he brings forward what a certain political prisoner is said to have told a relative of his. Let us take it for granted that the prisoner's words have been correctly reported to His Excellency. The Rowlatt Committee's Report which according to the Governor ought to be implicitly relied upon, says of the *detenus*, *they all lack habits of occupation and in a measure, reason*. On the strength of what one out of about a thousand men all of whom in a measure lack reason is reported to have said the Governor asks us to believe that the *detenus* all think that many newspapers and public men are in sympathy with them. And His Excellency too appears to think that a section of the press and of public men are sympathetic.

His Excellency did not himself interview the prisoner nor was he present at the interview. The interview was reported to him. Hence there may be some reasonable doubt regarding the correctness of the report. In order to judge of its value the public should know whether the interviewer himself reported the words of the prisoner to the Governor or they filtered through the medium of the police, whether at the interview any third person was present to bear witness to the truth of the report and the actual occurrence of the interview, whether the interviewer is himself a police officer, Government servant, informer or agent of the police, whether he is in hopes of getting a Government appointment or a title, what is the degree of his relationship with the prisoner and whether there is any family quarrel between the two relatives or between the branches of the family to which they belong. Ties of blood would naturally make a relative anxious for the release of a prisoner with whom he was related. In this case as he overcame this natural desire he must have done so either from motives of righteousness and public duty, or from selfish motives. If he has done so from good motives he would be obviously known to his neighbors generally as a righteous and public-spirited man, the report of the interview under discussion cannot be the only proof of his righteousness and public spirit. But as he

has not been named, the public curiosity about him and the prisoner cannot be satisfied.

A word or two about sympathy may not be amiss. We do not think any section of newspapers or of public men can be in sympathy with those who commit murders and dacoities. Race hatred does blind men to moral considerations as the present war has shown in a most flagrant manner. It could have been supposed however unjustly by Europeans, therefore that Indian publicists sympathized with murderers and dacoits if the victims of their crimes were all or mostly Europeans. But that is not so. A similar suspicion might have been entertained however unjustly, if the victims of the murderers and dacoits had been all European or Indian policemen. But the fact is otherwise. We have not come across any of these wicked perpetrators of evil deeds and have not learnt from them what the object of their crimes is. The official version is that their object is political. Taking it for granted that it is so we repeat what we have said before, that the end does not justify the means even if the means adopted were calculated to attain the end. But murders and dacoities as means to make India free and independent are not only wicked, they are also foolish and not at all calculated to bring about the political regeneration of India. Wherein then does sympathy come in? Not one of the state prisoners and *detenus* has been convicted of crime after a public trial. There is therefore a reasonable and justifiable doubt in the public mind that many of them may be innocent. Public agitation has for one of its objects the obtaining of justice for them in the shape of either release or conviction, after trial. If they cannot be brought to trial there is a reasonable presumption in the public mind that at least many of them are quite innocent and ought to be released. This cannot be construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. Reports have reached the public from time to time that many *detenus* and state prisoners have been harshly, even cruelly treated. The insanity, suicide and death of several of them have lent force to these reports. Public agitation has therefore, had a second object, namely that these men should receive humane treatment. This also cannot be

construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. In all civilised countries, efforts have been made to mitigate the severity of punishments and to improve jail methods and conditions. These have had for their object the securing of humane treatment for men convicted after open trial; but can penal law reformers and jail reformers be therefore accused of sympathy with criminals as criminals? How then can some editors and public men be suspected of sympathy with crime simply because they agitate for the humane treatment of mere suspects?

It is true that the *officially-alleged* object of these outrages is the liberation and independence of India, and it may be the real object of some of the men; and Indian newspapers and public men, for the most part, want the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire. But for this reason it cannot be affirmed that the authors of these outrages and constitutional agitators are in sympathy with one another, though the word "freedom" loosely covers the objects of both groups of men. The announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published on July 8, 1918, have for their object the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire; and this object, too, may be conveyed by the expression "freedom of India." But would it be reasonable for this reason to say that the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy were in sympathy with revolutionaries? Of course, political animosity and self-interest sometimes make men behave like lunatics. *The Pioneer* was, therefore, once observed trying to establish a nexus between "moderate" constitutional agitators like the late Mr. Gokhale and the bomb-throwers,—the group of "extremist" constitutional agitators standing between these two groups. And recently some British and Anglo-Indian agitators and British public men of the Sydenham type have tried to create prejudice against both the British Government and Indian aspirants to self-government by saying that the British Government has been playing into the hands of Indian Bolsheviks! But no sane and responsible person, official or non-official, attaches any importance to these mad ravings.

"Present Reforms not impelled by the War."

A Reuter's telegram dated London, August 18, says that

Mr. Montagu interviewed emphasised that the Indian Reforms were based on British ideals of justice and liberty, not on German methods of repression. Mr. Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war. On the contrary the British administrators had always recognised the progressive character of British rule in India. As long as hundred and twenty years ago Sir Thomas Munro announced that he looked forward to the time when the population of India would be sufficiently enlightened to frame and conduct Government for themselves.

If British statesmen want to do a good and just thing in connection with India, their efforts deserve praise. But let them not say that the British Government in India and British officials had always before them the ideal of Indian self-rule towards which they had been continually and persistently working. For that is not the fact. Isolated officers like Sir Thomas Munro may have looked forward to a time when India would be self-ruling; the Marquis of Hastings even thought that India would be independent. But Sir Thomas Munro was not the Governor-General of India, and before August 20, 1917, neither he nor any other British statesman ever declared in his official capacity as Governor-General that to make India autonomous was the object of British rule in India towards which goal all officers had been enjoined to work and were working. On the contrary, "Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea" that the Morley-Minto reforms "were in any sense a step towards parliamentary government." And when Lord Hardinge declared the goal of provincial autonomy, his words were explained away by Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India. These all go against the claim now put forward on behalf of British rule in India by Mr. Montagu. The present intentions of the rulers may be all that they are claimed to be. We are not interested in disputing that claim. But it is not historically correct to say that these had always been the avowed or tacit aims of the British Indian Government to which its practice always or for the most part conformed.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself are to be found sentences contradicting what Mr. Montagu is reported to have said to the interviewer. In pa.

of the report, it is said that the words of the announcement of August 20, 1917, "pledge the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people" In the same paragraph it is said "Hitherto, as we shall show, we have ruled India by a system of absolute government,"

Mr Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war "It may not be safe to say that they were entirely due to the war, but that they were largely due to it, admits of no reasonable doubt Even the Montagu Chelmsford Report gives one that impression, *vide* paragraphs 20 28 of that report

The Special Congress at Bombay

It was the duty of men of all shades of opinion who had hitherto given their adherence to the Congress movement, to attend the special session of the Congress at Bombay, or at least to give it their moral support A united front was needed at the present juncture of the history of India But there has been a split instead So let us be content to take facts as they are There should, however be no attempt to give the special session any name which it does not deserve It is clearly not a Congress consisting of men of all shades of political opinion, nor is it a Congress from which any men of any shade of opinion have been excluded All have been equally welcome to attend it It cannot, therefore, be spoken of as an 'extremist' Congress Apart from any general reasoning of the above description, it is clear that it has had the adherence of many prominent men of all parties Some most influential 'moderates' and some most influential 'extremists' have attended it It is not possible to say whether the majority of "moderate" public men have attended it, or whether the majority will attend the proposed "moderate" conference, for there is no definite and authoritative definition of a "public man" and a "moderate public man," nor has there been any census taken of the total number of public men and of moderate public men in the country Neither is it possible to say whether among the delegates, the "extremists" or the 'moderates' were in the majority, for not only is there no accepted definition of "moderate" and "extremist,"—terms invented by "our enemies"—but

no one can say what kind of criticism of the Reform Scheme makes a man a "moderate" and what an "extremist"

It would be noted, however, that the proposed "moderate" conference is meant to be attended only by those who would be invited by the organisers It would, therefore, include only a section of the public, and shut out all the rest The special session of the Congress has done nothing of the kind, and is known to have brought together men like Mr Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak Hence the special session of the Congress is certainly more representative of public opinion than the proposed "moderate" conference is likely to be, should all but the invited be excluded from it

Even after the moderate conference has taken place, it would not be possible to say whether it was more representative of moderate opinion, or the special congress was for, as we have said before, there is no definition of "moderate public man" nor any census of such men The presumption, however, would be against the moderate conference, for it proposes to exclude all but a certain type of politicians, and may therefore exclude even many moderates, whereas the special congress has excluded none It should be mentioned, however, that some moderate and other politicians may not have attended the special session of the Congress out of justifiable or unjustifiable fear of turbulence.

We have tried to describe the relative, representative character of both gatherings in as fair a way as we could Nothing could have given us greater pleasure than if men of all shades of opinion had met together and presented the united demand of India But as that has not been the case, we shall be glad to find, as we expect to find, the resolutions of both gatherings embodying many common suggestions for the modification of the reform scheme Already the proposals emanating from opposite camps have been observed to cover common ground We are really more united in our essential demands than our enemies would like to recognise or even the prejudices or personal dislikes and animosities of many of our public men would enable them to perceive

The Advisory Committee

The Express says —

The Advisory Committee is now sitting to con-

sider the cases of the political detenus and the procedure that is being followed is this. The accused is supplied with a copy of the charges at the Thana in the presence of a police officer and he is required to answer them in writing within a short time as best as he could. He is enjoined not to consult anybody nor to keep any copy of the charges. Now may we ask how is it possible for him to answer satisfactorily the charges which the Police had taken care to formulate against them at a moment's notice in the presence of a police officer without consulting any of his friends relatives or guardians much less any legal adviser and without being apprised of the evidence which have been accumulated against him.

If the *Express* is correctly informed the procedure followed is very unsatisfactory.

The Cloth Problem

Recently the cloth problem was considered in two public meetings in Calcutta. In the last of these Babu Surendranath Banerjee, who presided, said in the course of his speech,—

They called upon the Government to regulate the price of cloth as it had done in the case of iron and other articles. If the Government could regulate the price of iron why it should not do the same in the case of cloth? But they are thankful to the Government for it had taken some action in the matter and the people welcomed the regulation of prices of cloth that would naturally follow. The Government expressed its willingness to interfere in the case of Indian mills. Why should not the same principle be followed in the case of the imported articles? There ought to be an equality of treatment for mill owners in India and in Great Britain. But the people had their own duty. They must come forward to alleviate the sufferings of the poorer people. Why should not raise funds and distribute the money to the poor people? The speaker made a personal appeal to the Warwar gentlemen present to come forward with gifts of dhooties and saris for distribution among the poor people. In conclusion the speaker asked the people to abstain from purchasing cloth at present. That was the only means of keeping down the demand and the immediate result would be that prices should go down. Their appeal was not enough. They ought to set an example by subscribing to the fund.

We heartily support the views expressed in the above extract.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting in conformity with the views expressed in the president's speech. Funds should be liberally subscribed for the free distribution and cheap sale of cloth. Cotton cultivation and hand spinning and weaving should be resorted to according to the suggestions of Rai Bahadur Jadunath Mazumdar, which have been widely published in many of the English and vernacular papers of Bengal.

The Government has already taken six months to enquire and deliberate, and now their cloth controller is going to

make additional enquiries and to confer with people who have knowledge of the business. We wonder when the enquiry and conference stage will come to an end, and the proposed standard cloth placed in the market.

Communal Representation.

The following is one of the *Madras Mail's* special cables, which are notoriously reliable—

London, Aug. 18.—Current reports state that Sir John Hewett will be Chairman of one Committee or possibly both. All now realise that the battle for communal representations is as good as won but all other points of attack are strongly defended by Government. Though it is essential to remember that opposition to the innumerable aspects is growing general acceptance of the principle of the reform means that no one is bound to accept Mr. Montagu's proposals. Papers are now discussing the details. From a missionary standpoint the Methodist Recorder strongly champions sixty million outcasts asserting that under the present scheme they are unrepresented and their interests unprotected. Despite official wire pulling which is persistent subtle critics are obtaining everywhere far freer expression for their views. Graphophone papers here devoted very wide sympathetic attention to Lord Willingdon's courageous speech in the Bombay War Conference.

The two committees are those for determining the electoral qualifications in different provinces and areas, and for deciding what are to be the reserved and transferred subjects in different provinces. It is possible that there may be a worse chairman of these committees than Sir John Hewett, but he appears to be about the worst.

The case against communal representation has been most ably put by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their report. We do not think the enemies of Indian solidarity will be so easily able to dislodge these high authorities from their ground. If these enemies win it will not do to blame them alone. Primarily, our religious bigotry and caste bigotry are to blame. Whoever may have originally started the game, henceforth men of all sects must make a strenuous attempt to look at all political and civic questions, small and large, from the Indian point of view, as distinguished from the merely sectarian or sectional point of view.

As for caste bigotry, though it exists in all parts of India, lunatic ideas about 'untouchability' and the power said to be possessed by certain Panchamas to make the 'holy' Brahmans and other "high" caste men "unholy" from a distance of many yards, are more prevalent in the

southern parts of India than in the north. If the curse of communal representation according to caste came upon India as a visitation the holy lands of Cochin, Malabar and other similar "untouchability" ridden regions would be more responsible for it than anybody else, though this does not absolve any of us from responsibility. We must all work for the improvement of the condition of all Indians remembering Herbert Spencer's observation that no one can be perfectly free until all are free, no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral, and no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy.

The British people are apt to make the mistake of thinking that caste distinctions in India are in all respects worse than the distinction between classes and masses in Great Britain. Each is better and worse than the other in some respects. Castes in India are vertical divisions containing persons of widely differing economic and educational standings. Thus a Brahman or a Kayastha, or even a Pariah (though far more rarely) may be rich or poor, a professional man or a peasant or a menial cultured or illiterate. Socially the units of a caste or sub caste group are equal irrespective of wealth, occupation or education. A poor Brahman family may dine or intermarry with a rich Brahman family. In England the divisions are horizontal. There is generally no social equality and intercourse between the Lords and the peasants, the cultured classes and the uneducated coster mongers and navvies and so on. But the ordinary Britisher takes it for granted that a Lord or an Oxonian of the upper middle class can adequately protect the interests of peasants and miners and other working men, the ordinary Britisher forgets that his assumption is repudiated by the Labour Party, whose rise and growth in power would be inexplicable if the assumption were true, the ordinary Britisher however, cannot believe that an Indian man of one sect or caste can protect the interests of another caste or sect. We think that in India, too there will be in course of time a Labour Party when the Indian labourers have received sufficient education, as their brethren in England have. But in the meantime there is no urgent necessity for giving any class special communal representation, just as special communal representation was never given to British

labourers or British Roman Catholics or British Nonconformists. In England there was a time when the door in politics and education was shut against certain sects by law. There were and are class and sectarian riots and dissensions there. Here in India, the law does not exclude anybody from any educational institution or municipal or local body, or legislature on the ground of his caste or sect, one has only to possess the requisite educational or property qualification. The case for communal representation was, therefore stronger in England at one time than it is in India now. But there has never been communal representation in the British Isles, the people there have been all the better for it and have attained a gradually increasing national solidarity. In India, however, where no caste or sect labours under any legal disability our British friends like Lord Sydenham and some Christian missionaries insist on giving communal representation to some sects and castes thus obstructing the growth of national solidarity.

They say Indian Home Rule or any thing like it would lead to the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy. In the first place taking it for granted that there would be such an oligarchy, until quite recently was not British parliamentary government an oligarchy of peers and the middle class gentry, and has it not been gradually replaced by a more representative government? What is there to show that in India the same sort of evolution of government would not take place? In the second place we deny that there would be such an oligarchy, taking India as a whole. Of the 27 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, only seven are Brahmans. Of the 31 nominated members only one seems to be a Brahman. In the provinces, the ascendancy of the Brahmans is greatest in Madras. In the Madras Legislative Council, so far as we can judge from the names of the 21 elected members nine are Brahmans, and of the 20 nominated members only one or at the most two are Brahmans. In Bengal out of the 28 elected members only 4 or 5 are Brahmans, and out of the 16 nominated members only two are Brahmans. In the United Provinces, out of 46 members (in the Indian Year Book the elected and nominated members are not shown separately for this province), only seven appear

to be Brahmins. These figures are based on the list of names given in the Indian Year Book for 1918. We need not go through the lists of all provinces. The figures given will go to show that Indian self rule would not mean the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy, for there is no reason to think that the new electoral rules and qualifications will be more favorable to the Brahmins than the present ones are. There are other considerations too, which lead to the same conclusion. In no province of India do the Brahmins constitute the majority of the population; in no province are they the most numerous caste; in the northern half of India they are certainly not the most prosperous and influential caste; and judging by the percentage of literacy, they are not the most literate caste in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Burma, C. P. and Berar, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. They are the most literate caste in Bombay and Madras. The State has only to make education free and compulsory, and in a decade the non-Brahman castes would show as high a percentage of literacy as the Brahmins even in the two provinces where the Brahmins are the most literate caste.

We do not pretend that all Brahmins and other high caste men are angels; any more than British peers and upper middle class men are angels. Nor do we believe that British costermongers and Indian pariahs are angels. We think it necessary to say at the same time that Brahmins, Pariahs and British peers are not naturally more selfish or worse than other men. We have to see what kind of machinery will produce the greatest good in the long run. We find that the United Kingdom has done tolerably well without communal representation—certainly far better than parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire with communal representation. We, therefore, as practical men, like to follow the British precedent though we may not be able to acquire fame as philanthropists like the *Sydenham gang* and some Christian missionaries.

Bureaucratic Campaign Against the Indian Press

The Burma Government was the first to shut out from its province legally published and circulated newspapers like *New India*, *The Indian Pioneer* and the *Imperial Bazar Patrika*. The Punjab

Government has followed suit and excluded from its province *New India* and the *Commonweal*. The Bombay Government has adopted a different strategy. It has forbidden registered libraries to subscribe for papers like the *New Times*, and some other papers of Hind. In Bengal there is a list of approved newspapers and periodicals out of which alone Government and aided educational institutions may choose any which they want to take. How free we are! We fervently pray that all laws, ordinances, regulations, &c., relating to the press, may for all time to come remain a reserved subject for the bureaucracy.

Government and the Sedition Committee's Report.

The Sedition Committee of 1918, known as the Rowlatt Committee, has submitted its report, and Government has published it. Perhaps Government is now considering what action should be taken on it. We submit for the consideration of the highest officers of the crown a piece of advice which Machiavelli has given to princes. Never let a prince, says he, complain of the faults of the people under his rule for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example.

It may be taken for granted that there has been and is a revolutionary movement confined to a very small section of the population. But nothing happens without a cause. History teaches that in all countries where there have been revolutionary movements, the causes have been political and economic. Government ought to find out these causes in India, and apply remedies which will go to the root of the matter. Without such remedies mere repression will not succeed. And the repressive measures suggested by the Rowlatt Committee are calculated to perpetuate the state of unrest.

The majority of the people of India are not turbulent. Government should seriously consider why even a small fraction of such a people should think of *rising life*, limb and liberty in a hopeless rebellion attempt against one of the most powerful governments in the world. In *The Expansion of England* by Professor J. R. Seeley (Macmillan & Co. 1895) the people of India in the eighties of the last century are thus characterized—

"We find a population which by habit and long tradition is absolutely passive which has been

dragonnaded by foreign Military Governments and the very conception of resistance has been lost. We find also a population which has no sort of unity in which nationalities lie in layers, one under another and languages wholly unlike each other are brought together by composed effects caused by fusion. In other words it is a population well fitted for the present is wholly incapable of any common action. As I said if it had a spark of that corporate life which distinguishes a nation it could not be held in such a grasp as we lay upon it. But there is no immediate prospect of such a corporate life springing up in it.

It is not our purpose to examine in all its details the correctness of what the author says. What we would ask the Government to calmly consider is why among such a population the idea of resistance has taken hold of the mind of even a small fraction and that pre-eminently in a province which Anglo-Indians have always despised for its real or supposed timidity. It will not do to fasten all the blame on the agitators. When people's stomachs are full they cannot be persuaded by even the most gifted agitator to believe that they are hungry. The agitator's words are fruitless unless they fall on fit soil and no student of history need be told what is the fit soil for revolutionary ideas.

The Rowlatt Committee as Historians

The very first sentence of the report of the sedition committee runs thus: 'Republican or Parliamentary forms of government, as at present understood, were neither desired nor known in India till after the establishment of British rule. It is a curiously worded sentence. Can it mean that Republican or Parliamentary forms of government have been known in India after the establishment of British rule? If so, in what sense? In the sense that they are known to exist in India at present? Or in the sense that the people of India have come to know under British rule of the existence of such forms of government in foreign countries? The members of the committee cannot certainly mean that the British people after establishing their rule in India have introduced republican or parliamentary forms of government in this country for that is not a fact and in the Montagu-Chelmsford report the authors say: 'Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government. What the committee mean is that republican or parliamentary forms of government never existed in India. Now that is false as every

schoolboy knows' or ought to know as the fact is mentioned in many English and vernacular textbooks of history. Should the committee lay stress on the words 'as at present understood', that would not give them a loophole of escape. For it is not a peculiarity of India alone that republican or parliamentary forms of government as at present understood did not exist here in past ages. Democracy as at present understood is a thing of modern growth everywhere. *The Encyclopædia Britannica* (article Democracy) tells us that 'Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Rome'. Similarly we learn from *Chambers's Encyclopædia* that 'the modern democracy differs essentially from the ancient and mediæval forms'. Therefore it is as pointless and useless to say that modern democracy was non-existent in ancient India (for it was unknown in all countries), as it would be to say that steamers were unknown in ancient India (for steamers were unknown in all countries in ancient and mediæval times).

An Unfounded Apprehension

Fears have been expressed in some quarters that if the Reform Scheme were subjected to strong criticism the boon might be withdrawn altogether. We have always opposed such beggarly fears. What would be the value of a thing which lay entirely in the power of other people to give or withdraw at pleasure?

But that these fears are quite unfounded would be at once clear from Sir John D. Rees' attitude. His curious speech on the scheme in the House of Commons has been thus summarised by Reuter:—

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahminical garchy that should not be greatly deplored. Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by extremists such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

The logic of Sir John Rees may be briefly put thus: 'Whatever Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant condemn must be a good thing! So those who want to have the scheme the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme have only to criticise it severely to obtain their heart's desire.'

Manhood and Womanhood Suffrage for the Depressed Classes.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak is an orthodox Brahman, a Home Ruler, and the most influential Home Rule leader in the Bombay Presidency. And what does his organ, the *Mahratta*, propose in order to place Brahman oligarchy on an unassailable basis? Why, universal manhood and womanhood suffrage for the Depressed Classes! With reference to the steps recommended by the last session of the Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the elevation of this section of the population, the *Mahratta* has made the following suggestion:—

"In our opinion one most effective way of accelerating the uplift of the depressed brethren of ours is to give every adult man and woman amongst them the municipal and the political franchise. And we feel that Adult Franchise will be a great asset for the untouchables in their efforts to come up to the level of their more fortunate brethren."

Our contemporary is right.

Votes for Women

In India women can become graduates. They already serve in many Government and mercantile offices, and in Government and private educational institutions. They manage large landed estates of their own and some trading concerns, too. They pay taxes, and are as much affected by the laws of the country as men. There is no reason why they should not have the votes. In provinces where the purdah prevails, it is necessary only to appoint qualified women as polling officers, and make suitable arrangements for the identification of the voters. Votes given to women would be calculated to diminish drunkenness, improve the sanitary condition of towns and villages, advance the cause of social purity, spread education among girls and women and make it necessary to pay greater attention to the health, education and general upbringing of children.

Appointment of European Women to High Posts.

If Indian women were appointed to high posts by Government, we would rejoice. But recently three European women have been appointed to high posts, two as professors in Government colleges, one to an assistant secretaryship in Burma. Owing to the paucity of European men to fill vacancies, the ser-

vices of European women have been requisitioned. So they are going to be help-mates of the males in a new way, namely, in the exploitation of India, in sucking her dry. The prospect is gloomy from another point of view, too. For the women of the ruling race are likely to be haughtier and more tyrannical as officers than the men, and if the former get nervous or offended, you have very little hope of obtaining justice at the hands of a male bureaucrat superior in official position to the female bureaucrat.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Message to the Wood National College.

We take from the *Commonweal* the following message which was sent by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Chancellor of the National University, to the boys of the Wood National College, Madanapalle, on the occasion of the reopening of the College, in July, after the vacation:

Every morning the messenger of light comes to the flower buds with the message of hope for their blossoming. Every morning the same light also comes to us raising our curtain of sleep. The only word which it daily repeats to us is, "See." But what is that message of expectation which this word carries? What is that seeing which is as the flowering of our sight? The scene which the light brings before our eyes is inexpressibly great. But our seeing has not been as great as the scene presented to us, we have not fully seen. We have seen mere happenings, but not the deeper truth, which is measureless joy. And yet the morning light daily points its finger to the world. It bends down upon a grass blade with a smile that fills the sky and says to us, "See."

Dr. Nair's Liberty of Speech.

The following telegram will be found very edifying:—

London, August 1.

In the House of Lords, replying to Lord Lamington, Lord Islington said that the Government, after further careful consideration, especially referring to the fact that certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report had decided to release Dr. Nair from his undertaking. Simultaneously, in view of the non-differentiation between Indians holding divergent views, the Government had further considered the case of Mr. Tilak who would shortly arrive in England in connection with a legal case. Mr. Tilak had accepted restrictions, similar on Dr. Nair, but had expressly stated that he reserved the right of appeal to the Government to reconsider his case. The Government proposed, on Mr. Tilak's arrival, further to consider the case regarding any appeal he might make.

The relevant question is not whether certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report and therefore whether others should be allowed to do so or not, but whether Indians of all kinds of political

Had we but ears made pure that we might hear
 Allah ! beyond this flying dust of speech
 The authentic Voice that our vain words eclipse
 Ah ! then the Infinite low murmuring near,
 We might outsing our beggar whine, and reach
 A Godlike utterance on human lips

THE PASSING OF THE BUILDER

I or her alone, love's queen this queenly tomb
 He planned, and for himself in thought essayed
 On Jamuna's thither margin to be laid
 In a severer pomp of kingly gloom
 Ah ! vainly men to fashion fate presume —
 Steadfast through passing empires here unrav'd
 In deathless beauty he himself had made
 D t by her dust, he finds his perfect doom
 Open our eyes, and unto them display,
 Allah ! the hidden Taj that through our strife
 Invisibly we build in passion's fire
 And thought's high sculpturing Grant us each day
 Beautiful burial sweet death in life
 And peace at last beside the Heart's Des re.

JAMES H. COLEBROOKE

HINDU LAW OF STAMPS, COURT FEES AND COSTS

ALL authorities point to the conclusion that a suitor in ancient India was not required to bring his action in a court of justice by the precious payment of a duty in the shape of stamps as court fees just as one has to do in our British Indian Courts nor is it evident that any process fees was levied from him. The king's attendant performed the duties of the peon and process-server. This was due to the fact that a Hindu sovereign regarded it his paramount duty to administer justice without the thought of any remuneration.

Traces of a variety of fines and costs are abundant.

Ordinarily a successful party had to pay nothing to the king. But an unsuccessful party had to pay costs to his successful adversary who in his turn, paid a portion thereof to the king.

A defendant who admitted his debt in the midst of the proceeding paid a fine of five in the hundred. If he denied a claim but if it was subsequently proved to be true, a fine of twice the amount was realised from him (*Manu* VIII 139). A rich and dishonest debtor was dealt with more severely. He was made to pay a fine of twenty per cent (*Varada* Colebrooke's Digest vol I, p 378). In

an undefended or *ex parte* case the fine was five in the hundred, in a contested case it was ten. All these fines went to the royal chest. Yagnavalkya is much to the same effect. He says that although a litigant had not to pay any fees pending the litigation, yet he had to pay some costs after it was over. His statement which has been translated by Colebrooke runs thus:

A debtor shall be forced to pay to the king ten in the hundred of the sum proved against him, and the creditor having received the sum due must pay five in the hundred.

Colebrooke's Digest Vol I, C.C.I. XXV, p 379.

Vishnu also ordains to the same strain. He says that if a creditor sue before the king and fully establish his claim, the debtor shall pay a tenth of the sum proved as due to him, and the plaintiff having realised the sum due shall pay a twentieth part of it.

(Colebrooke's Digest vol I

C.C.L. XXVII p 381)

All those fines it is interesting to note went to the keeping up of the judicial administration of the ancient Hindu sovereigns.

P. C. GHOSH



KAJRI
DANCE AND MUSIC OF THE RAINY SEASON IN HINDUSTHAN
By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Abanindranath Tagore

tombs, among which is conspicuous the massive dark gray mausoleum of Ain ul-mulk. (*Bomb Gaz XXIII*)

The city walls enclose $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles of land, forming an ellipse. After crossing the deep moat, 10 to 50 feet broad, we meet the massive and strong walls, varying in height from 10 to 50 feet, with an average thickness of 20 feet and strengthened with 96 bastions besides ten at the gates. The broad masonry platform, which constitutes the top of the walls all around the fort, was protected inside by a battlemented curtain wall ten feet high running from bastion to bastion and loopholed for artillery and small arms. The strongest bastions are three, namely the Lion Tower (*Sharzi Burg*) on the west, built in 1674 and containing the famous cannon *Mahki Maudan*, the *Landa Kasab Burg* in the south wall, completed in 1662, and armed with the largest gun at Bijapur, and the *Farangi Burg* built by a Portuguese general in 1576 with extreme durability and massiveness. Aurangzib seems to have let the *Sharzi Burg* alone and directed the whole fire of his artillery against the *Landa Kasab* tower, pitted it with shot marks and breached the curtain wall close by. Between this tower and the *Farangi Burg* is the Mangli gate, renamed *Iath Darwazi* after Aurangzib's victorious entrance into the city through it. In the plain outside, some distance south of this gate, stands the tomb of Ikhlas Khan, a convenient advanced post for the besiegers, which changed hands repeatedly during the siege, as its battered condition graphically tells the visitor to this day. As for the five large gateways in the city wall, they were impregnable with the siege appliances known in the 17th century and Aurangzib wisely made no attempt to force them.

In the heart of the city there is an inner fortification, called the *gila ark* or citadel, forming a circle about a mile in circumference and "a perfect treasury of artistic buildings. Its defences are a strong curtain, with, on the south and east, several bastions of considerable strength, a *fausse braye* or rampart mound and ditch, the whole well built and massive. The *fausse braye* is very wide, especially on the north and north west, where a second wet ditch was cut at the foot of the rampart, which on these sides was very low." But "the site of the citadel is unfavourable. It is

almost the lowest part of the city and is commanded by the rising ground on the north west, on which is built the *Uprsi Burg*. It seems unlikely that such a citadel could have ever stood for any time against an enemy armed with artillery who had forced the city fortifications." But all the royal palaces and public offices of the Adil Shihis were situated within this inner enclosure. (*Bomb Gaz XXIII*)

BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE

The Mughals began their siege operations on 1st April, 1655, when Ruhullah Khan and Qasim Khan opened trenches on the Shihpur or N. W. side, half a mile from the fort wall, with a large tank in their rear, while Khan-i-Jahan ran his approaches near Zuhrapur or Kasulpur in the west, a mile from the wall, enjoying the shelter of his large suburb. The supporting army of Prince Azam was posted far in the rear, on the bank of the Bhima,* where the Bijapuris under Sharza attacked it early in April, but were routed with heavy loss.

The Emperor felt it necessary to go nearer to the scene of war. On 26th April he left Ahmadnagar and on 24th May reached Sholapur, which continued as his headquarters till next year. But at first the Mughal operations were languidly carried on, of the two generals of the siege army, Khan-i-Jahan was sent off to Indr, to watch the road from Hyderabad, on 29th May, and Ruhullah Khan to Ahmadnagar early in July. Prince Azam arrived with a large army on 14th June and took over the supreme command, halting at the Begam Hauz, due south of the city. A fortnight later he came nearer the fort and began to advance his trenches, run mines and raise batteries.

The Mughals were proverbially slow and clumsy in taking forts by siege. The soil round Bijapur was, in addition, extremely hard, only a foot or two below the surface one strikes solid rock (*B S 452*). The Mughal advance was, therefore, extremely slow and laborious. And the garrison gave them no rest. Following the time honoured Deccani plan of war, Adil Shah kept 30,000 men in the fort for resisting the besiegers, while another and equally large army was sent out to cut the Mughal communications.

* M 4 256 gives Tungbhadra which is impossible. I suggest the Bhima.

and raid the imperial territory. For more than a year after its commencement the siege of Bijapur was in no sense an investment. The Mughals simply made lodgements in the suburbs at two points and tried to batter down or undermine the wall opposite. It was beyond their power to hem the fort round and prevent all ingress and egress. The garrison sallied out whenever they liked, and attacked the siege trenches, while reinforcements and provisions freely entered the fort from outside.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE BESIEGERS

Allies began to flock to Adil Shah in his distress. On 10th June Siddi Masaud's contingent arrived in response to a pathetic appeal written by Sikandar on 18th April. Next, a Golkonda force, under Ambaji Pandit, arrived on 14th August, and finally on 10th December a second army from Shambhuj under Hambir Rao. But the last corps was sent away a few days afterwards to create a useful diversion by ravaging the Mughal dominions,—a task more congenial to the Maratha spirit and military capacity.

In the meantime the Mughal cause had been further weakened by an open rupture with Golkonda, when Aurangzib with all his efforts could not avert. Before beginning the siege of Bijapur, he had warned Qutb Shah not to help Sikandar in any way, if he cared for his own throne (*JBS* 448). As early as July 1684 Sikandar had appealed to Abul Hassan for a defensive alliance, and four months later his envoy had returned from Golkonda after winning over the prime minister Madanna Pandit to the wise policy of all the Deccan Powers standing side by side against the spoiler from the North. Qutb Shah's chivalry was also touched by the distress of a brother king who was a mere lad of sixteen.

Arrived at Sholapur, Aurangzib had sent a small force under Bahramand Khan to watch the Golkonda side, (24th May, 1685). He soon intercepted a letter from Qutb Shah to his agents at the Mughal court, promising to send 40,000 men to the help of Sikandar and urging Shambhu to do the same. This new situation had to be met at once, and therefore on 28th June Shah Alam was sent with a large army to invade Haidarabad, though the Emperor knew that "this dispersion of

forces was sure to cause delay and obstruction to the enterprise against Bijapur." Khan-i-Jahan who was holding the outpost of Indi, 30 miles N.E. of Bijapur, to guard the route of supplies for the investing army of Azam, was ordered to join Shah Alam (*MA* 259 261).

Prince Azam had reached the neighbourhood of Bijapur (29th June, 1685) and infused more vigour into the siege, but the garrison were no less active. In less than a month he had to fight three severe battles with them. On 1st July his trenches were assailed by Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan and several Mughal officers were wounded and slain, while the explosion* of the Prince's powder magazine destroyed 500 foot musketeers (*MA* 262, *BS* 450). Next day the Deccanis fell on the supplies coming to the siege camp and evidently cut it off. On 25th July a Mughal foraging party was attacked with heavy loss near Mangali, 16 miles south of the city.

FAMINE

Nor were the Bijapuris the only enemy that Azam had to face. A famine broke out in his camp, the over-ravaged neighbourhood of Bijapur could yield no food supply, the roads from the north were closed by the activity of the Marathas and the flooded streams, as the rainy season had now set in. Grain sold at Rs 15 a seer, and that too in small quantities" (*Dil* 198). The hungry soldiers ate up their draught cattle and camels, and then began to pine away through lack of food and sleep, because they had to be ever on the alert to repel the daily sorties of the garrison and the attacks of the Bijapuri held army roving in the open. "No food came from any side. The soldiers were greatly weakened and many of them died" (*BS* 450, *MA* 263).

For lack of men the Mughal outpost at Indi, midway between Sholapur and Bijapur, had been withdrawn, and thus the road from the base to the siege camp was closed (*Dil* 198, *MA* 266). Aurangzib saw no other means of saving his son than by ordering him to retire from Bijapur with his army. The Prince held a council of war, and told his chief officer

* *Dikshu* 201 says that the explosion took place after Aurangzib's arrival at Bijapur, and that the sound of it was heard distinctly at Naldurg, 38 kos off.

Ali Khan, "The work of the campaign depends upon the co-operation of my officers. I have received this order from the Emperor. Your advice on the question of war or peace, haste or delay, is a weighty thing. What is your opinion in the present case?" They all voted for a retreat. But the Prince's spirit had been roused, he would not reduce himself to the level of his rival Shah Alam, who had recently come back from the Konkan covered with dismal failure. Turning to his officers, Azam exclaimed, 'You have spoken for yourselves. Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begam will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my *corpse* to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like.' Then the council of war cried out with one voice, 'Our opinion is the same as your Highness's!' (M 1 263 264)

MUGHALS REINFORCED

When this Spartan resolution of his son was reported to Aurangzib he at once took steps to send relief. All the grain dealers in his camp with their 5 000 pack oxen were despatched to convey food, some treasure loaded on many hundred spare remounts, and much munition. A strong escort under Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang left the imperial camp with the party on 4th October 1685 and fought its way to the famished army. Sharza Khan at the head of 8000 cavalry, barred their path at Indi,* and during the encounter a detachment of Deccani horse made a swoop and carried off 500 oxen with their loads, from the centre of the Mughal host. But finally the enemy were repulsed though with the loss of some imperial officers.

The arrival of Firuz Jang 'turned scarcity into plenty in the Mughal camp, and the famished soldiers revived.' His next success was the cutting off of a force of 6000 Bedar infantry, each man carrying a bag of provisions on his head which Pid Nayak tried to smuggle into the fort at night. Firuz Jang, informed of the position of these men by his spies 'fell on them before daybreak and not one of them

escaped the Mughal sword." The outpost of Indi was re-established in the middle of October and communication between Bijapur and Sholapur was made secure again (M A 265-6).

The outlook now brightened for the imperialists in other quarters too. Early in October, Hadarabad, the capital of Qutb Shah, was entered by Shah Alam unopposed, and its ruler was driven to shut himself up in Golkonda. Many of his officers deserted to Shah Alam, and the King wrote to Aurangzib offering submission. The Mughal control over the Qutb Shahi State was confirmed in March, 1686, when the prime minister Madanna Pandit—who had pursued a policy of alliance with Bijapur and the Marathas,—was murdered. On 7th June Shah Alam rejoined his father, bringing tribute from Golkonda.

AURANGZIB GOES TO THE SIEGE

By this time the siege of Bijapur had dragged on for 15 months with no decisive result. On 2nd November 1685 the Mughals had captured an elevated gun platform near Bijapur and seem to have drawn their lines closer round the city. (Ishwardas, 98a.) But discord and mutual jealousy broke out among their commanders. The Bijapuris, undismayed by the immense superiority of the Mughal armaments and the confusion and faction fights in their own government, continued to offer a stubborn opposition, destroying the Mughal trenches and driving them back from the walls (B S 450). The Emperor realised that unless he took the command in person, the fort would not fall. As he told a holy Shaikh of Sarhind, "I had hoped that one of my sons would take the fort, but it is not to be. So, I want to go there myself and see what kind of barrier is this Bijapur that it has not been forced so long." (M A 276.) On 14th June 1686 he left Sholapur and on 3rd July reached Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort. Orders were at once issued to press the siege vigorously. "He ordered Firuz Jang and the Chief of Artillery to work even harder at night than in the day, and advance the trenches. The circumference of the fort was divided into sections and distributed among his generals for investment." (B S 451.) Working under their master's eyes the sappers carried the galleries to the edge of the moat in a

* K. K. I 317 gives a graphic account of this battle. Ishwardas 97b D/ 199 says that it was fought at *Wagthan* M 1 264—J.

short time and the city was completely beleaguered. But even then it took him 70 days more to capture it.

The Emperor had brought Shah Alam from Sholapur, and with Shah Alam he had imported the chronic rivalry of his sons into the siege. This Prince, now the eldest, commanded the sector opposite the north-western or Shihpurgate and wanted to steal a march over his brother Azam, the general in charge of the siege. During his long viceroyalty of the Deccan, Shah Alam had always been friendly to the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, and he now opened a correspondence with Sikandar Adil Shah and his officers to effect the peaceful surrender of the fort and thus rob Azam of the credit of being called the captor of Bijapur. One of his confidential officers, Shah Quli, even used to enter the fort in secret to negotiate with the garrison, while Syed Alam, the agent of Sikandar, used to visit the Prince in return. "It was impossible for these intrigues to remain a secret, with a jealous rival like Azam Shih watching close at hand. The drunken ruffian and babbler Shah Quli, when visiting the trenches to change the guards, used to shout to the Bijapuris on the wall, 'These are your friends. Take care not to shoot your muskets, artillery and stones this way.' The matter became the talk of the camp and reached the ears of Muhammad Azam Shah and of the Emperor." (K K II 320-321) Shah Quli was arrested and put to torture and betrayed the whole plot and the names of his accomplices among the Prince's servants. Shah Alam was censured, but he disavowed Shah Quli. Some of the officers incriminated were thrown into prison and the others were expelled from the camp,* (28th Aug.) and the Emperor's heart grew bitter against his eldest surviving son (M A 293, Ishwardas, 100b 101a).

SUFFERINGS OF THE BESIEGED

The result of this silly backdoor diplomacy was to 'throw the Bijapur enterprise into confusion.' The sufferings of the besiegers were aggravated by a scarcity which was raging in the Deccan on

account of the failure of rain that year (K K II 317). But the sufferings of the besieged were ten times worse. The Mughals could now draw their supplies from all parts of India, the Bijapuris had to depend solely on their sterile neighbourhood. As the lines of investment were drawn closer round the city, the supply failed altogether. 'Countless men and horses died within the fort', and from lack of horses the Deccanis could not follow their favourite tactics of hovering round the enemy and cutting off stragglers and transport (K K II 322, DII 202).

In the extremity of the siege, a deputation of Muslim theologians issued from the city and waited upon Aurangzib in his camp, pleading, "You are an orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the *Qur'an* and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us, how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzib was ready with his reply, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infernal infidel (meaning Shambhuji) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." (B S 453) The scholars were reduced to silence.

Shortly after Aurangzib's arrival the sap had been carried to the edge of the moat, but the filling up of the ditch seemed an impossible task. "From the fort walls the artillery struck down whosoever reached the edge of the ditch. None durst show his head. For three months the broad and deep moat remained unfilled. Then it was proclaimed that every man throwing a basket of earth into the moat would get four annas for it. But when many of the men were struck down the labourers gave up the work. Then one Rupee and finally one gold coin was given as reward for throwing one basket of clay. The work was now done incessantly. Every man or beast that died was dragged and flung into the ditch. Nay more, some godless work people, inspired by greed, threw

* M A 293 says that some of these secret couriers were executed.

† Ishwardas draws a lurid picture of the famine of grain and fodder in the Mughal camp and the consequent epidemic of fever and flux. But the official

history and *Dilkasha* (whose author was present in the camp by deputy) are silent about it. I fear that Ishwardas has transferred to the siege of Bijapur what happened at the siege of Golkonda.

living men and women into the ditch and took away their money! By dint of hard exertion many of the trenches were carried to the moat and it was almost filled up" (Ishwardas, 101b)

When this stage was reached, Aurangzib on 4th September advanced his tent from two miles in the rear to a place immediately behind the trenches. Thither he rode fully armed, by a covered lane, and received the salute of the investing officers. Next he rode to the edge of the moat to inspect the battery raised to command the fort bastion and to learn for himself why the conquest was delayed. The Mughal troops inspired by the Emperor's presence and words, attempted an assault on the wall opposite. But it failed. The Bijapuris fired briskly at him and his cortege inflicting much loss" (Ishwardas, 102a BS 452, M 1 278)

THE FALL OF THE LAST ADIL SHAH

Bijapur fell a week after this date but not to assault. At these proofs of the grim determination of Aurangzib and the completeness of his preparations the garrison lost heart. The cause of the Adil Shahi monarchy was hopeless: the king was a plaything in the hands of selfish nobles; the administration could not possibly be reformed; the dynasty could not be restored to real power and prosperity, and all hope of help from outside was gone. The future was absolutely dark. For what master and with what prospects would the Bijapuri generals continue their resistance to the bitter end? Even to Sikandar Adil Shah himself it was hardly a change for the worse to pass from being the puppet of his 'mayors of the palace' to become the pensioner of Aurangzib.

So judging, Sikandar and his officers decided on capitulation, as the only means of preventing useless bloodshed (BS 452). 'The garrison had by this time been reduced to 2000 men' (Dil 203). In the night of 9th September the secretaries of the two Bijapuri leaders, Nawab Abdur Kauf and Sharza Khan, waited on Firuz Jang and discussed terms. Next night their masters themselves visited the Mughal general and agreed on behalf of Sikandar to yield the fort. On the 11th they repeated the visit and were introduced to Aurangzib who received them with favour.

Sunday 12th September, 1686 saw the

downfall of the Bijapur monarchy. Amidst the tears and lamentations of her subjects who lined the streets, Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahi sultans, gave up his ancestors' throne and issued from the capital of his house, at one o'clock in the afternoon, in charge of Rao Dalpat Bundela and some other imperial officers whom Firuz Jang had sent into the fort. The fallen monarch cast a last look at the royal city, henceforth to be widowed of her lord, and passed out of the Shahi gate (of the citadel) towards Aurangzib's camp in Rasulpur. As soon as he came in sight, the imperial band struck up the music of triumph proclaiming far and wide the crowning success of Mughal arms. Firuz Jang with many other nobles of high rank advanced to the gate to welcome the captive and lead him to the Emperor.

Meantime the large tent which served as the Hall of Public Audience in Aurangzib's camp had been richly decorated for this historic scene. "All the high grandees and *mansabdars*, great and small, had by order come fully armed to the Hall and each taken his stand at his proper place. Bahram and Khira, the superintendent of the Private Audience Chamber, marshalled the ranks and regulated the ceremony" (Ishwar, 104a). When Sikandar arrived at the door of the tent, the Chief Paymaster, Ruhullah Khan, with a train of high officers, welcomed him and ushered him into the Presence. The fallen monarch made his bow at the foot of the conqueror's throne. His extreme beauty and combined grace of youth and royalty excited universal admiration and pity for his fate. Even Aurangzib was touched: he spoke soothingly to Sikandar, 'God's grace be on you! You have acted wisely and chosen your own good. I shall exalt you with many favours and gifts. Be composed in mind.' Then he seated Sikandar on his right hand, close to his grandson Muiz-uddin and presented him with a gorgeous robe of honour, a dagger set with jewels, worth Rs 7000, a pearl necklace with an emerald pendant, worth Rs 13,000, a jewelled crest (*kalgi*), and a costly mace. The deposed sultan was enroiled among the Mughal peers with the title of *Khan* (lord) and a pension of one lakh of Rupees a year was settled on him. The Princes and nobles present shouted their congratulations and made the customary presents to the Emperor.

After the vesper prayer, Sikandar was given leave to retire and was conducted to the tents erected for him and his family within the enclosure of the imperial residence. All the Bijapur officers were taken over into Mughal service, their chiefs, Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan, were created 6 *hazars* with the titles of Dilir Khan and Rustam Khan respectively. Imperial officers took possession of Bijapur and attached Sikandar's property.

AURANGZIB ENTERS BIJAPUR

A week afterwards, Aurangzib's tent was removed from Rasulpur to a tank a mile outside the Alapur gate. That day (19th September) the victor, seated on a portable throne, rode into the fort by way of the trenches of Saf Shikan Khan and the southern or Mangali gate, which had once been chosen for the assault. Along the roads of the city he marched, scattering handfuls of gold and silver coins right and left, and viewed the fort walls and bastions and the palaces within the citadel. Then he went to the Jama Masjid and rendered two fold prayers to God for His favours. In Sikandar's palace he rested for some hours and received congratulatory offerings from his courtiers. All paintings on the wall drawn in violation of the Quranic law that man should not presumptuously vie with his Creator by depicting living beings, were ordered to be erased, and an inscription recording Aurangzib's victory was placed on the famous cannon *Mahimaidan*. In the evening the Emperor returned to his camp amidst a salvo of artillery. The Mangali Gate was repaired and newly named the Gate of Victory (*Fath Darwaza*).

BIJAPUR IN RUIN

Complete desolation settled on the city of Bijapur after the fall of its independent dynasty. From a royal capital it became the seat of a provincial governor. The revenue of a kingdom was no longer spent on it, there was no resident royalty or nobility to foster the fine arts, no court to maintain a vast crowd of idle but cultured dependents. Two years after its conquest, a terrible plague swept away more than half its population. A few years later, Bhimsen noticed how the city and its equally large suburb Naurasapur looked deserted and ruined, the population was scattered, and even the abundant water

supply in the city wells had suddenly grown scanty! (*Dil* 203, *MA* 310). Bijapur had formerly been a city of splendid sepulchres, and it henceforth continued as a dismal example of departed greatness,—a vast city covered with long lines of fallen houses, ruined mansions and lonely patches of jungle, stretching far and near in a waste whose desolation glimpses of noble buildings, some fairly preserved, others in ruins, make the more striking. Half its interior is a dreary waste, with almost nothing save fallen palaces and roofless dwellings overgrown with custard apple and other wild shrubs, while an occasional unharmed tomb or mosque makes the surrounding desolation the more complete. "Mournful as is the desolation, the picturesque beauty of the buildings, the fine old trees and the mixing of hoary ruins and perfect buildings form an ever changing and impressive scene" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii, 568, 573). Above the whole scene the lofty domes of many finely tombs brood in silent but winless reverence upon the buried royalty and departed greatness of a city that was the queen of Southern India for a century.

DEATH OF SIKANDAR ADIL SHAH

We may here conveniently follow the last Adil Shahi Sultan to his grave. After being carried about in the Emperor's train for some time, and begging in vain for the trans Krishna district of his late kingdom to be given to him as a fief, he was lodged in the state prison of Daulatabad. Here is a few small apartments almost overhanging the steep bare side of the hill, he sighed out many years of his life in the company of a brother in misery, Abul Hassan, the deposed sultan of Golkonda. Later he was carried about with the camp of Aurangzib, a captive within the limits of the *gulaibar* tents, in the keeping of Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur. In this condition he died on 3rd April, 1700, at the foot of Satara Fort, which Aurangzib was then besieging (*Akhbarat*, 44/52). He had not even completed 32 years. Having ascended the throne when a boy of four only, he had passed 14 years as an impotent puppet in the hands of his ministers and another fourteen years as Aurangzib's prisoner. (*BS* 453)

* *BS*, 455 tells a story that Aurangzib murdered Sikandar by means of a poisoned melon, in order

According to Sikandar's dying wish his mortal remains were carried to Byapur and buried at the foot of the sepulchre of his spiritual guide Shaikh Ishaqullah in a roofless enclosure. As the bier of the last of the Adil Shahs entered the capital of his fathers the whole city went into mourning, thousands of women wept, broke their bracelets and performed such

to deprive the old Adil Shahs officers the plea of that they had a master other than Aurangzib. The story has a Marathi ring and finds a place in *Star and Moon* (1913). The author of *DS* qualifies his statement by uttering the pious cry: "The burden of the people lies on the moral narrator."

other ceremonies as if they had been widowed. (B.S. 135)

And well they might do so. True, their king had been deposed fourteen years ago and during his whole reign he had never governed by his own will. But under him they had at least had a king of their own; they had formed a nation and an independent State instead of being a mere province of an alien empire ruled by a mere officer who had to take his orders from a capital a thousand miles distant. Even a subject race I venture not to brand alone.

JADUNATH SARKAR

THE MILK SUPPLY OF CALCUTTA: ITS HYGIENIC, COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

By CHUNILAL BOSHISO MURFES

Hygienic and Commercial Aspects

MEASURES RECOMMENDED FOR
IMPROVED AND INCREASED
SUPPLY

SO long as the present conditions of the housing and milking of cows will continue the public of Calcutta can not avoid drinking more or less dirty milk.

SOURCES OF INFECTION

The cowsheds are generally filthy, over-crowded, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. The floors often remain thickly covered with a mixture of decomposing dung and urine and the animals stand sit or lie down thereon for 24 hours. A thick crust of dried excreta could always be seen on the udders and bodies of the animals which are seldom properly washed. An offensive smell could always be noticed on entering a cowshed. Swarms of flies and mosquitoes complete the picture of an average cowshed in a gowala bustee in Calcutta. Milk is drawn morning and evening in these dirty insanitary holes by men wearing dirty clothes and with unwashed hands and it is collected in dirty vessels. The rubbing of the hands on the dirt-laden udder of the animal during milking and the incessant lashing of the tail to

drive off flies and mosquitoes cause many a particle of excreta to drop into the freshly drawn milk and make it unsafe and unfit as food.

The enforcement of the Municipal regulations in Calcutta has undoubtedly improved to some extent the state of matters so far as the housing of cows is concerned but the men, the animals and the milk pots do not show any appreciable sign of improvement in their sanitary conditions. Perhaps the deep-rooted idea among the Hindus that cow-dung far from being filthy is a purifying substance has much to account for the indifference of the gowalas to take proper precautions against contamination of milk by the filth of the animals. Then again the fact that hands are universally used in this country for taking food makes people think lightly of the general habit of touching food by hand and this might account for the practice with the gowalas of dipping their dirty hands with the measuring pot into the milk can without for a moment realising the objectionable feature of the act. Moreover the cleansing of a vessel with water irrespective of its source and character is usually considered sufficient to ensure its cleanliness. These ideas and practices have grown hoary with age and cannot be easily eradicated. They are

largely responsible for the contamination of milk in the gowals house they can be removed only by long continued education and training

The milk is transported in wide mouthed open vessels to the place of sale or delivery and there it remains uncovered until disposed of. Dust and dirt of all kinds easily have access into it. Flies from doubtful quarters come and sit upon it and offensive smelling gases get absorbed by it. In order to prevent spilling during transport green date palm leaves or bundles of straw are often put into the can and this constitutes an additional source of infection.

MODEL DAIRIES

To give the gowals an opportunity to learn how to produce clean milk one or two model dairies on a small scale should be started in Calcutta under the direct management of the Corporation and the local gowals should be encouraged to visit these places and see with their own eyes the work done there in detail. Prizes in the shape of money or cattle should be annually given to men who keep clean cow sheds and clean animals and who produce milk under most cleanly conditions. The Municipality can run stalls of its own to sell the produce of these model dairies which should form in the main so many training schools for the gowals but there will be no dearth of local market for the produce. The Bagbazar model dairy did not succeed because the authorities wanted the gowals to keep their cows in it which they could not agree to do for obvious reasons. The cows are usually looked after in the houses of the gowals by their women folk, this could not conveniently be done in a public dairy, and hence no gowal could be induced to take his cows there. He would gladly come and learn the improved methods of producing milk in a model dairy but would not, on grounds of economy, convenience and social customs remove his cows there.

It is no doubt very desirable on both sanitary and economic grounds, that all cow sheds and dairies should be removed outside the town as has been suggested by Major Watson and the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation in their able reports on the subject of milk supply in Calcutta, but I am afraid that it will take a

long time before this scheme can be completely carried out. In the mean time we must not sit idle and allow the existing unsatisfactory state of things to continue. We must educate the people concerned in the trade how to produce milk under the best hygienic conditions and the model dairies suggested above will go a great way to help us in attaining this object. It cannot be denied that there are serious social and financial difficulties in the way of the gowals leaving their family homesteads and settling themselves in strange places outside Calcutta to carry on their trade. It will take some time for them to get over their scruples and difficulties and to understand and appreciate the undoubted advantages of removing their trade outside Calcutta as advised by experts. But I believe that the moral and educative influence of the model dairies I have suggested will help a great deal to solve the difficult problem of the rural emigration of the gowala population from the city into the country.

GRAZING GROUND

It is often and often found that as soon as a cow gives up milk, the gowals try to sell her to butchers to avoid the expenses of maintaining the animal until her next milking period and to make room for another milch cow in his already over crowded cow shed. As they generally buy cows of good breed yielding a fairly large quantity of milk such practice causes serious waste of cattle of good milking capacity and stops perpetuation of their species. The gowals are compelled to take to this wasteful practice for financial reasons only, and it could be prevented by devising some means by which they could maintain the cows at the least possible cost and inconvenience during their dry period. This can be effected by starting grazing farms by private enterprise, where these cows can be taken and cared for till their next milking period at a reasonable cost. Attempts have been made by certain philanthropic societies to start a few grazing farms near Calcutta. These I am told, have not proved successful and I have grave doubts as to whether such an undertaking will ever succeed unless managed on sound business methods and principles. Here is a field open to my countrymen for launching a new business with moderate capital which may

ultimately develop into a prosperous concern

A new joint stock company has I understand just been started under the name 'The Cattle Preserving Company Ltd' at 10, Old Post Office Street Calcutta, with the object of supplying pure milk at a comparatively cheap rate in Calcutta. They also propose to provide for extensive grazing grounds near Calcutta where cattle will be taken care of at a small cost during dry period.

DAIRY FARM

To ensure pure milk supply in Calcutta on a large scale one or more big dairy farms should be started outside Calcutta on the joint stock company principle. A large piece of land should be secured where the cattle will be located for fodder crops will be cultivated and sufficient ground set apart for the grazing of the cattle. It should be near a railway station to ensure quick transport of the produce and should be under the management of an expert assisted by one or more competent veterinary assistants and chemists. It should be provided with a laboratory for both chemical and bacteriological analysis of milk and a veterinary hospital and laboratory for treatment of sick animals diagnosis of cattle disease and manufacture of vaccines and should possess adequate arrangements for pasteurisation of milk. All milk should be produced there under approved sanitary conditions pasteurised and then sent out for sale in sterilised locked cans with taps for drawing out the milk. Besides milk the manufacture of other milk products such as cream butter fresh milk curd (chhana) curdled milk (dahi) condensed milk and dried milk for which there is such a large demand among the Indian community may be attempted if surplus milk is available.

It has been suggested that a dairy farm of this kind should be organised by the Calcutta Corporation and conducted under its direct control. While admitting that there are certain advantages in this proposal, I am doubtful whether it could be run on the same economic scales as by a well organised private company and thus one of the chief aims viz the cheapening of the supply, will not be attained. Moreover, the present time is very opportune for a private enterprise of this kind. The national consciousness has been roused

and a general awakening is visible from one end of the country to the other. Educated India has begun to recognise the stern fact that for the salvation of the country the methods hitherto pursued will not do that commerce and industry must be developed and that he himself has to play a very important part in the economic evolution of the country. He has begun to appreciate the benefits of a co-operative system of working and has learnt to value the dignity of labour. He has demonstrated his capacity as an organiser in various departments of life, and he had never before put a stronger faith in his own capability and honour. Now a little help from the Government in the way of advice guidance and special training will make him fit to conduct even big enterprises with credit to himself and prosperity to his country. Before starting a dairy farm he must get himself thoroughly initiated into the work by serving necessary periods of apprenticeship in Government and other well conducted dairies. Many of our industries have failed because of the lack of expert knowledge and business training and capacity in those who were responsible for their management and any new industry started should keep clear of these pitfalls. Capital for the enterprise will not be wanting if capable workers are available. A private company starting a big dairy farm will certainly be at a greater disadvantage in the beginning than one started by Government or by a rich Municipality like the Calcutta Corporation with so much wealth resources and prestige at their command but I have no doubt that with the friendly help of Government and the Calcutta Corporation it will before long turn into a prosperous concern and will succeed in solving satisfactorily the difficult problem of the milk supply of Calcutta. In the interest of development of trade by private enterprise, I do not like to see such a dairy farm started either by the Calcutta Municipality or by Government, as either of them will be a formidable competitor and the natural growth of private enterprise will suffer much. I shall have to speak a few words later on about the establishment of smaller dairies on co-operative lines.

IMPROVEMENT OF BREED

To ensure an increased supply of milk and at a cheaper rate the first and the

it by the middle men and the Mahajan. The actual producers are bound by contract to supply milk at a low unremunerative rate to the middle men who bring the milk within the easy reach of the citizens of Calcutta. The owners of the cattle thus get a mere subsistence allowance for all their labour and no wonder they take no interest in the welfare of the cattle. Consequently there has been a steady decline in the number as well as in the milk producing capacity of cattle while the few middle men are growing rich at the expense of the actual producers.

It was about a year ago that the question of the supply of pure milk in this city came to be considered by the Co-operative Department. Many proposals were made and after well matured consideration and on expert advice the Department arrived at the conclusion that the only way of supplying pure milk to the city which would at the same time benefit the milk producers themselves was to eliminate the middle men altogether and to engender a sense of enlightened self interest in the producers by organising them into Co-operative societies. These societies are on share basis. The shares are purchased exclusively by the milk producers who are the members of these societies. The entire management of the Association is in the hands of the milk producers themselves under the supervision of the Co-operative Department. The producers sell their milk to the Association individually at a fixed price and it is disposed of in the city collectively by the Association under the supervision of the Co-operative Department. In addition to the remunerative rate (Rs. 7 to 7.8 per maund of 50 seers) the milk producers get a profit by way of bonus. The milk is sold in Calcutta at the rate of Rs. 10 per maund of 40 seers. There are at present 8 such Co-operative societies in the Baraset subdivision in the 24 Parganas and they send out collectively 8 maunds of milk daily to Calcutta for sale. These societies are so many training grounds for the milk producers who acquire first hand knowledge of the art of management of the milk business. The direct benefit which the milk producers derive by such organisation evokes in them a sense of enlightened self interest and of mutual self help. To prevent adulteration the Societies have employed milkers who are generally men

of probity and the purity of milk is tested before sale both at the office of the Societies and at the milk-depot. After a careful working for a period of six months it is found that the individual members of the Societies who are themselves the producers, have made a profit of 10 per cent over what they used to get from the middle men. The cattle which were generally neglected are being well cared for and that a sense of consciousness that cattle is a part of their wealth and that cattle like children are all the better for individual attention is apparent among them. Further this system of keeping a small number of cattle in separate sheds under the individual care of the cultivators indirectly serves the purpose of segregation during outbreaks of epidemics.

The speedy supply of milk thus produced to the consumers in Calcutta is at present a difficult problem and may be solved by the Calcutta Corporation coming to the help of these Societies and the citizens of Calcutta by lending a motor lorry to fetch the milk and distribute it in the city as speedily as possible. The Co-operative Department has reluctantly to refuse registration of many such societies on account of this trouble and I would earnestly appeal to the Corporation of Calcutta to give this matter their best consideration. These Societies may be expected to pay a reasonable portion of the cost of maintaining the lorry for the present but it is hoped that as they grow they will be able to defray the whole expenses of transport by themselves.

I am indebted to Babu Narendranath Basu, Inspector of Co-operative Societies for information on this subject.

PASTEURISATION VS. BOILING

The process of pasteurisation consists in heating the milk in a suitable apparatus at a temperature of 60° to 65° C. for about half an hour and cooling it quickly thereafter. This will kill all ordinary bacteria but will not destroy *sporing* forms and *spores*. The one form of bacteria (*Bacillus enteritidis sporogenes*) which is responsible for cases of food poisoning is not affected in its spore form by the temperature of pasteurisation. These *spores* can only be killed by *boiling* the milk (100° C.). Too much reliance therefore must not be placed on the process of pasteurisation. The only safe

course to make milk free from infection is to boil the milk. This is universally practised in Indian houses and should never be omitted in European households. There is no doubt a difference of opinion regarding the digestibility and absorption of boiled milk. It has been held by some that boiled milk is less easily digested and absorbed than raw milk and the drinking of such milk might give rise to certain diseases such as scurvy etc. The entire absence of scurvy among the Indian people who always drink boiled milk militates against the latter theory. Then the first part of the theory also has been questioned by high authorities on dietetics. I shall quote for your information an extract from a standard book called 'The Food and the Principles of Dietetics' by Robert Hutchinson who is a high English authority on the subject. He writes —

'The comparative absorption of boiled and unboiled milk has been the subject of a good deal of experimental investigation. Taking the whole of the evidence the conclusion seems to be justified that just as boiling does not appreciably diminish the digestibility of milk in the stomach, so it does not to any important extent interfere with its absorption in the intestine. One need have no fear, therefore, that the advantages of boiling are purchased at the cost of any noteworthy diminution of digestibility or absorption.'

I have already mentioned that too much reliance should not be placed on the process of pasteurisation. Even when it is thoroughly done the milk cannot be considered as wholly free from infection. One of its great advocates, Dr. Savage, in his excellent treatise on 'Milk and the Public Health' while recommending the process, makes the following important observations as regards the difficulty in carrying it out —

'Much commercial pasteurisation is inefficiently done. It is a procedure involving an accurate adjustment of time and temperature and frequently being apt to be performed by careless and unskilled person, the so called 'practical man', it is very insufficiently done. It is likely to be more harmful than beneficial unless the practice is rigidly supervised and the conditions under which it may be employed regulated.'

If so much difficulty is experienced in

working out the process in England, its chances of success in India are very doubtful and "would lead to neglect of general sanitary precautions under the belief that it would be an efficient substitute for cleanliness." Under the circumstances, in India, the boiling of milk is the simplest and the safest procedure for its perfect sterilisation and should never be abandoned or neglected.

Hutchinson expresses himself very strongly on the habit of drinking raw milk. He says that 'there is every reason to advocate the habitual application of one or other of these methods (pasteurisation or boiling) to milk before it is consumed as food, and one looks forward to the day when the drinking of raw milk will be considered as barbarous a custom as the eating of raw meat is at present.'

FIXING THE STANDARD VALUES OF PURITY

I shall now briefly consider the question what should be the minimum standard values of purity of cow's milk in India. At the present moment there is no authoritative standard, and in cases of dispute in Courts of Law, the English standard of 3 per cent fat is generally accepted. But any one who has even a limited experience in analysis of milk in this country will unhesitatingly pronounce this to be too low a standard for milk of Indian cows and that its acceptance would largely encourage the practice of adulteration. The percentage of fat in the milk of even ordinary Indian cows seldom falls below 3.5, and in the case of well bred and well cared for animals, it is often above 5. Only recently, 40 samples of milk of known purity from Bengal and Nagora cows were analysed at the Municipal laboratory in Calcutta, and in one of them only, the percentage of fat was 3.5, in some samples, it rose as high as 6, but the average was 5.2. If 3 per cent of fat is accepted as the minimum standard of purity, most cow's milk in Calcutta would allow from 30 to 40 per cent adulteration with water and yet pass as pure milk under the eye of law. From my own experience extending over 32 years in the Government laboratory in Calcutta, I can safely say that we would not go wrong if we fix 1 per cent as the minimum limit of fat in pure cow's milk, and there is enormous weight of evidence to show that it would not be a high limit at all. In

however to proceed cautiously in the matter I would for the present recommend the fixing of 3 per cent of fat and 8.5 per cent of solids other than fat as the minimum standard values of purity of cow's milk, and any sample of milk showing a lower percentage should be considered as adulterated. Major Watson in his admirable report has dwelt upon this question and has condemned the 3 per cent standard as too low. He also recommends 3.5 per cent of fat as the minimum standard of purity for cow's milk and the Health Department of Calcutta has adopted this standard.

In framing a standard for this country there is one difficulty namely, that we have to deal with two kinds of milk in the Indian market, viz cow's milk and buffalo's milk the percentage of fat in the latter as I have mentioned before being nearly double of that in the former. The fixing of two standards would be difficult of operation in practice and cannot therefore be recommended. Pure buffalo milk should not contain less than 5 per cent of fat and less than 10 per cent of solids other than fat. By accepting the standard I have recommended viz 3.5 per cent of fat and 8.5 per cent of solids other than fat, buffalo milk with about 25 per cent of water added will pass for cow's milk but this need not cause any dissatisfaction as such milk may be considered as equivalent to good cow's milk.

The absence of an authoritative standard of purity for milk, ghee etc in this country is causing much inconvenience and prosecutions for adulteration may fall on this account. In Courts of Law the contending parties set up figures which are sometimes as widely divergent as the poles and the Courts may accept the English standards which are hardly applicable to conditions prevailing in India. At the present time each analyst in giving his opinion on the quality of a sample of ghee for example, follows his own standard based on methods of analysis and results which are not always uniform and therefore, somewhat arbitrary.

The appointment by Government of a committee of experts to consider and fix the minimum standard values of the purity of important food stuffs such as ghee, milk, mustard oil etc. is a matter of urgent necessity. Unless some such step is taken there is every likelihood of much contest taking place in Courts of Law between the

analysts of the opposite parties and it will be difficult for the Court to decide which figures to adopt to satisfy the ends of justice. The work of the committee of experts will be laborious and may take some time for its completion. They will have to procure samples of known purity from all parts of the country under varying conditions have them carefully analysed by standard methods and the minimum standard values of purity fixed on the results of such analysis. However, the work will have to be done in the interests of justice and of the supply of pure food stuffs and the sooner it is taken up by Government the better for all parties concerned.

Social Aspects

The importance of the effect of a plentiful supply of milk on the social well being of a community has never been so fully realised as now. Milk is an indispensable article of food for children. The child draws his whole nourishment from milk alone his health, growth and strength suffer irretrievably if the supply is short in quantity and poor in quality. The child is but the father of the man and the debility and stunted growth of both body and mind in childhood as the result of under feeding reflect strongly on the future manhood of the nation which is thus put under considerable physical and intellectual disadvantage in the general struggle for existence.

The fearful loss of life in the present European War has caused the people of the West to concentrate their attention deeply on the problem of protecting child life from preventable death and securing its welfare. The claim of poor expectant mothers and babies for a plentiful supply of good food at the cost of the nation is now being more and more recognised.

INFANT MORTALITY IN CALCUTTA

The terrible mortality prevalent in Calcutta among children under one year of age is attributable to a combination of causes one of which undoubtedly is want of proper nourishment both of mothers and babies due to extreme poverty. Bad midwifery, insanitary condition of houses and their surroundings, immaturity of parents due to early marriage, ignorance of the simple rules for the preservation of health etc., are some of the causes to ac-

count for the high rate of infant mortality in the town of Calcutta but the inability to procure sufficient nourishment for the mother and the baby and the feeding of the child with unsuitable food which it cannot digest are no doubt strong factors in increasing the death rate of children under one year of age. This is a matter for serious reflection by the leaders of the community. If we want to prevent this cruel waste of child life in this city then along with the adoption of sanitary measures and the provision of skilled medical help to poor women during confinement we must see that the expectant mothers get sufficient amount of nourishing food and their babies the required quantity of good milk. The Corporation of Calcutta and the philanthropists of the city must join hands and work together in giving effect to this proposal.

Dr. Crake the Health Officer of Calcutta attributes a good proportion of infant deaths in this city to the bad health of mothers who cannot get sufficient nourishing food owing to poverty. Thus he observes in his Annual Report for 1915-16:

More than one third of the total deaths amongst infants occurred during the first week of life. The great majority of the deaths (1210 out of 1603) were due to the premature birth and debility at birth. The causes of this literal decimation of the infants born in Calcutta must obviously be almost wholly maternal. Poverty and the consequent lack of good nourishing food is probably one of the chief factors. When the expectant mother is not only underfed but is also subjected to the strain of pregnancy and lactation at short intervals and constantly exposed to insanitary surroundings as a *pardanashin* puny sickly babies who only survive a few days are the inevitable result.

INFANTAL CLINICS

The Health Officer has thrown certain valuable suggestions which would lead to reduction of the heavy loss of infant life in Calcutta. Some of these measures have proved successful in combating the evil in Europe and America and there is no reason why they should not be tried in Calcutta although certain modifications appear likely to be required in their application in this city to suit the special conditions of the social life of the people. The chief object of these measures

is to improve the health of the poor expectant mother by bettering her sanitary surroundings giving her expert advice in matters of domestic hygiene and in her preparation for the confinement period placing skilled medical help at her disposal during and after child birth and providing for better nourishment both for her (before and after confinement) and for her baby during the first few months of its life. I cannot do better than quote Dr. Crake's observations on this point. Says Dr. Crake—The spread of education and the constantly increasing scope of preventive medicine in other countries has resulted in the establishment of *infant clinics*. Lady Health Visitors visit expectant mothers and encourage them to visit the clinics particularly if there are any suspicious symptoms such as albuminuria, oedema etc. Philanthropic agencies co-operate and poor women are assisted to secure good nourishing food. Working on these lines much could be done for the poor women of Calcutta if they could be induced to visit such a clinic. This branch of preventive medicine however is a comparatively recent development and there is little or no hope of success for any such institution in Calcutta at the present time.

BABY CLINICS

As regards the saving of baby life he says that whilst proper attendance at birth would save scores of mothers and hundreds of babies there is no provision for trained supervision during the first few critical weeks. The remedy in a community with more advanced ideas on preventive medicine is of course the establishment of *Baby Clinics* which have been so successful in Europe. These institutions are in charge of highly trained nurses and regular clinics are held by honorary physicians usually specialists in diseases of children. Mothers are encouraged to bring their babies at regular intervals about once a week. A careful examination (of which weighing is an important part) is made and full and detailed instructions on the feeding, clothing and rearing of infants are given to the mother. A most essential part of the scheme is a milk-depot where not only pure sterilised milk can be obtained, but where carefully prepared Humanised milk graduated to meet the requirements

of each individual case is made up according to the physician's directions. Here again philanthropic societies join with the municipal authorities and there is a fund for providing milk free of charge to the poor unable to pay for it. Such is the brief outline of the scheme adopted by many municipalities at Home.

LADY HEALTH VISITORS AND THEIR WORK

Cannot some thing of this kind be done for the city of Calcutta? The *purdah* system and the ignorance of the people will I am afraid, stand for a long time against general success attending establishment of *ante natal clinics* in Calcutta but one or two may be established for the benefit of the poor Anglo Indian Indian Christian and a few other communities which do not observe the *purdah*. In the case of Indians very few *purdah* women, Hindus or Mahomedans in their delicate condition could be induced to visit these *mothers clinics* and get benefited by the advice and help given there by experts. And here I venture to suggest a modification of the system which if accepted would go a great way to solve this difficult problem. I would have the poor expectant mothers in the city regularly visited in their own homes by our Lady Health Visitors helping them to improve the sanitary condition of the house and its surroundings advising them how best to make themselves fit for the coming critical period supplying them with medicines and milk free of charge where necessary providing for skilful medical help during confinement and looking after the baby for a few weeks after its birth.

There is already a good nucleus for such work in the Calcutta Municipality. The present organisation of Lady Health Visitors and nurses under them should be further expanded and employed solely for this purpose so that every poor woman in the city is able to take the fullest advantage of this system for the preservation and betterment of infant life in Calcutta.

FREE SUPPLY OF MILK

The question of supplying good nourishing food to the poor mother is more complicated in India than in Europe owing to religious and caste restrictions. Soup and other kinds of ready made food are sup-

plied to mothers in Europe. Such a procedure cannot be adopted in the case of the Hindu community here. The only food to which objection will not be taken is milk, and this should be supplied to deserving cases free of charge.

Milk depots should be opened by the Calcutta Corporation or suitable arrangements should be made with respectable vendors for supply of milk to mothers and babies free of charge on presentation of certificates issued by Lady Health Visitors who may be depended upon to issue such certificates in deserving cases only.

For free distribution of medicines and milk the Corporation must be assisted by public philanthropy, and I have no doubt that if the scheme is well understood, there will be no lack of funds to support it.

As regards *Baby clinics* these may be started as an experimental measure. It may be that in the beginning the results will appear disappointing. Here however we shall not meet with the same difficulty as in the case of *ante natal clinics* for babies may be taken to these places by elderly female members or the male members of the family who may be expected to carry out the instructions of the experts. Here also certificates for free distribution of milk may be given by the medical officer in charge according to the requirements of each case, and these will be attended to when presented at the milk depot.

In this connection, I am glad to quote the valuable observations of Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Dutt one of the leading members of the Corporation of Calcutta, made in an important paper on "Infant Mortality and Maternity Home" recently read by him at a meeting of the Calcutta Medical Club.

The work done by the three Health units (each unit consisting of a Lady Health Visitor and a few nurses under her) in Calcutta has been found to be useful. If however, any appreciable reduction in infant mortality is to be secured, the baby welfare work has to be further extended and provision should be made to meet the urgent needs of the poor mothers and their infants. Pure milk and in winter, warm clothing for infants have to be supplied. The important question of giving nourishing food to mothers during lactation will have to be solved. Calcutta is not lacking in pious and rich persons. Why should not

they come forward and combine and form charitable institutions to do this blessed work for the amelioration of the poor?"

The recent remarks of Sir Robert Armstrong Jones, M. D., made at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts are also worth quoting in this place. He said—

"Next in importance to the marvellous changes brought about in the habits of the people consequent upon the war, has been the fuller realisation of the pressing importance and the sacredness of child life, and the lesson taught is the precious care that should be exercised in its protection and its supervision." He further observed that "mothers should receive, by State Control, proper, prompt and skilled attendance during and after confinement, infants should receive treatment until the child goes on to the school register, and the home should be visited by authorized persons so as to foster a public opinion educated to set a high value upon infant life and not to tolerate its neglect. The rebuilding of our manhood is only possible when the dignity of motherhood has become the corner stone of our public faith and creed."

MILK IN INDIAN DIETARY

Besides being children's food, milk is

depended upon as the principal source of proteid and fat in the dietary of a very large proportion of the Indian adult population. In every country, there is a certain number of people who do not take flesh food but live upon vegetable diet supplemented by milk and milk products. In India, the number of vegetarians is, I think, considerably larger than in all the countries of the world put together, and it is no exaggeration to say that milk forms with them an indispensable article of diet. The Jains, the Vaisnavas, a large number of Hindus belonging to higher castes and particularly their widows, do not eat flesh in any form at all. Milk and its products, such as butter, ghee, milk-curd, *dahi* etc., in one or other form, are consumed by Indian vegetarians, and even those that take meat and fish, daily use milk in some form or other, in limited quantities. The importance of milk in Indian dietary cannot, therefore, be overestimated. Indeed, an Indian dietary is considered incomplete without milk or one or other of its various products.

One can see from all this how very necessary it is to adopt suitable measures to increase improve and cheapen the milk-supply of the country.

MICA AND ITS TRADE

IN a previous article on mica and its industry I have tried to give an idea as to what mica is, its different characteristics and how it is mined. In the present article I will endeavour to give to the readers glimpses of the different stages the mica has to pass through during its handlings from the raw material as obtained from the mine to the finished product and also its various other technical and commercial aspects.

The raw and crude mica or book mica as obtained from the mines direct is properly dressed to the necessary shape and size to make it a marketable commodity. The operations connected with such works are done in mica factories.

A mica mine owner generally owns a

mica factory in which the raw mica is turned to dressed mica. People who have no mines buy the raw book mica or semi-dressed mica and turn it in their own factories to the desired specifications suiting the demand.

These mica factory businesses are big enterprises of large concerns and as well as modest means of livelihood to home industrialists. The size of a factory ranges from a gigantic organised work of big concerns working in places equipped with the necessities of a regular modern factory, to a small hut in which a single family works. In a mica bearing tract or a mica mining centre it is a common sight to see a whole group of family members, men, women and even children of tender age

working in their own house as mica dressers or splitters and thus making their own cottage a small factory.

Let us now proceed to see how a regular mica factory works. The apparatus necessary for factory and mica dressing is plain and simple. An ordinary locally made sickle and a piece of handleless knife and a wooden peg of about one foot length are all the implements generally used. The workmen sit squatting on the floor in long rows in a covered but well lighted shed, the different sexes of labourers being kept separate. A peg is driven into the ground a few inches and fixed one each in front of a workman. Weighed quantities of mica in bundles as they come from the mines are supplied to each workman. The workmen then take out blocks of mica, small or big pieces from the bundles break them in thinner blocks with the point of the sickle thrust through the material support the blocks or press the edges of the blocks on and against the peg and cut the edges on both sides giving them chisel point surfaces. The edges and sides are thus trimmed and cleared of all broken and damaged edges unnecessary and uneven portions, dark and defective spots, ruffled surface and all other irregularities and deformities. Defective layers and laminae are also removed retaining only good and serviceable pieces of mica. The thus dressed mica takes various shapes and sizes ordinarily varying from a small bit of the size of a piece to a big piece of the size of a good full sized photo plate and in various shapes of round square, oblong and elongated to peculiar fantastic shapes.

These operations are known as the dressings of mica. This portion of the work is always done by males who on an average can dress up to half a maund of raw mica per day per man and producing out of this about three seers of useful mica. From a better raw stuff of about half a maund of mica a quantity of about five seers of useful mica may be obtained.

These dressed blocks are next passed on to the sorting department. Here they are separated in different qualities and in grades. The qualities vary in colours and clearness in general and grades vary according to sizes. In the sorting department the sorters are provided with knives and scissors and grade measuring forms. Each individual piece of mica is carefully seen,

defective portions removed and cut out for the second time and proper assortments made according to various qualities, sizes and grades. Thus finally cleaned pieces are known as dressed block mica.

The block micas either in their finished state or semi-dressed condition are split into very thin layers and laminae known as splittings. The splitting is generally done by women and children. With a thin piece of rude knife the workers split the blocks with great rapidity and dexterity of fingers into very thin splittings. The thin splittings are arranged and spread one by one as they are taken out of the block mica in a round metal casing which works handy and as a mould. When a certain quantity of splittings is put into this the casing is inverted and a desired layer of split mica is obtained, the sheets being compact and close pressed of themselves.

When very big and thick blocks or books of mica are to be handled then the first operations of cutting and cleaning the edges are done by small hand guillotine machines and by big sized scissors and cutters.

In well equipped mica factories, power driven machines are used for shearing, cutting punching and so on. To suit the customers demand blocks or splittings may be required to be cut in circular discs or square pieces or any other fancy shapes. For such works punching machines are used similar to that of tin sheet working machines.

After the pieces of mica are dressed sorted and cleaned they are packed in wooden cases. Great care is taken to pack them in water proof coverings and cases. Ordinary low grade mica is packed in heaps but higher grade quality blocks are first well cleaned with velvet and soft leather and individual pieces wrapped up in papers and then packed in well lined cases.

The dressing sorting and packing are the three main kinds of works of a mica factory. These operations are done in various sized factories employing from say 10 men up to 500 men. There are generally three kinds of factories.

1. Factory in which only block mica is produced.
2. Factory in which only splittings work is done.
3. Combined works of both the above kinds.

The three different styles of factory afford work and facilities for different systems and natures of work

Mica mine owners in general resort to the 1st and 3rd systems of work. The mica obtained from their own mines are either dressed into block only or also made into splittings. The 2nd system is resorted to by concerns who buy block mica or semi dressed mica and split them in their own factories. This system is also followed by concerns and men who do not buy any mica but secure contracts for splitting mica from block mica supplied to them. This splitting industry is more or less a home industry.

Splitting contractors secure orders and a supply of mica which is to be split. Thus they distribute among other petty contractors or individuals who work either in the contractor's house or in their own homes and houses. This system affords opportunity and facility of work to the poorest of the poor who has thus not to run any risk or sink any capital.

The wages and earnings of the factory workers or home workers for block dressing or splitting ranges from about 3 to 6 annas for adults and experts and one anna to 3 annas for juveniles and new hands. The earnings are all on piece work. The sorters and packers etc., are mostly engaged on monthly wages.

The chips, shavings and cuttings of mica from mica factories are thrown away and kept in heaps known as dumps. Mica in dumps are thrown away as useless articles for the time being but requisitioned thereafter. Dumps may be mine dump or factory dump. During slack season when there is not much work in hand or during the time when mining operation cannot be made and also when there is great demand for cheap mica in the market the dumps are worked and all the available and useful mica is again tapped from these sources. The goods thus obtained are undoubtedly of inferior quality since it is only a reclaiming process of the once thrown away material. Sometimes old mine or factory dumps yield good grades which have been thrown away by neglect or oversight or wilfully. Some customers buy dump and waste mica as they are.

Mica is of various qualities and grades. The Indian mica is generally of ruby, brown, green, silvery and black colour. The best is said to be the ruby ones. The non-

brittle, stiff and pliable but not very hard variety, of metallic lustre and sound, of uniform colour, clear, and free from stains or specks is the best quality. The different qualities are known as clear, slightly stained, stained heavily, etc. The defects occur in various shapes, such as black dotted, spotted, cross grained, rifled, fluted with fine orifices, and stains of various colours and intensity. Bluish rings, fissures, and uneven surfaces are counted as defects.

The grades vary according to the sizes. The sizes vary according to the area that the surface of a block contains. The ordinary sizes are known as numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5½ and 6, and extraordinary sizes are known as special, extra special, etc. The sizes are measured by the maximum rectangle contained in each block in square inches. Numbers 1 to 6 should generally contain 36, 24, 15, 10, 6, 2½ and 1 sq inches and specials should contain over 36 sq inches.

The prices of mica vary according to quality and size. For the good quality of dressed block mica the local prices in ordinary times range from Rs. 6 per one maund of No 6 to Rs 300 for one maund of No 1 and Rs 100 to 500 for specials. For inferior qualities the prices are much lower. Split mica fetches better price. A maund of No 6 splittings would fetch about Rs 15. Splittings of mica are generally done up to No 4. Higher grades and bigger and special sizes are not split but retained in original and block pieces which are about ½ in thickness in general. The various thicknesses and sizes depend on the wishes and demands of the customers and the market. The exporters however get a much more decent price, sufficient margin is left in the transactions and a good profit made.

During the pre-war period a regular trade was maintained and a flourishing trade was carried on. The war with its concomitant difficulties and disadvantages set back the progress of the industry and trade of mica for some period and a slack season was gone through for some time. The Government, wishing to restrict the exports, gave power to certain firms only to collect and export all Indian mica. With special licenses some firms carried on their own business in the usual way. Just during this period and at the present time owing to greater demands and other

causes, the prices have inflated, and abnormal prices for good mica are said to be reigning in the markets. The price of good No 6 mica now is about Rs 60 per maund and the prices of other grades are proportionate. The embargo on the exports has been removed lately.

Let us now see how the methods of mica trade are carried out. The mine owners are individual local persons, joint families, private or joint stock companies of outsiders and foreigners Indians and Europeans. Small concerns work their mines, prepare mica block or splittings and sell them locally to bigger concerns or agents of foreign concerns. The smaller concerns however do not go so far but sell their productions to the nearest general trader or bania who in turn sells to travelling agents or traders and other mine owners. The big concerns buy and collect other mica along with their own productions and send them down to seaports for foreign exports directly or through the agents and bankers. Thus we see that from a petty dealer up to the exporting agents, very many hands are changed and many transactions gone through with profits to all.

This easy transaction and sure profit are taken advantage of unlawfully by secret agents and traders. Smugglings, thefts, and underhand transactions are not rare. There are intricacies and difficulties in identification of qualities, grades, etc., and detected wrong doers are not and cannot be always challenged to explain their position and illicit dealings. Any and every piece of useful mica, small or big, is saleable and transferable and exchangeable in kind and coins. Therefore, thefts in mines, factories, dumps during transits and in ordinary handlings and transactions are general occurrences.

The extent of industry and trade of mica and the progress made in the same will be realised from the facts that, about a score of years ago in 1900 there were about 130 mica mines employing about 10,000 hands and producing about 900 tons of mica in all India—more than half of this quantity came from Nellore, Madras—, while in 1913-14 official year ending in March the exports only of mica were about 2700 tons.

In 1899 about 700 tons of mica valued at about 9 lakhs of rupees were exported, whereas in 1913-14 about 2700 tons

of mica of the value of about 45 Lakhs of Rupees were exported. In the principal mica mining centres of Behar, Madras and Ajmere, the number of mines and factories and the number of labourers employed in the same have increased considerably during the last decade, the quantities of export and their values will justify the statement. The volume of trade has quadrupled, or so, during the last 20 years.

The volume of trade will be better understood from the following statistics—

I Total exports of mica

Period	Total	Share of Bengal (mostly or rather wholly Behar Mica)
1912-1913	341349£	292645£
1914-1915	191066£	153618£
1916-1917	341255£	—

From the above it will be seen that before the war the trade was pretty flourishing. Owing to the war there was a big fall in the exports, being nearly halved. Latterly the situation improved much and the past years' records are again encouraging. The share of Bengal, which should be taken as mostly or wholly Behar mica, comes up to about 50 per cent. of the total export on an average.

It should also be taken into consideration that the above gives us an idea only of the export values but not the raisings and productions. The productions must be much higher and the balance being used up in our country for very many purposes.

II Exports from different ports

From	Value in £	Cwts
From Calcutta Port		
1912-1913	292645	56504
1913-1914	236765	41313
From Bombay Port		
1912-1913	5524	816
1913-1914	9397	1707
From Madras Port		
1912-1913	43180	9254
1913-1914	56402	10871

III Exports to different Countries

	1912	1913	1914	15	1916	17
	£	£	£			
United Kingdom	224405	122849	258835			
Germany	58686	—	—			
U S A	55944	37633	69658			
France	3446	—	—			
Austria	1137	—	—			
Other countries	—	30583	19760			

Mica is exported mostly to the United Kingdom which is also a market for American buyers, as well as the continental countries. During the pre war period next to the United Kingdom came Germany as the next big buyer of Indian mica. Nowadays mica is also sent direct to the U.S.A., Straits Settlements, China, Japan, S. Africa, etc. There are also restrictions however on such exports.

IV Exports during the month of March 1917

U K	375296 Rs
U S A	80482 "
Other countries	26533 ,
Total	482313 Rs

It will be interesting to know the different uses to which mica is put. Mica has various and extensive uses. In Siberia, China, etc., it is used as window glass. Formerly it was used as porthole coverings of battleships. Even now it is said that mica is used in some form or another in various types of battleships.

Powdered mica is used in wall papers to give them a frosty appearance, in paper making, sometimes and also in theatrical stages to give particular effects. Museum specimens are attached to mica pieces and kept dipped in spirits. For microscopic specimens mica pieces are also used. Owing to its transparency and heat non conducting characteristics furnace peep holes, lamp chimneys, fire screens, stove windowlets, etc., are prepared from it. All transparent surfaces of non breaking types and dust proofing effects are made from mica. Picture slides of mica produce good effects.

Owing to its insulating effects mica splittings are now extensively used in dynamo armature windings. It is used to a great extent in lubricants and as an absorbent of glycerine. Mica powder and scraps are used in conjunction with glycerine for high explosives and gunpowder. Mica is used in the preparation of lithium salts. Owing to its chemical composition, it is requisitioned by farmers in agricultural works. Presence of scrap mica in fields give physical effects in loosening the soil apart from other chemical effects. Refractory materials such as fire bricks etc., are made with certain proportions of mica. Electrical apparatus and explosives are the two main items for which mica is now in great demand.

Mica powder is used in giving non radiating effects to steam pipes, boilers and all such heat conducting and heat giving appliances. Roofings are covered with mica scraps to give protection from sun's heat.

In our country very many ordinary uses are made of mica. Painted pictures on mica are sold in markets. In lamp chimneys, light shades and domes, palm leaf hand punkhas, wooden and paper marionettes and puppets, taziabs, toys of various kinds, wearing apparel of women and in very many other things mica is employed in India. Ornaments and decorations are the main features of utility in our country. Black mica is used for medicinal purposes in Ayurvedic drugs.

Sheets of prepared mica are known as micanties. Pieces of mica dipped in some glutinous substances, spread in layers in contiguity on liners forming long continuous sheets are known as prepared mica sheets. These can be cut according to any desired shape and size and thus made easy and suitable for various manipulations for the purpose it is used.

Attempts have been made and even some success have been achieved at making artificial mica. But all the special properties of natural mica, such as transparency, perfect cleavage by which it can be easily split in thinnest layers possible, insulating properties, flexibility and elasticity to stand shocks or sudden change in temperatures, chemical stability in acids and oils, etc., suitable colour, opacity and non-conductivity to heat, etc., cannot very likely be approached and imitated by artificial articles. It is said that large crystallised artificial mica has not yet been produced. Cheapness, plentiful supply, etc., are some more other considerations.

'Mica is gold as they say in Behar and rightly they say so. Mica is easily exchangeable for gold. In the interior of mica mining centres mica is exchangeable for other commodities. It is always a marketable commodity in any state and every serviceable smallest piece has some value. Quantities however small easily pass hands and go current. Even in America mica is an article of exchange between farmers and storekeepers.

The ease with which mica handlings are effected and the apparent simplicity of its transactions, are great attractions equally to ordinary businessmen and traders on

the one hand and non traders and amateurs on the other. In fact visitors and holiday makers in mica mining areas and districts are struck with the easy, simple, quick money return methods and sure profits of mica transactions and trade. Big yarns and tales as to the fabulous profits in mica trade and industry quickly get hold of new comers, uninitiated persons and fresh enthusiasts.

Undoubtedly mica trade and industry have a great future and prospects, there is still a vast and limitless field in the line. It is true also that there are immense profits in this business if carried on in proper ways and systems but there are sad pit falls too.

The apparent simplicity in things connected with mica, i.e. small capital, high profits, easy labour, etc. easily attract persons. But there are intricacies and difficulties which do not appear at first sight to fresh enterprisers. Very careful and cautious movements are therefore necessary in the beginning when launching in this trade.

It is premature to say what would

be the state and conditions of mica industry after the war. There are as usual speculations in the subject. The present state, inspite of the rigours of the war, is very hopeful. If such conditions continue there is every reason to be optimistic over the future. The demand of mica has steadily increased after the second year of the war, and it is on the increase now. We can not predict whether this will continue till the end of the war and how the demand would be after it. Anyhow the future prospects seem to be very encouraging.

Behar mica works, after the rude shock during the second year of the war, are recovering and are steadily increasing their output. The latest reports of the Southern India mica works are that a perceptible revival has been made. Mica industry and trade presents still an unlimited field and opportunity to the right person. An honest entrepreneur with sufficient pluck and grit in him has a very bright and hopeful future in this line.

ANANDAKRISHN GHOSH

FREE LANCE

By BABU LAL SUDHA, BAR AT LAW

A FREE LANCE, in journalistic circles is a journalist who is not attached to any particular paper. Originally free lances were those who carried on irregular warfare. In common parlance a free lance is an outsider, for he is not on the staff of any paper but writes for different papers on different topics. He may either depend wholly on journalism for his maintenance or may make it a part profession, and thus eke out his income by his occasional writings in different papers. Authors and barristers who contribute to papers are said to be free lances in this sense. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, Marie Corelli, Arnold Bennett, Hall Caine, and H. G. Wells all contribute articles to papers in England. It is a well known fact that for the series of Sherlock Holmes which appeared in Collier's Magazine, America, Sir A. C. Doyle was paid at the rate of a shilling a word. Rudyard Kipling, they say, can

get 1 shilling a word. Two years ago Rudyard Kipling contributed a series of articles on France and the War to the 'Daily Telegraph'. Then he wrote on the Jutland Naval Battle in various London papers. Marie Corelli contributed an admirable article to The Sunday Times dated October 22nd 1916 under the title of In Praise of Our Enemies. The Reactions of Hatred. Arnold Bennett had been writing articles connected with War and Democracy in the 'Daily News and Leader'. Hall Caine wrote an article on What the Daughters of Britain are doing in the 'Daily News and Leader' dated October 24, 1916. H. G. Wells had been writing in different papers on problems of education. The practice of journalism is very useful to the author. Apart from money, it teaches him how to write rapidly and quickly. It enables him to turn his materials to immediate use. It gives him the practice of knowing which points to em-

phasize and which to pass over. And above all, it makes him known to the ordinary newspaper reader, who likes to buy his books the moment they come out. For an author journalism is an effective training ground, apart from the money and reputation it brings to him. In fact, journalism is a help to his profession as an author. But this is only partially true in the case of a barrister. It is no training ground for him, unless he wants to give up his profession of law and take to serious literature. It, no doubt, brings him money, but not so much as an author makes out of journalism. It brings him reputation, but it is not a reputation which helps him in his profession for a barrister may be a great writer but the fact of his being a great writer does not necessarily prove that he is also a clever barrister. The fact that a man is a very good writer does not in every case prove that he is a very good journalist. On the contrary men who are really great writers seldom turn out to be good journalists. They lack journalistic instinct. They lack ideas suitable to a newspaper. They want time and space which newspapers can hardly afford to give them. I know a friend of mine who is a graduate of the Cambridge University and is a Barrister at Law. He is well read, well grounded in English language and literature, has a clear head, and is a sound thinker. But he is quite incapable of writing a trifling article for a paper without taking great pains over it.

A free lance in order to be successful must possess two qualities, firstly, 'nose' for news, and secondly imagination and descriptive ability. I do not mean to insinuate that these qualities must be inborn in him, and cannot be acquired by industry, patience and the exercise of his intellect. But I do mean to say that a man who wants to embark on journalism as a free lance must understand that unless he possesses these qualities or unless he is intellectually so inclined as to acquire these qualities he cannot make a clever free lance, and a poverty very close to destitution unless journalism is his part profession is most likely to be his doom. His best chance of getting any notice taken of his articles is to keep his eyes and ears open for such news events or things as are not known to the staff reporter or are not considered sufficiently

important to attract his attention. For instance, the staff reporter does not care to report local meetings unless he thinks them to be of sufficiently general interest. But some of these local meetings are of national interest and escape the attention of the staff reporter. Now if the free lance were to write an account of such local meetings, in an attractive manner, his contributions are, in the majority of cases, sure to be accepted by some paper or other. But he must combine a 'nose' for news with what is generally known as imagination and descriptive ability. No paper would care to accept his contributions if they are dull and mere bald statement of facts, or if they are not written in a pleasing manner. Thus he must avoid being dull. He should be careful to please the reader, for he is not writing to please himself but to please the reader. He must arouse interest in the reader and thus attract his attention. In order to rivet the attention of the reader he must be careful to throw a few entertaining incidents and interesting notes into his article. This is all the more important when he is writing on some technical subject, for technical subjects are the most difficult subjects to grip the reader unless they are written in a most attractive manner. An average education, to start with with an honest and diligent practice for some time will give him the skill of writing vividly, dramatically and graphically.

The late Marquis of Salisbury was a typical free lance, and greatly influenced the popular feeling of the time on foreign policy and finance. Though he ceased writing articles for the 'Standard' during the early sixties he continued writing leaders for that paper long after he had discontinued his active connection with the 'Saturday Review'. And all this time he also wrote for the 'Quarterly Review'. I can think of no other free lance who is so well known in England as the late Marquis of Salisbury at least no one who influenced the popular feeling of the time so much as he did. Perhaps Mr T. P. O'Connor may be bracketed with him.

Nowadays there are any number of journalists working as free lances in England, and their writing are quite known to the ordinary London newspaper reader. Among these the right Hon G. W. Russell who is an occasional

to the Daily News and Leader Mr Horatio Bottomley of John Bull Mr Spencer Leigh Hughes formerly of the 'Daily News and Leader', Mr Robert Blatchford of Clarion, Mr George R Sims of the Referee, Mr Austin Harrison of the English Review Mr James Douglas of London Opinion and above all and incomparably more important than all Mr T P O Connor Mr formerly of Star Sun and T P S Weekly are most famous. They all are very able and clever journalists and have established a claim to consideration which cannot be denied. Their articles are read all over England and there is hardly any paper of importance in which their articles do not appear. It will not be off the mark to say that no new paper can last long without the co-operation of one of these free-lances. Take for example Sunday Pictorial and Illustrated Sunday Herald illustrated weekly papers which came into existence not more than four years ago. As soon as they came into existence they enlisted the services of Mr Horatio Bottomley, Mr Austin Harrison and Mr Robert Blatchford. In September 1916 Sunday Evening Telegraph came up and one found Mr T P O Connor contributing every week to it under the title of My Week's Reading. The majority of London newspaper readers buy Sunday Pictorial every week to read Mr Horatio Bottomley's weekly article in it and not to read Sunday Pictorial. When Mr Spencer Leigh Hughes Mr used to write daily for the Daily News and Leader under the title of Sub Rosa. I knew people in London who regularly bought the paper simply to read his article. But two years ago Mr S L H to the great disappointment of the reader cut off his connection with the Daily News and Leader, to which paper he had regularly contributed for full twenty years without a break. And I know Englishmen who used to buy Reynolds's Newspaper every week simply to read Mr T P O Connor's brilliant article in it. And so on. When all of these free-lances are of equal worth and distinction it is rather difficult to say who is the best and most known of them all or in plain words who stands at the top. But if I were asked to specify, I would without any hesitation and demur at once say that Mr T P O Connor is

beyond compare the most capable the most distinguished and the most versatile of them all. He is becoming more popular than the late George Augustus Sala of the Daily Telegraph. He is in fact, a hero and celebrity in British modern journalism. In the Spectator of October 21, 1916 there was given a character sketch of 'A Student in Arms' (2nd Lieutenant Donald Hankey who was killed in action in the Somme battle on October 12 1916) by Mr Strachey who says he had genius in the true sense— an inspiring spirit an invisible flame that burnt in the man like a lamp a lamp lit by the man of God. This description of Lieutenant Donald Hankey quite fits in with the character sketch of Mr T P O Connor who is one of the best descriptive writers in modern English journalism. He is an Irishman a typical Nationalist and follower of Parnell and Mr John Redmond, Mr. He was born in 1848 and after taking his Degree at the Dublin University adopted journalism as his profession and was connected with the Dublin Press for three years. In 1870 he came to London and obtained an engagement on the Daily Telegraph, and was afterwards employed by several other London papers. In 1888 he founded Star to support the policy of Gladstone. In many of its features it is true it followed American methods of journalism, such as sensational news and scare heads, but it always contained some admirably written articles. In 1909 he sold Star to a syndicate in which Mr Cadbury, proprietor of the Daily News and Leader held a large share. Later on, in 1893 he started another paper known as the Sun. It saw many ups and downs and after thirteen years joined the vast number of lost causes. Mr T P O Connor has also written many books. In 1876 he published the biography of the late Lord Beaconsfield. It was not very favourably received by the public and the press and its author was in many quarters blamed for taking an unfavourable view of the late Conservative leader, though praised for his literary ability and research work. Other works from his pen are 'The Parnell Movements', 'Gladstone's House of Commons', 'Some Love Stories and Napoleon'. In 1880 he got a seat in the House of Commons and in 1881 he went to America where he stayed for seven months giving lectures

on the Irish cause and collecting money for the Land League in England and Ireland of which he was one of the Executive

Next to Mr T P O Connor comes Mr Horatio Bottomley. There is a vast difference in the character and writings of these two men. They both no doubt are distinguished journalists and fill a larger place in the public eye than any other purveyor of the old or new journalism. But they are as wide apart as the poles. Mr T P O Connor is a university man and Mr Horatio Bottomley owes nothing to any University but is the product of self study. It is owing to this difference in their education that the writings of the former are scholarly essay like lucid and pointed and those of the latter are incisive full of slang words and phrases and rough and ready sort of things and it is due to this that the former's articles find favour with the intellectual reader and the latter's with the man in the street. The same is the case with their speeches. Both are great speakers. It is on record that Mr T P O Connor's maiden speech drew from John Bright who himself was a great orator not only praise but a wish to be made personally acquainted with the speaker and it is said that the announcement Mr Bottomley is up used to bring members of the House of Commons from the drinking and smoking room to hear his speech when he was a member of the House of Commons. But as a speaker Mr T P O Connor differs from Mr Horatio Bottomley in this that the former appeals to persuasion argument and reason and the latter is a vehement though forcible speaker. There is in fact a tremendous moral and mental difference between the two. Mr T P O Connor's firmness is implicit in all that he says and does. But Mr Horatio Bottomley has been often described as an opportunist. But this is not all. Mr T P O Connor is expansive full of ideas transmitted by the alchemy of his impressionable Irish nature. He is cool sober serious though keen and sensitive and not quick tempered. Mr Horatio Bottomley is exuberant flamboyant and impetuous. He is possessed of a daring temperament. And all this becomes quite clear to one who reads his articles even the first time. There is no extravagance in Mr T P O Connor's language. There is no attempt at rhetorical effect. But not so with Mr

Horatio Bottomley whose language is rather affected and laboured.

Though there are so many free lances in England it should not be assumed that this type of journalist is well paid. The truth is that a free lance does not flourish in England where really good writers are attached to one paper or other and exclusively write for that paper. It is only when they come to the tether-end of their journalistic career that they take to free-lancing. But in America a free lance is very handsomely paid. In England the scope for the talents of a free lance, unless he is exceptionally clever and very well known is rather limited. In the first place there are papers such as the Spectator the Athenaeum and the Saturday Review which do not accept articles from outsiders though there are no doubt papers open to outside contributors which set apart a good deal of space every day for contributions from outsiders. Among these may be mentioned the Daily News and Leader (Under the Clock column) the Daily Chronicle (The Office Window column) the Star (Mainly about People column) the Globe (the Turnover column) the Daily Telegraph (London Day by Day columns) and the Westminster Gazette (Here There and Everywhere columns). Then there are magazines such as Tit Bits Answers Pearson's Weekly and Cassell's Saturday Journal which ask for contributions from outsiders on some topic of interest provided the articles are fresh bright and light and do not exceed 1500 words in length. And there are papers such as the Daily Mail and the Graphic which are partial to outsiders. Despite all this I must say, and I have found it by personal experience that there is very little hope for a free lance to make a really decent living in England unless he is clever above the average as the great Indus free lance Saint Nihal Singh is. But he is an exception and one should not go by his example. He has a very remarkable knack for the presentment of facts and the criticism of men and events. His articles are always full of fresh and new ideas. They radiate in spirit. They glow with manly virtue. In a word they sparkle with the salt of personality. And why? Because they are not the outcome of book lore but are the product of contact with actualities.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE REFORM SCHEME

THE report on Indian constitutional reforms covers nearly 250 closely written pages and its perusal constitutes in itself a liberal education in politics. With few exceptions it breathes a spirit of liberality. The statement of the case hardly leaves anything for Indian politicians to add though in the chapter on 'The conditions of the Problem' in describing the difficulties in the way of India attaining or obtaining full responsible government the authors seem for the most part to be unaware of or to deliberately ignore the fact that similar conditions and difficulties obtained to a greater or less extent in fully self governing countries in times past when they began first to exercise the full rights of self government and that some of these difficulties or conditions obtain in some of the foremost States of the West even at the present day e.g.—to take only one instance—Austro-Hungary is a great State though they speak twenty-four languages in the Austrian army (Morley's *Politics and History* 1914). We begin to differ in a marked manner when we come to the actual proposals which after all are the real core of the report. Nevertheless, the enunciation of political facts and principles by the two supreme heads of the existing government of India has a value and authority all its own, in spite of the fact that the general view of British statesmen and politicians have never erred on the side of illiberality and niggardiness in laying down the principles which ought to govern British rule in India though the practice has seldom been in accord with them. The report speaks of the more spacious days to come (3)*, of the spirit of liberty which is abroad and active (14) pays a well deserved tribute to the loyalty of the princes and the educated classes (20) and the allegiance of the political leaders (22), it dwells on the new sense of self-esteem and the emphasis on self-determination (22, 3) the growth of the Hindu Moslem entente (27) the failure of the Govern-

ment, in the face of growing national feeling in India to think out and to work out a policy of continuous advance (33), the subtler springs of action which lie in the mental development of a people (35) and the incompatibility of official with popular control (50). Responsibility is the savour of popular government and that savour the present councils wholly lack. We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it. They must have real work to do and they must have real people to call them to account for their doing of it (81). Then the report goes on to speak of the necessity of the demolition of the existing fabric (102) how the exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it (130 and 137) of the poverty of India (132 and 135) the creditable work done in the political social and educational spheres by the *intelligentsia* (139-40) and observes that the placid pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian nationhood will grow and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for its highest good' (144). Representative institutions will soften the rigour of the caste system and make reform possible in regard to obnoxious social customs which are being perpetuated and stereotyped under an autocratic administration (152). The spirit of liberty is stirring in Asia (115) and the new ideas have spread in the native states for hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines as sparks across a street (157). The report recognises that the advance of the ryot will come through previous failure (146) that popular government will promote education and other improvements (153) that efficiency may be too dearly bought at the price of moral sanitation (156) that the power of veto is tolerable only when rarely used (171) that the present machinery of government no longer meets the needs of the time (178) that the desire for self government is the inevitable result of western education (179) that there is a keen demand for professional and technical education as part of the remarkable

* The references are to the paragraphs of the Report.

awakening of national consciousness and that failure to find employment for the educated classes is one of the facts lying at the root of the unrest (182), the educated Indian's ardent desire for social and public service is admitted (183-85), and the report proceeds to point out that education without opportunities must result in mischief (187), that communal representation perpetuates class distinctions, stereotypes existing relations and is opposed to the teaching of history as a factor of self-government (228-31), that nominated members are an anomaly in a responsible council (232), that territorial redistribution on a linguistic or racial basis by the consent of the people should be one of the earliest duties incumbent upon the reformed provincial governments (246). The bureaucracy is no longer sufficient to administer India (265), delays in giving effect to promised reforms is one of the root causes of discontent (266-67), the bureaucracy owes no duty to the public, but only to its conscience or rather to its successors in office [cf. Ramsay Macdonald, 'It has no machinery for self-criticism'] (270), parliamentary control must diminish *pari passu* with the growth of responsibility (291), the weakness of Indian public life lies in the absence of a body of trained administrators and the success of the new policy will depend on the extent to which Indians are introduced into every branch of the administration (313), "we are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing" (324), a considerable number of army commissions should be given to Indians—"it is not merely enough to assert a principle we must act on it" (330), "industrial domination is more insidious than political domination" (331), India's foreign trade consists of the barter of raw materials for imported manufactures "which obviously afforded profits and prosperity to other countries industrially more advanced. Patriotic Indians might well ask themselves why these profits should not accrue to their country" (332).

* The recent grant of King's Commissions in a few cases and the proposals thereat can only be acceptable in the sense of being the recognition of a principle so long kept at arm's length, a substantial concession, however it is decidedly not as the number of officers appointed is a mere drop in the ocean.

'On all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well poised up-to-date country, in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to government service or a few overstocked professions, in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community, and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them' (336).

There must be a marked advance of the technical services of the country (339); the educated Indian ardently desires a protective tariff, as he believes that as long as the government continues to decide the fiscal policy for him it will decide in the interests of England (342), the duty of British commerce in India is 'to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community' (344). Lastly, the need of a progressive change of spirit in the control of provincial by the imperial and of the latter by the home government is pointed out, as states on the way to self-government cannot be controlled by a purely autocratic power (350 and 351), and a picture of the India of the future is thus drawn.

'Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of states, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India, acting as arbiter in inter-state relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire' (349).

The same constitution is outlined in paras 120 and 300.

'In so far as Indian dissatisfaction arises from the machinery of government having become out of date from disappointment at what are wrongly (?) regarded as broken promises from comparative exclusion from the higher public service, from comparative impotence in the legislative councils from withholding of responsibility for any portion of the work of government—we hope that in all these respects our reforms will supply the remedy' (347).

As for the transfer of complete responsibility, no time is unfortunately fixed in the report, and all we have is that we are to attain it "where we can and as early as we can and we intend that its attainment

should depend upon the efforts of the Indian people themselves" (201). Some lines in the previous paragraph may however be construed to suggest that in some provinces at least complete responsible government will be set up after ten years.

If the ignorance of the people and specially of women (181), racial cleavages (132), and some other matters of the same kind are referred to here and there in the report, this is done in no unkindly spirit. Take for example the following

"Self government for India within the Empire is the highest aim which her people can set before themselves, or which we as trustees* for her can help her to attain. Without it there can be no fulness of civic life, no satisfaction of the natural aspirations which fill the soul of every self-respecting man. The vision is one that may well lift men up to resolve on things that seemed impossible but real. Is it too much to hope that the desire of the people of India so to govern themselves and the conviction that they can never do so otherwise in any real sense, may prove essentially to be the solvent of these difficulties of race and creed. The true duty of the leaders of every party in the state is to unteach partisanship. If the Hindu or the Muslim displays intolerance of the other's religious practices, if the higher castes refuse to admit the children of low castes to schools which their own sons attend or if caste exclusiveness takes even harsher shape towards the outcasts it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are only retarding a cause that ought to be dearer to them than their own sectional interests" (151).

In para 140 the relations between the educated Indians and the masses are dwelt upon, and it is recognised that "the old assumption that the interests of the ryot must be confided to official hands is strenuously denied by modern educated Indians." "The greatest of all delusions," truly says Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his *Awakening of India*, "under which our officials live is that whilst they are distrusted by the professional and educated classes, they are regarded by the uneducated villagers as their friends and protectors." The report makes no such mistake. The recent debate

in the Bengal Legislative Council on the misery of the jute cultivators and the stupendous profits of the millowners is the last of many instances in which the representatives of the educated classes have taken up the cause of the poor cultivator against official opposition. In para 149 the duty of the educated classes towards the ryot is pointed out.

"It is indeed plain that there is an immense work of education to be done throughout the country. Everything that tends to weaken the Indian ryot's intelligence that helps him to be an independent, self-determining man, everything that breaks down the barriers between communities, and makes men regard each other as neighbours, and not as the wearers of some caste or creed insignia, hastens on the day when self government within the Empire will be attained. All this is work that the educated Indian can, and ought to, undertake" (149).

The above brief outline omits all reference to the suggestions made in the report about the native states, and also to all detailed proposals regarding the constitution of local, provincial and imperial councils, and periodic parliamentary commissions (which, by the way, would be one of the most excellent features* of the scheme if only the liberty to make reactionary proposals were not permitted to them in para 261), and indeed all other practical proposals. Whether the scheme detailed in the report is 'one of the greatest political experiments ever tried in history,' (194) or not, the future only will decide. It will depend very much on the spirit in which it is worked out. But it is due to its authors to say that it undoubtedly raises them from what Torrens, in his *Empire in Asia*, called "police-manship" which considers its whole duty to consist in reducing the country 'to the approved condition of dull and stagnant quietude.'

* On this point opinions differ as poles asunder. The Bengal Provincial Conference Committee's Report on Reform Proposals concludes with the following paragraph:

"XI. PERIODIC COMMISSIONS: A PROTEST."

"There is, however, one other matter which cannot be passed over. This is the proposal of periodic Commissions upon whose decision will depend the future advance of political freedom and national autonomy in India. We enter an emphatic protest against this proposal as concerned in distrust, and preferred on the assumption of India's incapacity to determine the course of her own evolution. This must go, and definite provision be made in the proposed Parliamentary statute for the automatic advance of India to full and complete self government within the empire, within a definite period of time. This is essential in the interests of India and the empire alike."

* Cf. President Wilson's declaration that he is one of those who do not believe in the theory of trusteeship or guardianship. The stakes in this quotation are ours.

† This phrase does not seem to be quite justifiable. Paragraph 155 of the Report contains the following passage, "All it is complete he [the ryot] must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is; and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes"—(Italics ours.) Editor, M. R.

to the nobler and more elevated regions of statesmanship, which alone can make Indiapermanently conciliated, and prosperous and happy.

The future destiny of India, or rather of the British in India has occupied many minds among English political thinkers. Just one century ago a predecessor of Lord Chelmsford the Marquess of Hastings, wrote in his private journal under date the 17th May 1818

A time not very remote will arrive when England will on sound principles of policy wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest

Macaulay expressed sentiments similar to the above in his reply in the House of Commons to Lord Ellenborough, who had declared (1833) that "our very existence depended upon the exclusion of the natives from military and political power." In language burning with indignation and fired with eloquence, Macaulay said

"The path of duty is plain before us, and it is the path of wisdom, of national prosperity of national honour. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history

As British rule in India became more and more secure from internal and external danger, these generous sentiments were forgotten, but now and then some qualms of conscience would arise, and Englishmen who had devoted some attention to the subject would try to peer into the future and read its secrets. There is, for instance, the extreme view of men like Meredith Townsend, who says "The English think

they will rule India for many centuries or for ever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the empire which came in a day will disappear in a night" (*Asia and Europe*). Professor Seeley, who holds that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration," and that "if there could arise in India a nationality movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English Power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once," was nevertheless of opinion that "as time passes, it rather appears that we are in the hands of a Providence which is greater than all statesmanship, that this fabric which has been so blindly piled up has a chance of becoming a part of the permanent edifice of civilisation." (*Expansion of England*). Kier Hardie thought that "repression will only intensify their (i.e., the Indian people's) determination to secure self-government, and may lead finally to the loss of what has been described as the brightest jewel of the British crown" (*India*). Mr Ramsay Macdonald concludes his book (*The Awakening of India*) with the words "We cannot keep her (India) back. Her destiny is fixed above our will, and we had better recognise it and bow to the inevitable." Mr C Delisle Burns thinks that there is "no way out of the difficulty which does not imply either the complete dissolution of the connection between England and the constituent dependent nations of the present Empire, or an admission of these nations sooner or later to political equality" (*Political Ideals*). The best known of Burma Civilians, Filding Hall, solemnly declares that "the time is coming when, unless we can go hand in hand with her (the Indian Empire) along her path to nationhood, she will desert us. Her destiny is calling her, shall we keep her back? We cannot keep her back. No one can be more wise than destiny" (*The Passing of Empire*). Mr Sidney Low, in answer to the question, what is to be the future of India? What will our own position be in the coming time? says that 'great changes are likely to pass over India before this century has grown from childhood to middle age but adds that 'it does not follow that we need fear it, or that it will be fatal to our political predominance—so

* While we do not call in question the general correctness of this observation so far as the form of the proposals goes we cannot forget that in the report peace and order and good government* or in other words *police-manshp* has been made the dominant factor in the scheme.—Editor U R

long as our military strength remains unimpaired, and so long as we retain control of the supreme administration. That, it must be remembered, is the ultimate source of our power" (*A Vision of India*). And Mr Low proceeds to cite the analogy of the Manchus, who, an alien official colony like the English, had the threads of the administration of China in their hands. The analogy was unfortunate, for the Manchus have been dethroned, and as for military strength, "the minds of India's peasant soldiery who have returned from abroad will never again work quite in the old way" (para 146 of the Report). Nevertheless, Mr Montagu's scheme seems to proceed along the lines adumbrated by Mr Low, for while provincial autonomy has been allowed some scope, 'pending development of responsible government,' in all matters which it (the Government of India) judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace order and good government, it must saving only for its accountability to Parliament, retain indisputable power' (para 266). The absolute power which both the Governor General and the Provincial Governors retain in their hands under the new scheme on the strength of this magical formula of 'peace, order and good government,' proves the truth of Lord Morley's aphorism: "The best syllogism is swept down by trumpet-blasts of Public Safety, Social Order, and other fair names for a Reign of Terror" (*Politics and History*). The Supreme Government will continue to be frankly autocratic, and this is the most discouraging part of the scheme.

The Report does not indeed spring any surprise on us, as the Anglo-Indian press is apt to suppose. The reforms were inevitable if England was to retain its hold on the mind of India and Mr Montagu's scheme errs on the side of caution rather than the contrary. Mr Ramsay MacDonald foresaw that 'Lord Morley has planted seeds, the fruit of which is parliamentary government.' The authors of the present scheme say the same thing in somewhat more guarded language. According to them, Lord Morley's reforms "constitute a decided step forward on a road leading at no distant period to a stage at which the question of responsible government was bound to present itself" (para 79). Mr Gladstone, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1877, observed

Our title to be there (in India) depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations and on a second condition; that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable.

Macaulay said in 1833:

We shall never consent to administer the 'poultice' to a whole community, to stupify and paralyze a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control."

The present scheme may be said to be the outcome of a sincere desire to bridge the chasm which separates the two principles of governing India alluded to above, and thus to falsify the prophecy of General Gordon that India would never be reformed until she was in the throes of another revolt.

The crucial test by which all proposals of reform are to be judged is whether they will or will not help to carry India towards responsible government (para 226). Responsible government is thus defined in para 189: "Our objective [in the provincial Governments] is the realization of responsible Government. We understand this to mean first, that the members of the Executive Government should be responsible to, because capable of being changed by, their constituents; and, secondly, these constituents should exercise their power through the agency of their representatives in the assembly."

Judged by this test, the provincial governments, in which alone responsible government of some sort is sought to be attained, will at their inception, have little or no element of responsibility in them, because the Governor will have the power to refuse assent to the proposals of his Indian ministers (219), who will be chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the council and not by the elected members themselves (222), the Governor will also have the power to dissolve the legislative council at will, all provincial legislation will require the assent of the governor, Governor-General, and the Secretary of State (254), "the budget cannot be altered by the council except when the Governor consents to such alteration (256), the Indian minister's salary will not from the beginning, but only after five years' time, be voted annually by the legislature, and the government of India will have the power of retransferring transferred subjects (260). A detailed criticism of the proposals on

these points does not come within the scope of this paper. This perplexing feature of many of the proposals which are so generous in theory and yet are in fact hedged in by so many limitations would be really inexplicable but for the fact that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had to satisfy people at home that the concessions they were going to make were not after all revolutionary in character. When Lord Sydenham attacked Mr Montagu's announcement of August 20 in the House of Lords Lord Curzon speaking on behalf of the Government said apologetically

The noble viceroy might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been a pronouncement any definite drawing up of a programme any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of a principle.

That is to say he advised Lord Sydenham to wait and see how far the proposals actually went and not to be carried away merely by the language in which the announcement was couched for unless they were of a far reaching character he might find no reason to object to them at all. Lord Curzon knew what an eminent ex-Viceroy Lord Lytton had said regarding the breaking to the hearts of the words of promise the governments of England and India had repeatedly uttered to the ears of the people of India and he had no reason for thinking that what had happened before might not happen again. The authors of the Reform Scheme had to work with the Sydenhamites constantly in mind and hence they had to cut short their liberal principles whenever the question of real responsibility came up for consideration. That under the circumstances their scheme marks on the whole a distinct advance on the old order of things stands entirely to their credit.

At the back of Lord Sydenham are retired bureaucrats and others and they are supplied with facts and figures and perhaps also the sideviews of war by their supporters and sympathisers in India. This brings us to the crux of the situation—can the bureaucracy change its spots? Hitherto the bureaucracy has been omnipotent and under the new dispensation also they will wield considerable powers. Two of them are to have the ear of the governor as additional members possessing official experience (para 220) they will continue as now to sit on the provincial

as well as the imperial executive councils and they may even become Governors of provinces (161). In Chapter XI of the Report the Civil Service has been very handsomely dealt with in the matter of pay leave and pension. Only thirty three per cent of the superior posts have been thrown open to the natives of India though in para 313 there is a hint that the services are to be substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible government. How far the proposals vary from the generous intentions thus expressed will appear from the fact that if only 33 per cent of the superior posts are recruited in India from now then it will take nearly twenty five years before 33 per cent of the total strength of the service come to be held by Indians so that the dream of a substantial Indian personnel will hardly be realised within the lifetime of any Indian just born. The posts of Assistant Judges and Assistant Collectors are treated as inferior posts though they carry large emoluments and considerable powers. Their exclusion from consideration in calculating the proportion of posts eligible to Indians has been shown by the Hon. Mr Chauluk in the Public Services Commission Report to be altogether unfair to the Indians. An assurance is given to the Civil Service that so long as the Empire is charged with the defence of India a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in the Government and in her public services (323) and they are told that though for them life will indeed be more difficult it will not be less worthy. It is harder to convince than to direct to prevail in consultation than to enforce in order the increasing sharing of responsibility is a higher order of work than administration (327). Though the bureaucracy is thus adjoined we cannot forget what one of them has said in his remarkable book on *Bureaucratic Government*. Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress (Bernard Houghton). Nationalism will have to contest every foot of its advance with the service (Ramsay MacDonald). The electoral rules framed under the Morley-Minto scheme are so grossly unfair to the Hindus that they give support to

a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the Mahomedan leaders were inspired by certain Anglo-Indian officials, that these officials pulled wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities by showing the Mahomedans special favour" (Ramsay MacDonald, *Awakening of India*) "And who that has watched bureaucracy at close quarters," wrote Lord Morley in 1914 in his *Politics and History*, "will deny that it is in fact more cumbrous, dilatory, and depressing for a people's political energy—and not less so to those who work it—than discussion in a legislative assembly, which is the salutary substitute." Already the cry has gone forth that non Brahmins and other communities require special representation just like the Mahomedans. Although Hindus have repeatedly elected Mahomedans in the municipal and legislative councils, the champions of the forces of reaction do not even suggest a common voting register, the proportion of the representatives of the different communities being fixed. That would at least leave the door partially open for a sense of national unity to grow up.*

The object of those who have taken up the cry of special electorates is clearly to wreck the scheme, as Lord Ripon's and Lord Morley's schemes were wrecked, and it is a thousand pities that prominent Indians like Dr. Naik have been found to support a proposal which is opposed in the best interests of Indian national evolution with a convincing wealth of

reasoning by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in paras 225-32 of their Report. A famous civilian, Ilding Hall, says that "there is throughout all English officials (and non officials) in India not only a disregard of facts about them [Indians] but a want of any real sympathy with the people among whom they live, which is astonishing." Whatever knowledge he acquires is of the people's faults and not of their virtues." Unfortunately the British public take interest in only what happens to the Civil Service, and is more convulsed by any proposal affecting its prospects and recruitment than by any other Indian question. Consequently it is very difficult to reduce its strength and influence, or make it amenable to Indian opinion. Professor Seely says

Only once I think namely in 1783 has India come quite into the foreground of parliamentary debate and absorbed the attention of the political world. Even in the Mutiny of 1857 deeply as our feelings were stirred the course of home politics was not affected by the affairs of India. The old question which had convulsed England in 1783 and which statesmen had been afraid to touch since the question who should have the patronage of India or how it should be dispensed with without shaking the constitution of England was in this way solved [in 1853] by the introduction of the system of appointment into the Civil Service by competitive examination.]

The resolution on simultaneous examinations in India and England though passed by the House of Commons in 1893 was never carried out and was treated as a dead letter, so powerful are the interests of the bureaucracy in Great Britain, and no wonder, for most British middle class families have one or more members serving out in India. In answer to the Congress League proposal to appoint members of the Executive Council only from among men trained in the public life of England, the authors of the report were compelled to say "We have to take into account the effect upon the services of excluding them from such positions" (161). The history of Indian political progress has convinced us that till the bureaucracy is ended, the most generous schemes for the political advancement of India are sure to be whittled down in actual working to something very different from what was intended by their originators, and our fears in that respect are already being justified by the artificial agitation set up in both England and

* In the Viceroy's recent speech (September 4) at Simla His Excellency says that while in his opinion communal representation is inevitable in the present circumstances of India he is frankly doubtful whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. The entire question however, is left in the hands of the committee appointed to be appointed—Sept. 6, 1918.

I could quote numerous cases, says Mr. Hardie (India) to show that people of different castes and creeds unite at elections to secure the return of non-sectarian members to all elective positions. Hindus were voted for and returning Mohammedans [at Benares]. The same thing is to be found all over the country. The talk about caste and creed in this connection is greatly exaggerated and it is desired to break down caste prejudices the best method is to give the people some form of popular representation in connection with which they would be compelled to work together as citizens for the common good.

India in favour of communal representation through special electorates*.

That our misgivings are shared by the liberal party in England will appear from the following extract, taken from the *London Nation*

'Mr Montagu has produced the boldest and most statesmanlike effort in construction that the Empire has seen in our generation. Big as it is, however, we certainly do not think that it goes too far (Italics ours). Our only doubt about it is indeed whether the older generation of Indian officials has elasticity of mind enough to adapt itself to the new era. Only a very exceptional man, after a life spent with autocratic powers as an administrator, will have imagination enough to become the loyal colleague of Indian ministers responsible to an Indian Assembly. The scheme presupposes as the condition of its success the defeat and disappearance of deeply rooted traditions of racial ascendancy. We believe in its success, for to admit the possibility of failure would be to despair of the possibility of a liberal Empire.'

In paras 315 and 316, racial discrimination in public service is said to be done away with. But as Mr Chubb pointed out in his minute of dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission, *the fixing of a percentage is in itself a departure from the principle of the statute of 1833 and the Queen's proclamation advocating racial equality*. The 'keen intelligence and the apt capabilities of India' were admitted in King Edward's proclamation of 1908, but a percentage is nevertheless thought necessary with a view to maintain 'the characteristics which we have learnt to associate with the Indian public services' and prevent their whole character from suffering a rapid deterioration (314). *If this is not racial discrimination it is difficult to understand what is so, for it presumes the exclusive possession of certain qualities by a particular race which monopolises the higher public services in India*. The whole truth about

* It should not be forgotten that our enemies are successful in fomenting strife because of our own social sins. That the present movement against Brahmins has been gathering head for some time will appear from the following written some years ago. 'The outcast himself is beginning to question his position. The Brahmin has behaved brutally to him, and he is allowing himself now to hate the Brahmin. Round the privileged castes a flood of resentment is silently rising, and it will rise much more quickly as elementary education spreads in India. This explains why there have been some remarkable demonstrations of the outcasts against the Nationalist movement. To many of them Indian Nationalism means Brahminism, and they look to Great Britain for their emancipation.—*Awakening of India*, by Ramsay MacDonald

the matters was succinctly put by Kier Hardie in the following lines "When Indian can meet European as a fully enfranchised equal, and compel that respect which is his due, then, and not before, will race prejudice begin to die out and finally to disappear." In the Native States the relations between the two races are much more cordial, because there the Englishmen do not regard the people as "subjects" and their natural arrogance is thus kept in check. The Criminal Procedure Code itself sets the seal of its approval on these distinctions and it is idle to urge, in support of our demand for social equality, the fitness of Indians, or to point out that according to Professor Thorold Rogers (*British Citizen*) a century ago there was only one man in ten and one woman in twenty in England who could even read and write, to refer to other facts of the same kind. So long as we are not fully the peers of Englishmen in our own land, vested with full rights of citizenship, the prejudice will manifest itself, unconsciously if not consciously, in a thousand different ways, even among the officials in spite of what the report has said in para 346 to justify in a measure the European attitude in regard to what it terms the social grievance. Take, for instance, the judgments delivered by the Honble judges of our highest courts of justice, and reported in the various law reports. An Englishman, either a party or a witness, has almost invariably the prefix 'Mr' affixed to his name, whereas the similar courtesy title of 'Babu' is almost as invariably denied to the Indian, unless he happens to be an official or an exceptionally well known man. An enquiry as to how many European Judges of the High Court care to return the visits of their Indian colleagues is likely to result in some interesting disclosures. The whole country calls Mr Tilak 'Lokamanya' which means revered of the people, but in the semi-official Anglo-Indian press there is none so poor as to do him reverence with a plain 'Mr'. They would not dare to omit this courtesy in the case of the most rabid Radical publicist of England Indian Judges of the High Court have to date their decrees 'in the year of our Lord 19—'. The very State Railways sometimes distinguish between 'gentlemen' and 'Indians' in their signboards. Under the shadow of

taxation for educational improvement would be acceptable' (187). It is admitted by almost all publicists that taxation in India has very nearly reached its limit.

'The amount of taxes raised direct from the peasant is from 50 per cent to 65 per cent of the value of the yield of the land, in addition to which they have to pay local cesses and various other small items so that probably not less than 75 per cent of the harvest goes in taxes. From time to time the revenue charges are revised so that the Government may obtain the last penny which can be wrung from the over weighted peasant. Increases of 30 per cent are common, and there are many on record of 50, 70, and even 100 per cent. It is this fact which keeps the people of India in a condition of perpetual, hopeless, grinding poverty' (*India*, by Keir Hardie).

The report itself says that 'there is no great margin of taxable capacity' among the peasant classes (332). This is the reason why the Indian army has had to be kept so long at its present (supposed) insufficient strength. Sir T. W. Holderness of the India Office in his *Peoples and Problems of India* says that the ratio of one British soldier to two Indians is fundamental [observe the distrust manifest here], the British element in the army in India is expensive, and without an increase in the British troops employed in India there can be no increase in the total strength of the regular army in India.

'Behind all the special administrative problems is the fundamental problem of insufficient revenues every farthing subtracted from incomes as small as those of the masses of the Indian population is seriously felt. The Indian government is thus on the horns of a dilemma. The field of administrative reforms and material progress is unlimited the field of taxation is very restricted.'

The military expenditure before the war used to be one shilling per head of the population, the expenditure on education being about one pence and a half per head. The necessity for greatly increased educational expenditure is therefore apparent. And after the war, the Indian army will certainly not be reduced in strength—rather the contrary. The Indian ministers will not be at liberty to find the money for education by economy in the reserved subjects, by cutting down lavish official salaries and establishments* among other

things, but will have to court unpopularity and spread discontent and jeopardise the success of the reform scheme by imposing new taxes, and this is hardly fair to persons who shall moreover have no administrative experience to fall back upon nor enjoy the status of members of the Executive Council.

In a fine passage already quoted (para 151) self government is truly spoken of as the solvent of social and racial problems. On this point we take the following from Fielding Hall, who had experience of conditions in Madras, and make a present of it to Dr. Nair, now the leader of the non Brahmin movement.

It is a piece of advice often addressed to India when she expresses a desire for some share in her government that she should first reform herself socially and intellectually. "Mind your divisions first and we will see what we can do." Such advice comes from ignorance alone. It is but another instance of the Phariseism that has become so common with us. It is impossible for individuals to reform themselves however much they may wish to do so. For an individual to reform his whole environment must be reformed as well. Why? Because to break fetters bound upon society by religion or convention takes the combined effort of society, and even then it is difficult. The inertia of peoples is a deadly difficulty to overcome. But we have not allowed the collective instinct any opportunity of developing. Self governing institutions do tend to remove them (differences created by races, religions, castes).

"In the village communal life they are to a considerable extent ignored. Solidarity comes from the sense of necessity for solidarity in order to get on. Its possibility is soon manifest to the development of self government the effacement of these divisions would be necessary, and in the pursuit of an eagerly coveted ideal they could pass and disappear. No other influence can do it. Again history shows this clearly. It was this influence in England that rendered Catholic emancipation possible and had brought creeds politically together. Did we in England live still under an aristocracy as we did a hundred years ago the divisions between Catholic and Protestant, Churchman and Dissenter, Christian and Agnostic, would still be as sharp as they were. These artificial barriers of creed and race give way only under the pressure of a national life."

We shall bring these rambling observations to a close by making one suggestion. The announcement of August 20 is said to mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one (para 7), calling for a new policy (178), differing in kind and not merely in degree from the old (9). At such

* 'Leaving out of account such large questions as that of military expenditure, nobody who has seen India and the conditions of Indian government will deny that there is great extravagance. The European Service is extravagant, the conditions under which it rules are extravagant, the cost of Simla, Ootacamund and other hill stations is extravagant, the expenditure on official residences and other paraphernalia is extravagant — *Awakening of India* by

Ramsay MacDonald. Elsewhere he says that 'the first step necessary to put the Indian expenditure on a sound footing is the appointment of an Auditor-General who will be directly responsible to the India Office or better still to the House of Commons itself.' There is no such provision in the Report, though Mr. Gokhale strenuously pleaded for it.

and support. When we see a tree with its fruit, flowers, branches and leaves we know that it has a root, even though the root be hidden in the ground. In the same way, our finite spirits are rooted in the infinite.

When I really know myself I know that I am a finite being, and that I am encompassed by an infinite Being in whom and by whom I am upheld. My intelligence is limited on all sides, yet it stretches out towards a boundless Intelligence. My desires are limited and my freedom small, yet I am ruled by a mighty Will and in that infinite Will I find my freedom itself. My devotion and reverence are circumscribed, until they find their fulfilment in the being of eternal Love.

Thus our human spirit is only completed in the Great Spirit. In the supreme self-existent Spirit of God the finite spirit of man finds its rest. As the spokes of a wheel radiate from the centre so all beings, persons, spirits, are centred in the Great Spirit.

The human spirit and the divine are so intimately near that even boundless space cannot separate the one from the other. They are like bosom friends. The one is sheltered, the Other gives shelter. The one enjoys, the Other gives joy.

It may be urged that a man may be a companion of his fellow men, but that he is too insignificant for the companionship of God. Those who think thus, when they see the Supreme on the one hand and their own littleness on the other, are filled with shrinking fear.

It is true, that if a thing is far away we cannot live with it. But God is so intimately near to us that He is within us and therefore we can live with Him.

In old times, the great sages have told us that God was as close to them as the amalaka fruit in the grasp of the closed hand. As with their whole hand they could feel the fruit so with their whole soul they could feel God. So near is He to us, that with the whole soul we can touch Him.

If we are asked what living with God means,—we pray to Him freely with all our hearts and He hears us. We listen to His immortal words of wisdom when

ever we speak to Him, He hears us. When ever He speaks to us, we hear Him. We see His face of love. We hear His words. He listens to our prayer,—this is what is meant by living with God.

It is true that in His words there is no sound, yet we can hear them in the silence. For, in this living with God, there is no need of the material senses. As He Himself is formless, and yet all seeing and all hearing, so without the use of our eyes and our ears we can see His face and hear Him speak to our souls. This intimacy of touch is living with God.

Furthermore, as without the use of our eyes and our ears we can see and hear Him, so apart from taste we can know His immortal joy. When this joy bedews the soul, it is inexpressible. The instrument of the senses is not needed at all, the life in Him has passed beyond the senses.

That which is external to us in nature and society is the symbol of Himself. The beauty of creation, the good deeds of men, the affection of relatives and friends, are the symbols of His goodness. But His immediate presence is in our inner being. When we see Him there, we understand the meaning of the Upanishad—

HIS ESSENCE IS JOY.

When we know His presence thus, then our human spirit understands that Joy.

God gives us generously His gifts—the wind, the rain, the sun, the moon. All these are His gifts, freely given. But the joy, which He reveals in the innermost depth of our soul,—there is nothing on earth which can be compared with that.

God manifests to us His gracious countenance in nature. He gives us our affections. He keeps us in the right path. All this is our elementary relationship with Him. But when He gives us His own Joy, then He bestows on us the greatest gift of all the heritage of His own immortality.

The wonder of all wonders is, that we can know here and now, the Good which is beyond all good, the Friend who is beyond all friends, the Perfection which is beyond all perfectness, the Joy which is beyond all joy.

(Translated, with abridgment from the Bengali)

TUBERCULOSIS IN CALCUTTA

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TUBERCULOSIS follows the wake of every civilisation ancient or modern. Civilisation brings in its train industrial, economic and social changes. It means abandonment of pastoral and agricultural pursuits and taking up of commerce instead. It means the growth of towns and cities with their factories and mills and consequent depopulation of the country and overcrowding of towns, strenuous life and hard competition late and long hours, dear rents and bad food. People flock into towns, the rents are high and accommodation small, so that men and women are compelled to be cooped up in sunless slums. Civilisation creates great wealth and great poverty—wealth for the few and poverty for the many. The wealthy by over feeding and the poor by under feeding create inefficiency with low vitality and feeble constitution.

These factors have worked nowhere with greater power for doing harm than at Calcutta, which is complimented as the 'City of Palaces', but which really is the city of the world's greatest slums. Even some of the greatest slums of the world, e.g., Glasgow and Manchester compare very favourably with the dark, dingy and uninhabitable bustees of Calcutta. To these conditions of wrong living, which we share in common with other countries, we have the aggravating social customs and ignorance of sanitary laws which favour the spread of infection.

Let us face certain facts. Tuberculosis is certainly fast spreading in Calcutta despite the abundance of tropical sunlight. Let us examine the following table showing the death rate—general and from Tuberculosis of several important cities in the British dominions.

	(1911 1912) Total Death Rate per 1000	Tuberculosis Death Rate, per 1000
London	15	1.35
Birmingham	14.1	1.23
Manchester	16.2	1.53

	(1911 1912) Total Death Rate per 1000	Tuberculosis Death Rate per 1000
Liverpool	17.7	1.49
Bombay	35.6	6.2
Calcutta	21.2	2.3

(The figure for Bombay is very much underestimated and many deaths from Tuberculosis are registered under the heading of respiratory diseases.)

It is evident that Calcutta gets an easy first in the list. The Tubercle bacilli thrive mostly amongst the insanitary surroundings, in the privacy of the 'Zennas', in our 'Baithak khannas', where the careless consumptive spits indiscriminately and uses the same Hookka and the same paws and pots as the others. Considering that preventive medicine and hygiene form very important items in combating disease and death in a community, it is sad to think, that no education or training has yet been able to cure us of such habits of unintentional carelessness—even when such carelessness is criminal. Even now it is not fully realised by the majority of people that in order to avoid infection from Tuberculosis, we ought to obey the ordinary sanitary laws, e.g., destroy the infective sputum.

The Health Officer for Calcutta writing in his report for 1913 says that the 'Number of deaths from phthisis amounts to 2196 as compared with 1931 of the previous year. This is equivalent to a death rate of 2.5 per 1000. This is a very high rate, particularly when we realise that tuberculosis practically caused more deaths than any of the acute infectious diseases, although both plague and cholera were prevalent in an epidemic form. The fact that there has been an almost uninterrupted rise in the returns for the last five years although partly due to improved methods in the diagnosis, is sufficient to show that urgent necessity for a vigorous campaign against this veritable white plague.'

Among Mahomedans, amongst whom the purdah is very strict, over one third of the total death rate is from tuberculosis.

The incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis amongst women is far heavier than amongst men, the former, though forming only 33 per cent. of the population of Calcutta, having 45 per cent of deaths from phthisis. That is, a rate of 3.3 per 1000, whereas the total death rate from phthisis in both sexes was 2.5 per 1000. The incidence of phthisis amongst women is a very serious affair. Even in 1916, we find that females suffered exactly twice as severely as males from pulmonary tuberculosis, the rates being 1.2 per 1000 for males and 2.6 per 1000 for females. The most regrettable fact and the saddest feature of tuberculosis in Calcutta is that the heaviest mortality rates occur amongst women of child-bearing age, as shown by the following table taken from the Report of the health Officer of Calcutta for 1916.

Age period	Population		Deaths		Rate per 1000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-15	43478	24265	10	34	2.3	1.4
15-20	50316	26325	52	121	2.9	4.5
20-30	174951	59983	216	244	1.2	4.0
30-40	133664	45085	241	189	1.8	4.1

It seems almost incredible that five times as many young women of 15 to 20 years of age shall die of tuberculosis as compared with young men of the same age and nearly four times as many women between 20 to 30 years as compared with men of the same age. This high incidence of tuberculosis among women of child bearing age heavy as it is, has indirect effects on the health of the children they give birth to, being themselves at the time suffering from an incipient stage of tuberculosis. These children are bound to start with a heavy handicap in life's struggle. More over when we consider the birth rate and death rate, with these facts before us, the future of the man power of Bengal looks very gloomy indeed. In our calculation we cannot for a moment forget the fact that the census figures with regard to the number of women of child bearing age include a large number of widows, who, according to the prevailing customs, namely their inability to remarry, are to be left out of count. Unless we realise this danger and take steps immediately, we shall before long find that the death rate figure has left the birth rate far behind it.

With these facts staring at our face let us look back and see what we have done to combat this frightful scourge. Bombay has taken the matter in hand and the King George Anti tuberculosis League is trying to grapple the problem and we hope we shall soon see the fruits of their activities. In the United Provinces they have established sanatoria in Bhowali and other places but so far nothing has been done in Bengal. It is a standing disgrace that Bengal should be lagging behind while the other provinces should be up and doing.

The excuse that is very often put forward is that Bengal is very unhealthy and that there is no place in Bengal where a properly managed sanatorium could be established. But it is necessary to grasp that climate is not the only thing to be considered in the sanatorium treatment of tuberculosis. Dr. Leon Petit says "We are now a days convinced that there is no climate however favoured which can cure consumption." There is no climate which is equally suited to every case of phthisis. Dr. Walter says, and says very rightly "It is of greater importance than the climate is the use that is made of it." Consumptives have been cured in 'most unlikely climates and many things point to the conclusion that fresh air and proper medical supervision are of much greater importance than a fine climate. Sir Robert Philip in his inaugural address delivered on the institution of the chair of tuberculosis in the university of Edinburgh in April 1918 said

little volume of the indigenous people of India. Some of them undoubtedly enable us to understand the mental outlook of the original inhabitants of India before any Aryan set his foot on the soil. Mr Venkataswami lives in Southern India, where the pre-Aryan background has not yet been so completely effaced as in Aryavarta. He has used his opportunities well in this "Folklorist's paradise" and has arranged his collection in groups headed stories of the Marvellous or Supernatural Stories of Adventure and Romance, Comic exploits of Noodles, Stories illustrative of Tribal or Caste Eccentricities, National Gods, Least Stories &c. We have only one suggestion to make: he should have mentioned the district where and tribe (or caste) among whom each story is most current.

JADUNATH SARKAR

THE GARDEN OF LIFE. POEMS WEST AND EAST
by James H. Cousins published by Garish & Co
Madras, price Rs 2.00.

To the readers of the Modern Review the name of James H. Cousins is already familiar. He is one of our new worshippers at the shrine of Indian spirituality and as a brilliant thinker and critic has already established his claim to help us in our national cultural awakening. There is no doubt that he is destined to play a great part in nursing and inspiring the development of the new life in India much in the same way as the late Sister Nivedita has done. His *Kingdom of Youth* is a series of brilliant and thought-provoking essays which has justly attracted serious attention. But it was with the fame of a poet and not as an essayist that he first came out to India and we are glad of the opportunity now afforded to make acquaintance with his essays in poetry. The active part he took in the Irish poetic revival and the appreciative reception of his former poems by the English Press have unfortunately raised expectations of qualities in his poems which are not fulfilled in this book of verses before us. The group of verses are divided into two sections: West and East. The latter beginning with a tribute to Sarojini Naidu is devoted to eastern subjects including some paraphrases from Saint Appar, Mirabai and Tukaram which are not quite successful. The most obvious quality disclosed in these verses is the twang of spirituality which the touch of eastern mysticism has enhanced in the poet already endowed with a spiritual vision; and the burden of the Indian mystic is again and again expressed in the poet's conviction that "the more of things by a single joy is stored," that "intimate this, remotest That, Behold their myriad shapes are one" and that, "They only read I ate a book, might who not in fragments seek the whole." From a book of verses of varying merits it is difficult to make a representative quotation, but the following may serve as a fair sample.

* 'Wail not that the thorny spear
Pricks about this Persian hose,
Kather count it good that here
Beauty out of harshness grows.
Though the feathery tamarind
And fruitage hangs in air,
'Spony cactus leather-skinned
Gives a sweetly savoured pear
What if sunlight, l'nterest
Strated frailty hid from sight,
Strikes to gold along the wing
Of the citching laugherous kite

Thus, and in the human heart
Where across a swinging gate
Joy and sorrow kiss or part
Nature holds her balance straight."

Mr Cousins is a new convert to Mysticism and the yellow mantle of Eastern Sannyasi has yet to clasp round him in graceful and natural folds. And if judged by technical and logical standards many of these verses lack striking qualities, there is that rare quality of sincerity and plenty of that elusive element of vitality in his poetry which, borrowing the language of dietetics, the critics have now chosen to call 'vitamines' which one can feel if not isolate or analyse. Greater familiarity with eastern ideas will undoubtedly bring to our poet that surer grasp which is the fruit of culture and realisation.

O C G

THE GREEN MIRROR, by Hugh Walpole. Published by Macmillan & Co.

The novel is designated as a quiet story by the author himself and the title is really appropriate—in fact, too much so. We are here taken into the domestic circle of an old-fashioned British family, the members of which live for themselves alone. The earliest sense of morality which the youngsters of the family had was that there were God, the Trenchards and the Devil—that the Devil wished very much to win the Trenchards to his side, but that God assured them that if they behaved well He would not let them go—and for this Troy had been destroyed, home had fallen etc. into their family circle a young man, Philip Mart, with a wide experience of life and an eventful past, comes in accidentally, and the main theme of the novel is the story of the love between him and Katherine, the daughter of the house. One cannot say that the handling of the love-story is specially skilful or interesting and the interposition of the members of the family, particularly of Aunt Aggie, who creates most difficulties, on several occasions seems uncalled for and inartistic. Katherine herself is somewhat colourless, as might be expected from her surroundings, and even the advent of love in the heart fails to transmute her nature. There is a touch of melodrama in the presence of the old mirror in the room, that in which everyone and everything are reflected, and the breaking of which seems to typify the destruction of the old conventions of the family, but in the conclusion, the author shows us clearly that these antiquated passions and prejudices are too much ingrained in the nature of man to be changed in a day or even in a lifetime.

THE TRYST AND OTHER POEMS, by L. V. Rieu. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

'The Tryst' with which the book opens is quite commonplace but there is a certain weirdness about the 'House of Thought'. The sonnet 'Love in Peace' would have been more striking if some of the details of the picture were omitted. But 'The Return' contains a beautiful simile that of the rower passing midway in the morn and dreaming that "through the gloom he sees the band of one who beckons from the dwindling shore". The address 'To my new-born son' invites comparison with Matthew Arnold's 'Gipsy child', but any comparison would, of course, be unfair, as it also would be with 'All songs leads to thee' if we brought it beside Shelley's 'Love's Philosophy'. The 'Prophectic Ode' is too ambitious in design, but there is real dignity in some lines. On the whole if we come to the book not for any striking

novel image or newly turned ideas, but are content to have common feelings rendered musically, we shall not go hence disappointed

SASIPADA BANERJEE A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND LIFE-WORK G A Watson & Co

This is one of the latest volumes brought out by Messrs Natesan & Co., in their series of the biographies of eminent Indians. The booklet gives us an account of Mr Banerjee's attempts at social reform, his temperance work, and his efforts for the emancipation of Hindu women. His activities in the direction of religious reform are not less noteworthy and of the institution, Devalaya, founded by him, Sir Rabindranath speaks in the following terms —

'When a seed germinates it rears the earth but when it develops into a full grown tree, with its branches and twigs, it gives shade to the earth. Time was when the Brahma Samaj raised its head in and through opposition. The establishment of the Devalaya is a proof positive of the fact that the day of struggle and opposition for the Brahma Samaj is drawing to its close. It is my belief that they alone have understood the mission of the Brahma Samaj who are attempting to provide in the shade of this huge tree a common meeting ground for all

H K S

THE PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION (SPECIALLY INTENDED FOR INDIAN STUDENTS): by C V Varadachari, M.A., B.A. B L Madras The Modern Printing Works, 1918 Price Rupee One

This is a laudable attempt to assist the Indian student in acquiring a good pronunciation of English. The author has taken great care to make his exposition of the underlying principles of English Phonetics and Orthography as lucid as possible, and has used Tamil, Telugu and Devanagari letters to illustrate English sounds by their exact or approximate equivalents in the vernaculars and in Sanskrit. It must be said, however, that his analysis of the English sounds is not strictly scientific. After all that has been done in England by A. M. Bell, Henry Sweet, and Daniel Jones, to quote only a few names, a treatment of English orthoepy along traditional lines has hardly any value. It is high time that English dictionaries followed the Oxford Dictionary in adopting some scientific alphabet (preferably that of the International Phonetic Association) to indicate the pronunciation of words. At the present day our notions of English Phonetics are distorted, as they are ordinarily derived through a wrong perspective — viz., an essentially unphonetic system of 'phonetic spelling' followed by most 'pronouncing' dictionaries. The writer of the present treatise has not gone beyond what may be called 'dictionary phonetics'. And he has not been sufficiently guided by his ear in this matter. In several respects he is quite content to accept ordinary Indian (or rather South Indian) approximations of English sounds as the true English ones. (For instance, at p. 6 we read that 'one may venture to say that there is scarcely any appreciable difference between the sounds represented by the *ay* in *fall* and the *a* in *far*, the fricative sounds of *th* (as in *this* *there*) are regarded to be the same as those of the Devanagari *थ* *द*, *ध*, which are interdental plosives (pp. 9, 10, 115 ff.) the diphthongal nature of the so-called long vowels of English has not been considered, nor has the slurred *r*, we also do not understand why the English consonants *t*, *d*, *k*, *p*, etc., are printed with a dot on them, imita-

ting the Tamil *ṛama*, which is not at all necessary for the consonants in the Roman alphabet, as they have no inherent *a* in them.) The pronunciation which is followed as the standard, it would seem is the ordinary South Indian pronunciation of English which makes [k] a *t* [j] out of *cloth*, [y] a *q* [j] out of *word*, [a] a *to* [k] a *out of orthodox*, and gives the truly Dravidian cerebral sound to the English *t* and *d* and occasionally to *n* and *f*. In Northern and Eastern India we have our peculiarities, no doubt, which often make our articulation of English equally ridiculous and there are many funny stories which bingle round our ordinary Bengali mispronunciation of English. But when our aim is to teach the correct pronunciation and intonation of a foreign tongue, as well as its orthography, through the medium of a book we should be particularly careful in noting the organic character of the sounds as produced by the native speaker, and in what respects these sounds differ from similar ones of our own mother tongue. In the case of a language like English which is unphonetically written nothing short of a good knowledge of the forces and influences which make up its history can give one a clear idea of its orthographical system. There cannot be any proper teaching of pronunciation without some knowledge of scientific phonetics, and, above all, demonstration in the classroom. Mr Row Sahib has treated each letter or group of letters and has given lists of words under each variety of sound as such, the book will be of some use to teachers of English. But I fear it is not likely to benefit much those who begin to learn English. An up-to-date vernacular treatise on the comparative phonetics of English and the vernacular itself would be more useful.

The best (and perhaps the earliest) book aiming to teach correct pronunciation of English to Indian students is a short 'Bengali-English Word Book' which was first published in the eighties of the last century. The author of it is Babu Syama Charan Ganguli, late Principal of the Uttarpara College, one of the sanest students of phonetics (and philology in general) in our country — who, despite of his eighty years, takes an active interest in the subject as the pages of the *Modern Review* will amply testify. The English Introduction to this unpretentious little volume gives a brief but most accurate account of the English sounds noting their points of difference with those of the vernacular. In the first edition the pronunciation of the words was given in a Roman phonetic alphabet; in subsequent editions, a phonetic script on the basis of the Bengali alphabet has been rightly substituted — as the book is intended for Bengali boys beginning to learn English. Mr Row Sahib's book no doubt, has a place among literature on the subject, but for it to be really scientific and useful, a more thorough and up-to-date treatment of the comparative phonetics of English and the vernaculars (Tamil, Telugu etc.) is necessary.

The printing and general get up of the book are excellent.

5th September 1918

S K C.

THE WORK OF TAGORE by Edwin Herbert Lewis Chicago Literary Club, 1917

This is a short paper read before the Chicago Literary Club on the 17th January 1917. Both Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Dr J C Bose had been guests of the Club and incidentally the essay touches on the philosophical aspect of Dr. Bose's work. Mr Lewis tries to show

thought of Sankara was peculiarly monistic, but Sir Rabindranath, a great Brahmo and the son of a great Brahmo, revolted alike from monism and polytheism, and 'conceived God in the older Hindu way, as present in all nature and yet as personal.' "This is the hardest of theologies to manage, and the balance is equally hard in science. Dr Bose keeps it, for he applies exact electrical methods of investigation to plants, finds their functions parallel with those of animals, and is filled with joy that he and the flowers are alike children of God. It is no accident that Bose turned from his independent invention of wireless telegraphy to the study of plants for India's strength has lain in her sympathetic care of plants and animals. And in theology and art Tagore keeps the same balance curiously well." Mr Lewis then goes on to say that Western pantheism is rarely personal, and cites Spinoza and Wordsworth. 'But Tagore speaks directly to God in almost all the poems of his maturity.' This is real with the man. I have challenged him to show that it is not chiefly art for art's sake, and have left off abashed, convinced by the nature and manner of his replies that these experiences are the very tissue of his daily life. He has himself summed up his apologia in these words: "drunk with the joy of singing I forget myself and call their friend who art my lord" (Gitanjali poem 2). 'Tagore made a great hit with American women, partly because he is so unlike the average swami who appears with the latest revelation to enchant white-gloved audiences. And specially he scored with his *hair* for childish psychology and his exquisite love of children (as seen in his *Crescent Moon*). Mr Lewis proceeds to quote his message to the people of the West in his *Sadhana* in which he declares that their machines, appliances, and organisations, though a splendid achievement, is not the realisation of life, just as owing to the city wall habit of their minds, inherited from the Greeks, their primeval forests never acquired a sacred association in the hearts of men as the place of a great spiritual reconciliation, where man's soul had its meeting, place with the soul of the world." Speaking of his essay on the *Cult of Nationalism* which, according to him, has become the organised selfishness of a people Mr Lewis says 'never was there an arrangement of mechanical organisations so competent, so eloquent, so impressive as his. But in spite of his denunciation of certain aspects of western civilisation it is important for us to remember that 'No one has more frankly acknowledged than Sir Rabindranath that West and East are complementary and necessary to each other.' And his India, especially rich in humane agriculture and humane contemplation, may in due time become the real reconciliation of machinery and ideals. Machines in India may become genuine savers of labour, and genuine saviours of the spirit.' In the West, you see in every man to-day the struggle between mechanism and ideals. To one statesman (or general, or engineer, or physician or clergyman, or educator) machinery is a servant, to another it is a master. In one it increases benevolence, in another tyranny. We see excess of statistics, we see blinders to statistics. We see excess of organisation, we see lack of organisation. We believe that religion should be democratic, but it is hard to get the democrats to church. And so it goes. We Westerners are all on the straddle.

While the West has thus merit of frankly doubting the perfection of its predominantly mechanical civilisation, we in India are so cocksure of our spirituality that we have made up our minds that we need not

learn anything from the civilisation of the West. Sir Rabindranath's animadversions on Western civilisation may lead apparent support to our orthodox patriots, but those who can appreciate his detached, impersonal and universal standpoint will see that to interpret Sir Rabindranath in this sense is to misread his teaching and derive the least profit from it. A genius like Rabindranath's transcends the limits of race and clime, and he utters truths of universal application, and cannot be a patriot in the narrow pettifoggish sense, exposing the fundamental drawbacks of western social polity merely with a view to flatter our national vanity. While he has always been true to our highest self, pointing out with unerring finger wherein lies the essential genius of our civilisation, giving it whatever strength and vitality and chance of survival it has, he has never truckled to our national and social vices. If he could only have shut his eyes to them, and confined himself to exposing the seamy side of western nationalism, his popularity with all sections of his countrymen would have been assured. But he was too staunch a patriot, in the real sense, not to love truth more than his country. As he said in the last number of this magazine, 'if I did not [love my country], then it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen'. As Mr. Lewis says Rabindranath's mission was to persuade young India to keep the right line of development—social co-operation, and not mere political freedom or economic exploitation, conflict and rivalry. The reply which Sir Rabindranath gave to Mr. Lewis who, like many others, congratulated him on his obtaining the Nobel prize, is characteristic of the high-souled patriot and of the poet who can grasp the real significance of an event, apart from the ephemeral circumstances which hide it, at a glance. 'The prize will be of very great help to my school, but the honour has proved to be a very great burden to myself, which I must accept humbly and without complaining, bearing in mind that it is the first greeting of sympathy and respect that has come to the east from the west in the modern time.'

1920 DIPS INTO THE NEAR FUTURE by Lucian. Headley Bros., Kingsway, W.C. 2s. net.

These imaginary scenes are reprinted from issues of the London *Nation* published in the last quarter of 1917. Some of these scenes have been quoted in the 'Notes' portion of the current issue of this magazine. The book is a most interesting and instructive satire on the stream of tendency prevailing in England as a result of the war, and the author has most appropriately assumed the name of the Roman satirist whose role was to expose the vices of his society in the days of its decadence. In 1920, old men and women will be compulsorily turned in the state crematorium, for if food consumption is to be appreciably diminished, old people must be sacrificed. A compulsory military service Act must be passed for tens of millions of the marriageable age, on whom will devolve the repair of the wastage of the war. "For were it left undone, the war, with all its liberating mission, would speedily collapse. A few more years would plunge the world into peace for sheer lack of fighting material. It is for woman to avert such an unspeakable calamity." Concurrent Unions and Co-operative Households (euphemism for polygamy) and leasehold or terminable marriages will therefore be established. The war financiers will own all the war-bonds, and when capitalism has won, it will stop the

music today is the invention of an accepted All India new system of notation the author devotes the greater portion of his article to explaining the system that he has evolved from Eastern and Western systems by interchanging the assets of both. This is the notation used in publishing these skeleton melodies. It needs to be read by a receptive, unprejudiced mind, out for such reforms as are needed to serve universal and not merely national or local music. Without this spirit probably both Eastern and Western musicians will throw aside these ragas in impatience and irritation and yet such attempts at producing a uniform system of notation are as necessary for making a united nation musically as for making music a universal language.

The Arts cannot escape the influence of a democratic era, even music must become democratized. Owing to its almost entire reliance on the ear as the medium of instruction music was held in the possession of an artistic oligarchy now the age demands a more widespread method, and just as the Press was a fundamental factor in the rise in intellectual self-consciousness of the masses of the people so is it also destined to be in their emotional consciousness. Hence the experiments being conducted in many far apart corners of India all aimed at producing the ideal system of notation for expressing India's musical life and for carrying her musical wealth far and wide.

In order to effect a compromise between the unaccountable attachment of Indians to that entirely foreign instrument, the harmonium and the crying necessity for preserving the natural intonation and tuning common to the East whose existence is threatened by the artificial well tempered system of this instrument, attention is drawn to the recently invented 'Indian harmonium' constructed by Mr. Clements. If India insists on retaining its foolish passion for the harmonium though it is in no way a product of its own tradition and genius then Mr. Clements' instrument is at least a step in a better direction. It is certainly better suited to the Indian music than is the commonly used Austrian model and as a rope thrown out to save an intonation in danger of being submerged it must be welcomed though with reservations.

Many other interesting points in the book ought to be noted but enough has been said to show that it will repay study and that it should be in the library of every musician even if readers do not agree with all in it. The Philharmonic Society is justifying its existence by making the publication and perpetuation of such collections of beautiful Ragas possible.

M. E. C.

GUJARATI

(1) *PREMANAND* by Bhanusukhram Nirgunaram Mehta B.A., printed at the Sayajiya Press, Baroda. Cloth bound pp 165 Price Re 1—(1918)*

Premanand one of the best poets in the older section of Gujarati literature has been exercising a fascination over the writer of his biography, and he has proceeded to his work with great love for the poet. His compilation shows all the marks of great laboriousness and gives much information in a compact form. Information which was lying scattered here and there in the Gaekwar of Baroda is a great patron of Vernacular Literature, and we have recently

eight books published out of the interest of a munificent sum of rupees two lacs set apart for the express purpose of encouraging the same. Most of these books are translations, and in a couple of instances we have come across the rare phenomenon of father and son both contributing to the series, e.g. while Bhanusukhram is selected for this work, his son has been selected for the next work. Similarly Prof. Trivedi and his father Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi have both been fortunate enough to attract the eye of the selecting authorities. The series called the *Sri Sayaji Sahitya Vala* is divided into several sections, Ethics, Biography, Science, Stories, Religion, etc.

(2) *MA BAPNE BE BOL (मा बापने वे बोले), by Bharatram Bhanusukhram Mehta, printed at the Sayajiya Press, Baroda, pp 55 Cloth bound Price Rs 6 (1917)*

This book called 'A Few Words to Parents' is the work of six days, so says the young translator in his preface. It has been translated from a Marathi Book and the original does not of course go beyond the usual platitudes found in such works. As to Mr. Bharatram's knowledge of Marathi, we do not know anything but the translation reads well enough.

(3) *VIJYAN PRAYESHIKA (विज्ञानप्रवेशिका), by Chhotalal Balkrushna Purani, M.A., printed at the Shaparya Press, Baroda pp 119 Cloth bound Price Rs 11 (1918)*

Though this book is a translation of an English Book called the Foundations of Science, in the People's Books Series it has been so well done that it almost reads like an original work; the reason being that the writer is himself so full of the subject matter of his book that he has had to make no effort in presenting the outlines to his readers. The drawbacks to be found in it are inherent in the subject itself, and it is always so difficult to avoid them.

(4) *JINDAGI NO VIMO (जी दमो नो वेमो) by Bholal Jayshankar Ora printed at the same Press Baroda, pp 109 Cloth bound Price Rs 11. (1918)*

This, we believe is the first book of its kind in Gujarati, in which Life Insurance is treated in its business aspect, and scientifically, in a way to guide and advise those who are inclined as well as those who may not be inclined to have their lives insured. Based on several English works quoted in the preface, it gives all up to date information on the subject. Its merit is, that in spite of having to write on a technical subject, the writer has been able to put into it great interest and attraction.

(5) *NITISHASTRA by Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B., of the Baroda College, printed at the above Press. Cloth bound pp 148 Price Rs 14 (1918)*

Prof. Rashid's Ethics is translated into Gujarati in order to show the ideas of Western thinkers on this branch of philosophy. The translator himself being a Professor of the subject has been able to do justice to the original, but we very much doubt whether it would ever be found anywhere else beyond the shelves of a few libraries. The subject is so exclusive,

(5) APANA LAGHU BANDHU ANGREG (आपना लघु बंधु अंग्रेज), by J. P. Joshiwara, M. 1, Translation assistant to the Vidyadhikari, Baroda State, printed at the same Press Cloth bound, pp 93 Price Rs 1 (1917)

This book is a translation of course. The original is written as part of an American juvenile education series and is called, Our Little English Cousin. The title very well suits the great nation, which may call the children of the mother country, our little cousins; but to literally translate it, and with reference to Indian children, to call them our little cousins is unmeaning and ridiculous. In fact the title of the book puzzled us a little, and we thought it a piece of temerity on the part of a Gujarati to call an English man, a little cousin. It was when we read the preface, that we could get some explanation of this extraordinary and infelicitous heading. The book describes the life of English children at home, their places of amusement, etc.

(6) ALAKA NO ADDBHUT PRAYAS (अलक नो अद्भुत प्रयास), Do Printed at the Lakshminilal Press, Baroda Cloth bound With woodcuts Pp 155 Price Rs 1 6 0 (1917)

'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' a most delightful children's book in English is sought to be adapted to Indian life by the writer. He is fully conscious of the difficulties of conveying the exact situations, the inimitable humor, and the surpassing delights of this innocent narrative into his work. The woodcuts with their English associations add to them. So that it is no wonder if this production lacks the attractiveness of the original. However as a first attempt, there is much to recommend it, and we are sure that in spite of its deficiencies it would appeal to children, and that its style suited more to educated and cultured minds would not stand in their way.

(7) JAGAT NO VARTARUP ITIHAS (जगत् नो वार्ता रूप इतिहास), by Gokaldas Mathuridas Shah, B.A., LL.B. Educational Inspector, Baroda State, printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press Baroda Cloth bound pp 187 215 228 Price Rs 3 8 0 (1918)

This substantial volume comprising but only nine parts of a larger whole still to come, is a translation of Sages' Story of the World for the children of the British Empire. The story telling in the original is really such as would please children, and instruct them. Even in this translation there are portions which cannot but interest them but once for all we may say here in connection with this, with the prior books noticed above and with the subsequent one to be noticed below that if instead of engaging the services of these writers in the work of mere translation they had been asked to rewrite the story or the subject in their own words taking the original as their basis or model a far better result could have been achieved. With the munificent sum at the disposal of H. H.'s Educational Department surely better work than a mere handful of translations could have been added to the Gujarati Literature. Are educationists of the type of R. B. Kamatashankar to be expected to work on the mechanical process of translation and earn their hire by treading the mill or are they to be called upon to produce something

original and make their work worthy of their wages? We would have infinitely more preferred to see Mr. Shah telling this Story of the World, in his own words after saturating himself with the subject from Sages' original. There was the instance of Narmada Shankar's *Rajyarang* (राज्यरंग) before him. How well has he narrated the history of the world there; How well does it read!

(8) HINDUSTAN NA DEVO (हिंदुस्तान ना देवो) by Rao Bahadur Kamalshankar P. Trivedi, B.A., printed at the same Press Cloth bound, pp 434 With a map and illustrations Price Rs 4 (1917).

How ridiculous does it look for one to say that this book treating of the gods of India is a translation of a book written by a foreigner, Osborne Martin and that too at the hands of a Brahmin scholar, who could from his intimate knowledge of the subject have given us the same information in original, possibly for the same remuneration? A cognate subject has been treated in the original, by an equally well known Brahmin scholar, Prof. Dhruva for H. H.'s State. Look at that book and look at this translation and see whether there could be any comparison between the two. Between first hand information given by a Brahmin scholar of the Hindu gods, and second or third hand information furnished from the translation of a foreigner's book there is a world of difference, and we do hope that in making selection of subjects and writers in future, the State Department would keep in view the fact that what the Literature (साहित्य) of Gujarat at present wants, is not idle, lifeless translations, which fall flat on the reader or pass into oblivion soon after publication, but living original work and the amount placed at its disposal is princely. This translation, it is needless to say, is well done.

SHRI RATNAKAR PACHCHISHI (શ્રી રત્નાકર પચ્ચીશી), by Ratnakar Suri, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar Paper cover, pp 32 Unpriced (1918)

As its name implies it is a small pamphlet embodying prayers, etc.

OUR DAY by H. D. Mulla, B.A. (1917)

This small book contains several songs, etc., sung by the children of Surat on 'Our Day 1917'. It is illustrated.

MAGIC LANTERN by Hardatt G. Shastri, printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat Cloth bound pp 104 Price Rs 8 (1918)

Of late the use of magic lanterns and their slides has become so universal that a book dealing with their make and their exhibition was wanted. This book supplies the want.

RASIK LAGHANU (રસિક લગનો) by Matilal Tribhovandas Sattaala, B.A., LL.B. Retired Joint Chief Judge of Bhavnagar, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press Bombay, Thick card board cover, pp 82 Price Rs 8 (1918)

This is a delightful little book of verses. Though primarily intended for those Vaishnavas who are lovers and worshippers of the rustic gambols of Krishna, it is sure to appeal to lay readers too. Based on the model of that best Vaishnava singer,

Dayaram, it depicts a quarrel between the eye and the eyelash. The latter requests the former to give it a share in the feast enjoyed by it, in its constant and uninterrupted gaze of Krishna, when he returns home in the evening driving his herd of kine. The eye is unwilling to do so, because it says that when it does not get its fill of enjoyment how can it share it? The eyelash thereupon comes in the way of the eye seeing Krishna. The eye seeks the assistance of the Gopas and the quarrel proceeds merrily involving others. The love of the Bhakta for Krishna is brought into great relief by these verses and we do feel that in publishing them Mr Matilal has done well. But for it, very few would have come to know of the latest talent lying in him.

TARANGAVALI PART I, (तरंगवली) by Ram

mohanrai Jaisankarai and Kanti Jaisankarai, printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick board cover Pp 88 Price Rs. 12 (1918)

This collection of poems written by two brothers is mostly intended for ladies. The poems are explained by means of notes of equal bulk. The sentiments expressed are noble, the ideals worthy and the language in which they are couched is simple and sweet.

K. M. J.

In the September (1918) issue of the "Modern Review" on page 259 in the third line of the Review of पदिसि in place of 'both for' read 'both in'.

THE RENAISSANCE IN INDIA *

THE author is an Irishman and a poet, and can use words winged with meaning and charged with thought, so that whenever he writes with emotion, as he often does, we are apt to be carried off our feet and lose ourselves in a maze of suggestive ideas, now picturesque, now elevated, but always profound. He some times errs by a fine excess and though it is an error leaning on virtue's side—for it reveals his deep sympathy without which true vision is impossible—and not one by any means as common among European writers as its opposite, nevertheless there is a danger to us in it against which it is necessary to warn our readers. Mr Cousins says in his preface

against the whole weight of a religious and social upbringing that consigned everyone outside my own faith to Hell, and took Europe (before August 1914) to be the first and last word in culture, I have tried to take on an intelligent, not a blind, eastern prejudice.*

This prejudice is a most useful antidote to the mental attitude with which the westerner habitually approaches the study of eastern questions, but to us it has the very insidious, though none the less real, danger of puffing us up with a false pride, and lending a meretricious support to the habit of blind adherence to customs and

institutions which have long outgrown their utility. In this respect the author may be classed with Sister Nivedita, who proved 'what a priceless help towards interpretation sympathy is', but at the same time glorified our civilisations in purple patches which, instead of spurring us on to further achievement, inclined many of us, naturally prone to credulousness, to consider ourselves to be the peak of perfection, the *ne plus ultra* of civilised manhood and womanhood, whereas there is no fact plainer than this, that in the whole world there is no civilised people so little esteemed as ourselves, and however wrong this judgment may be, it could hardly have existed if we were the perfect beings we were painted by some of our enthusiastic and noble minded friends to be. The stronger we grow, the less shall we stand in need of unbalanced praise, and our growing self respect may even feel a little humiliated by these generous efforts to infuse confidence in ourselves by obviously exaggerated appreciation. No foreigner, however sympathetic he may be, can, if we think of it, be a more complete Indian than an Indian himself, and in emphasising this or that point of our excellence, he should not forget the whole man with whom he cannot, and, if given the option, would not, identify, however ardent may be his love and admiration for the people in the mass. Both his

* *The Renaissance in India* by James H. Cousins. Ganesh & Co. Madras 1918 pp 291. The book is well printed, though there are some printing mistakes, and is strongly bound in cloth.

praise and his blame should therefore be conditioned by not this or that aspect of an alien civilisation, but by what he has been able to see of the men and the institutions in their entirety, and if this has the effect of modifying the vehemence of both his appreciation and depreciation, it is a result which all sincere well wishers of the country will approve. When Mr Cousins, in his indignation against Ruskin for betraying a mean race prejudice against Indian art, calls us 'a great, cultured, peace loving people, who, in many respects, have come nearer obedience to the injunctions of the Christianity of Jesus Christ than lip servers who take sides with the Father of Lies in their thought and speech of the non Christian peoples,' we can all agree with him and feel that he has done no more than justice to a much maligned race. But when he says 'India needs no awakening she has always been wide awake,' we know at once that he is indulging in a sentimental hyperbole. Again when he says "It is easy for the westerner to condemn the 'heathen practice' of slaughtering goats in the Temple of Kali, and it is equally easy for the westerner to excuse the slaughtering, not for religious sacrifice but for appetite, of vast numbers of cattle and sheep, which is funny and very sad," there is this much of truth in it, that in spite of the cruelty of some Indian religious cults, the Indians are essentially a humane and kindly people, and nowhere has the virtue of non killing been carried to greater lengths in practice and preached more insistently in the religious books of the race than in India. At the same time, as cultured foreigners from the days of the Marquis of Hastings down to Meredith Townsend and Sidney Low have observed, the human animal is nowhere held at a cheaper fee, and the inhumanity of man to man, displayed in social rather than in personal relations, and in the habitual indifference to national concerns, has nowhere been more marked. Moreover, if temple slaughter is to be justified, we can hardly draw the line at Montezuma's bloody hecatombs and cannibalistic horrors, perpetrated as they were in the sincere belief that they were welcome offerings to the Deity. Meat is eaten in all countries more or less, and in the Mahabharata, the Charaka Samhita and the Puranas we find strong justifications of the practice, and that one animal

should prey upon another is regarded as a law of Nature. Nevertheless, to think of God as a Being to whom the idea of bloody sacrifice is repugnant instead of being delightful is a nobler conception of Divinity, and one more worthy of being held by civilised humanity, than its opposite. That Hindus had this nobler conception can be abundantly proved from their scriptures. Why then, in the interests of Tantricism, this veiled justification of the grosser forms of popular Hindu ritual? Elsewhere Mr Cousins speaks of the "anomalies of the modern degradation of the caste system and the reprehensible social customs relating to women," and is even wroth with Mrs Sarojini Naidu for what he calls her "door mat attitude of womanhood," "which is at the root of India's present state of degeneracy through not only its direct enslavement of womanhood but through" its indirect emasculation of manhood. This shows that his own attitude towards things Indian differs as the poles asunder from that of the devotee of Kali who slaughters goats at her shrine, and the peculiarly baneful effect of indiscriminate praise lies in the fact that whereas his salutary views on caste and womanhood will be ignored, his seeming justification of animal sacrifices at religious shrines will be pounced upon and cited in corroboration of the practice by people with whom Mr Cousins, in spite of his sympathy for Hinduism, can have but little in common, but who pass for good Hindus. We seldom attach much importance now-a-days to a European's blame, knowing how deeply prejudiced he usually is against us, without examining its truth in the dry light of reason. The time has come when we should treat patronising praise with similar discrimination, however hard it may be to our natural inclination.

Criticism of this kind and from such a quarter will, we dare say, come upon Mr. Cousins as a painful surprise, for throughout the book there is ample evidence of the author's deep and ardent love of India and the Indians, and the many illuminating passages in which he has succeeded in lifting the veil and revealing the inner core of the mighty transformation that is going on in our midst require generous and grateful acknowledgment. It is therefore no less disconcerting to us than it is likely to be to him, to be com-

pelled to make such observations in view of the baneful effects of similar writings by foreigners which we have witnessed even among our educated countrymen who might be expected to show greater discrimination in swallowing wholesale all that has ever been said in praise of our beloved motherland. Long ago Macaulay said

We shall never consent to admit a *pousta* to a whole community to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control

From indications that we sometimes see around us we have reasons to fear that the same pernicious result may be brought about, indirectly and more insidiously by the ardent appreciation of our enthusiastic foreign admirers, who write with the best of intentions but whose mental equipment and outlook hereditary tendencies, and customary environments are so essentially different from our own that all of us are not in a position to make the necessary allowance before applying their remarks made from their own peculiar standpoint in the true spirit in which they are meant, to the circumstances and conditions obtaining among us. True love of country lies not in being blind to our own faults, but in being alive to them with a view to their removal, and an attitude of alert responsiveness to the progressive spirit and not a supine resignation to the *status quo*, is the vocation of the sincere patriot. It would be doing Mr Cousins a grievous wrong to suppose that he is not an advocate of Indian progress himself or that the necessary result of his panegyrics is a self-complacent confirmation of the reactionary habit of mind. If such be the effect of his encomiums on some of his readers, as we apprehend it may, the blame will be almost entirely on ourselves for he could only proceed on the assumption that his readers are capable of forming balanced judgments.

We shall now turn to the contents of the book, and here we are presented with a varied assortment of excellent things from which it is difficult to make a choice. No one who loves India and wants to grasp the real significance of the present upheaval in arts, religion and literature can do without a copy of this deeply informing book. There are two articles on the Bengal School of painters and one on the

poetry of Mrs Sarojini Naidu, and others on Literary Ideals, Philosophy and Poetry, the Renaissance in India, the Arts in Nation building some Indian Art origins, Russian and Indian Art, and, the Orientation of Western Literature. The author believes in reincarnation, and traces the growth of the idea of rebirth among English and Irish poets. Apart from the enlargement of mental and emotional scope which this philosophical doctrine is expected to give to English poetry it is within the power of philosophy "to give to the arts in general and to poetry in particular, a much needed enrichment through the extension and intensification of the instruments of consciousness, and through opening a clear way into the super-realms of nature and humanity." "There are many in India who are looking for a new Renaissance in religion itself," says Mr Cousins.

It is not improbable that the next great movement in the religious life of India will be toward pulling down the walls between the shrines of Siva and Vishnu rather than strengthening them while in the development of general art-crafts on naturalistic lines the devotional impulse may be directed towards India herself. An alternative to the inspiration of devotion to God or Motherland may be found in devotion to Art itself not for itself, but in service to the community through the fusion of art and religion—not the religion of creeds and ceremonies only but of vision and realisation.

The author admires the work which Sir John Woodroffe is doing in the cause of the Tantra Shastra, which, according to Mr Cousins, "will become one of the religious influences in modern life, not necessarily directly in the sense of superseding Christianity in the West, but certainly in an interaction through which the Shaṅkta Shastra will help as an irritant, so to speak, in the great oyster of western, and perhaps eastern, religion, to produce the Mother of pearl of a complete and true religious exegesis and practice." Here is Mr Cousins' exposition of the basal Tantrik principle.

Christianity as ordinarily interpreted puts an impossible gulf between the ideal and human nature. Tantra on the contrary throws its circumference around the whole circle of human activity and by linking every phase of conduct with religious endeavours to lift conduct from stage to stage not as in non-tantrik observance by focusing attention on the act itself which only intensifies it but by gradually raising consciousness which will in due time influence conduct. It includes worship with flesh foods, intoxicants and sex because it recognises that these are inherent in certain stages of human development, and because it believes that they are more certain to be transcended through being associated with the religious idea than through its being left

alone, or in an antagonistic relationship to religion the Tantra recognising the spiritual gradations of human evolution, not only takes cognisance of the debasing and sensual aspects of human nature and tries to elevate them through religion but puts its severest condemnation on those who participate in the lower rites when in consciousness they belong to the higher levels of evolution. It is this recognition of psychoducts that marks the Tantra as a scripture that will appeal more and more to the future and exercise a growing renaissance influence.

It is wrong to place 'flesh foods in toxicants and sex' in the same category. The sexual relation between man and woman is quite natural, and necessary for the preservation of society, and in its normal and legitimate form it is pure and has something spiritual and elevating in it. Our attitude towards it is not that of the monk or the *sannyasi*. The finest love poetry owes its origin to it. In its normal form it has been a civilizer. The conception of the ideal wife and the ideal husband enables one to realize one aspect of the relationship of the human soul with the Deity. But for the sexual relation all the pure joys and discipline of family life, the conjugal relationship, the relationship between parent and child, brother and sister, and all that these imply, would have been unknown. It is the abuse of the sexual relation which is to be condemned. The religious ceremony of marriage sanctifies the normal sexual relation. There is no antagonism between it and religion. As regards flesh food it is not our intention to discuss the relative and respective claims of meat-eating and vegetarianism. But every one will, we hope, admit that human society, at least over the greater part of the inhabited surface of the globe, can exist without flesh foods, and that therefore it is not as necessary for the preservation of human society as the sexual relation. It will also not be contended, we hope, that meat-eating in any form or quantity is morally or spiritually elevating or has a disciplinary value. We have also said above, that to think of God as a Being to whom the idea of bloody sacrifice is repugnant instead of being delightful is a nobler conception of Divinity and more worthy of being held by civilized humanity than its opposite. In any case we do not find any reason to look with complacency upon the association of animal sacrifices and flesh eating with religion. The use of intoxicants stands altogether upon a different footing. Its physiological effects are well known

If two ordinary specimens of humanity are taken and one is allowed to gorge himself with meat, and the other to drink as much as he likes and can the meat eater will not necessarily behave like a brute, but it is certain that the man who has drunk to the limit of his capacity or even somewhat less will behave worse than a brute. There is no justification for associating religion with intoxicants. And needless to add, they are nowhere a necessity to man. What a practical religionist will require the Neo-tantrist to show from history and biography is, to what extent the Tantric cult has actually led to 'flesh foods, in toxicants and sex' being 'transcended' through being associated with the religious idea. We are afraid there is a risk of the Neo-tantric exposition of the principle underlying the association of 'flesh foods, intoxicants and sex' with worship, being taken as only a refined and civilised presentation of the (right or wrong) popular notion that the Tantras teach that indulgence *ad libitum* in flesh foods, intoxicants and sexual pleasure is the recognised means of arriving at the stage of abstraction from them. It is well known what a source of deep and extensive degradation this popular notion has been. Mr Cousins naturally speaks with more confidence about the English poetry of Mrs Naidu and his verdict is worth quoting.

All through Devi Sarojini's work there are many lines of delicate, imaginative native beauty that must remain untried treasures to readers unacquainted with the East. She has already added to literature something heart-like in its frank but perfectly pure sensuousness. It is because of the measure of unique accomplishment and optimistic prophesy that emerges from the most searching criticism of Mrs Naidu's work that one feels a pang of regret to find from the daily newspaper that the flares of the public platform often lure her away from the radance of her moon-enchanted estuary of dreams.

Such song as she has sung and is capable of singing is amongst the greatest and most essential gifts of service which she can render to her country in the time of its response to the re-incarnating spirit of Renaissance and to the world in the hour of its crying need for pure and healing utterance.

Mr Cousins' appreciation of the Bengal school of painters both in detail and as a whole, forms the best portion of his book, and is profoundly interesting. He finds in this school 'a fusion of the detailed observation of realism with the suggestiveness of impressionism,' and speaks of 'the inner vision, the emotional and spiritual revelation, that is the special characteristic of the new Indian school.'

and of the microscopic delicacy as well as the largeness and strength of the pictures. The true and only subject of these painters is life.

They themselves are alive and love life. They take with them the deep compassion of the sense of unity which is a contribution to the thought of the world. "Personal type of the emphatic type that is characteristic of so much of the art of Europe is not to be found in these painters of the East. These pictures do not invite with glitter and noise. They commune with themselves and those who have the eye to see along with them find entrance to a world of entrancing spiritual beauty."

Mr. Cousins attended the exhibition of the Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta in 1916 and again in January of this year (1918) and here are his second impressions.

If the movement is vital not merely epidemic and transient it must attract and inspire new workers. It must show a forward tendency in the work of already recognised members and must show a springtime search after variety in the expressions of its life. The present exhibition responds liberally to these three requirements. It is a consolation and an inspiration to contemplate the achievements and prophecies of the modern Indian school of painting and to bathe in the joy of resurgent youth that has leached the steady tradition of ages and the ageless vision of eternal Beauty. Whereas in other schools of the painting art one is oppressed by the feeling that a fragment of the spirit has been made fixed and definite in the work of these Indian painters there is a joyous sense of release from the tyranny of the symbol and a passing through the seen to the unseen. In a word they have learnt the secret of raising the static to the ecstatic.

Finally, the author speaks of the Orientation of Western Literature. Intellectuals Omar Khayyam, Rumi, Indian stories Arnold's Light of Asia, Emerson's poems are instances of the steady turning of English literature towards the East both in letter and spirit. 'Yeats the peerless Irish poet sings his Indian Song' and A. E. his immortal brother singer of the India of the West. Ireland, sings of Sri Krishna in a poem that carries the reader off his feet. Within five years, a literature has gathered round Bolpur and its poet-teacher Kibindranath and a special number of an authoritative French art journal has been devoted to the work of the Bengal painters. At the same time Indian poets like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as well as her brother Harindranath Chattopadhyaya who sings the ancient spiritual ecstasy of India in English verse of fine quality and whose work presents a complicated problem in its exquisite importation of Oriental vision and magic to English poetry, are helping on the movement by making English the vehicle of their interpretation of India to the West. All this foreshadows the development of the spiritual consciousness which has not yet been fully awakened in English literature and the ultimate realisation of the one spiritual urge in all literary expression East and West.

A BENGALI BRAHMAN

BRAHMANISM IN LAST BORNEO

IN the current issue of the *Bydragen Tot De Taal Land En Volkerkunde Van Nederlandsch Indië* Professor J. H. Vogel, late of the Archaeological Survey of India has contributed a very interesting English article entitled 'The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetei (East Borneo)' (pp. 167-232). In this article the author deals with four Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape in archaic type of the ancient Grantha characters of Southern India and assigned to about 400 A.D. on paleontological grounds. The stones were discovered in 1879 in the Native State of Koetei, Last

Borneo and presented by the Sultan of Koetei to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The inscriptions were first printed by the late Prof. Kern thirty six years ago. Prof. Vogel in the article under notice gives a revised version of the records which read as follows:

- A.
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) श्रीवत् श्रीनन्द | (2) कृष्ण इत्यमरात्मनः [1] |
| (3) इन्द्रोद्भवो विष्णुः | (4) यमदत्तो यशोवर्धनः [2] |
| (5) तक्ष इत्यमरात्मनः | (6) दधन् इत्यमरात्मनः [1] |
| (7) देवोदयवर्धनः | (8) तपोनन्दवर्धनः [2] |
| (9) श्रीवत् श्रीनन्द | (10) यष्टा यष्टवर्धनः [1] |
| (11) तक्ष इत्यमरात्मनः | (12) विष्णोर्देववर्धनः कलिः [2] |

TRANSLATION.

"The illustrious lord-of-men, the great Kundungu, had a famous son, Asvarman (by name), who, like unto Amsuman, was the founder of a noble race. His were three eminent sons resembling the three sacrificial fires. Foremost amongst these three and distinguished by austerity, strength, and self-restraint was the illustrious Mulavarman, the lord-of-kings, who had sacrificed a Babusavarnaka sacrifice. For that sacrifice this sacrificial post has been prepared by the chief amongst the twice-born."

B.

- (1) श्रीमदो नृपमुख्य (2) राज. श्रीमुख्यः [1]
 (3) दानं द्रव्यतमे क्षेत्रे (4) यद्वत्तम् वप्रक्षेत्रे [1]
 (5) दिजातिभ्योदिकृतं भद्रः (6) दिशतिर्गोवप्रदिकृतम् [1]
 (7) तुल्य द्रव्यस्य युषोयम् कृतो विप्रैरिच्छागते [1] [1]

TRANSLATION.

"When the illustrious and eminent prince, King Mulavarman, had given a gift of a thousand kine and a score to the twice-born who resemble the sacrificial fires, at the most blessed field [named] Vaprakesvara,—for that deed of merit this sacrificial post has been made by the priests who had come hither."

C.

- (1) श्रीमद्विराजकीर्तेः (2) राज. श्रीमुख्यः [1]
 (3) यद्वत्तम् विप्रमुख्यः (4) ये चान्ये साधवः उद्वहः [1]
 (5) यद्वत्तम् श्रीमदानम् (6) यद्वत्तम् यद्वत्तम् [1]
 (7) वैश्वाम्यस्य यद्वत्तम् (8) युषोयं यद्वत्तम् विप्रैः [1]

TRANSLATION.

"Let the foremost amongst the priests and whatsoever other pious men [there be] hear of the meritorious deed of Mulavarman, the king of illustrious and resplendent fame—[let them hear] of his great gift, his gift of cattle (?), his gift of a wonder-tree, his gift of land. For these multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the priests."

D.

- (1) समरस्य यथा राजः (2) समुत्पन्नो भगीरथः [1]
 (3) (4) मुख्यः [1]

According to Kern the name of Mulavarman's grandfather Kundunga is non-Sanskritic and barbarous. So probably it was in his reign, about the middle of the fourth century A. D., that Brahmanic civilisation was introduced into East Borneo. It was introduced into Annam (ancient Champa) still earlier. The earliest Sanskrit inscription found in Annam is ascribed to the third (or perhaps to the second) century of the Christian era. Another Sanskrit inscription attributed to about 400 A. D. refers to a sacrifice instituted on behalf of the Dharmamaharaja Bhadravarman (p. 189). These records show that in the glorious days of the Imperial Guptas in the North and the Pallavas in the South not only the Bauddhas and the Saivas, but also the orthodox followers of the Vedic Karma-kanda did not feel any scruple to cross the sea and admit barbarian princes to the Vedic fold.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indians and the Colonies.

In the pages of the *Indian Review* for August M. K. Gandhi points out the highly deceptive nature of the Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of Indians emigrating to the Colonies. This is what he says :

We need not consider it a great achievement that we can pass the same laws against the colonials that they may pass against us. It is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow.

Who is to refuse permission and passports to the colonials desiring to enter India? But Indians, no matter what their attainments, are constantly being refused permission to enter the colonies even for temporary periods. South African legislation of emigration was purged of the racial taint, by the passive resistance movement. But the administrative principles still continue and will do so, so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.

The agreement arrived at regarding those who are already domiciled practically restates the terms of the settlement of 1914. If it extends to

and Australia it is a decided gain, for in Canada till recently there was a big agitation owing to the refusal of its Government to admit the wives and children of its Sikh settlers. I may perhaps add that the South African settlement provides for the protection of those who had plural wives before the settlement especially if the latter had at any time entered South Africa. It may be the proper thing in a predominantly Christian country to confine the legality to only one wife. But it is necessary even for that country in the interests of humanity and for the sake of friendship for members of the same Imperial Federation to which they belong administratively, to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

The above agreement still evades the question of inequality of status in other matters.—Thus the difficulty of obtaining licenses throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State and virtual prohibition within the Union itself of the entry of Indians into the Free States, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of Municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa barring perhaps the Cape. There is no change of heart in the colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India.

The Education of Sudras in Ancient India

K. Ananthachari writing in the *Literary Review* for September tries to establish from records gathered from the *Puranas* and the epic *Mahabharata* that, in ancient India, "not only the Sudras but even the non-Aryans were allowed to drink in the same fountain of Brahminic learning." This is a very bold statement to make. The writer himself admits that "a Brahmin of yore would not, as a rule, give lessons on the Vedas to a Sudra," and who knows that the few instances of Sudras "picking up knowledge in literature, mathematics, history, astrology, science, etc.," which he gathers, were not exceptions rather than the rule. The treatment meted out to the Sudras by the Brahmins of yore and the state of perpetual ignorance in which they were kept by their Brahmin masters are far too well known to leave any doubts. However let us hear what the writer has to say.

In the Dharma Sastras every one be he a Brahmin or a Sudra, has been strongly urged to educate his children. It has been clearly said that the parents would be enemies if they fail or neglect to educate the son.

Manu sets forth in one place that women learning picture cleanliness, good words and *Shilpa* (arts) may be gathered from anybody and calls upon a Brahmin to acquire healthy knowledge from a Sudra

(II 138, 240) Manu. That in times of distress, when no Brahmin preceptor is available, a Brahmacharin must be the pupil of a non-Brahmin and revere him as a Brahmin *Guru*. Now, how could it be possible to learn from a Sudra if he were prohibited from learning letters?

In those days it was quite necessary to learn the letters for transacting the ordinary business of life. Rules have been laid down for drawing up documents. But how could a Sudra sign his name on the record as a witness, debtor or creditor if he were not allowed to read and write? Of course, education was not made compulsory for the Sudras as it was for the three higher castes.

Of all the *Puranas* the *Brahma Purana* is the oldest. It says that a Sudra who has undergone the rules of his caste and who has acquired sufficient knowledge in *Shastras* becomes (as good as) a twice-born.

Next comes *Vishnu Purana*. In it it has been stated that Vedavyasa wrote a *Purana Saubita* which he taught to a Sudra Romaharshana, who in his turn taught six of his disciples three of whom were non-Brahmins. Each of these three disciples wrote a separate *Purana*. The *Vishnu Purana* was compiled from the *Saubita* written by Vedavyasa and the three *Puranas* written by the three Sudras. This almost settles the question. The other *Puranas*, such as the *Garuda Purana* and others, say that secular education may be imparted to everyone irrespective of caste.

Taking definite examples we see that Vidura, who was born of a Sudra mother, and according to the ancient custom was of the same caste as the mother, was not only well up in Literature, Philosophy and Politics but in foreign languages as well.

Again Karna, who was also a Sudra but of a very low order, was a thorough politician and good administrator. The *Mahabharata* clearly states that after bathing, Karna used to utter Vedic Mantras when offering oblations to the Sun God. So we find that though Karna was known in his childhood as a mere Sudra boy, he found no obstacles in getting a liberal education according to the natural bent of his mind.

The third example is that of Dharma Vyadha. Now a Vyadha cannot be a twice-born. Hunting was his hereditary profession. He had a daughter named Arjuna whom he gave in marriage to Matanga—a Rishi. One day the mother-in-law of Arjuna called her in good set terms for her being the daughter of a huntsman and consequently being ignorant of the duties of a Brahmin wife. Thereupon Arjuna left her house and laid the affair before her father. The father immediately called upon the father-in-law of his daughter. An altercation followed in which the pious huntsman quoted Scriptures copiously and succeeded in putting the Rishi down in religious arguments. He even gave the substance of the Vedic texts if not actually quoted them (*Narahapurana* Chapter VIII).

The Course of English Poetry

is thus described by Aurobindo Ghose in the pages of *Arya* for August

It began by a quite external, a clear and superficial substance and utterance. It proceeded to a deeper vital poetry a poetry of the power and beauty and wonder and spontaneous thought, the joy and passion and pain, the colour and music of life, in

which the external presentation of life and things was taken up, but exceeded and given its full dynamic and imaginative content. From that it turned to an attempt at mastering the secret of the Latins, the secret of a clear, measured and intellectual dealing with life, things and ideas. Then came an attempt, a brilliant and beautiful attempt to get through Nature and thought and the mentality in life and Nature and their profounder aesthetic suggestion to certain spiritual truths behind them. This attempt could not come to perfect fruition, partly because there had not been the right intellectual preparation or a sufficient basis of spiritual knowledge and experience and only so much could be given as the solitary individual intuition of the poet could by a sovereign effort attain, partly because after the lapse into an age of reason the spontaneous or the intenser language of spiritual poetry could not always be found or, if found, could not be securely kept. So we get a deviation into another age of intellectual, artistic or reflective poetry with a much wider range, but less profound in its roots, less high in its growth, and partly out of this, partly by a recoil from it has come the turn of recent and contemporary poetry which seems at last to be approaching the secret of the utterance of profounder truth with its right magic of speech and rhythm.

The writer goes on to say

We get the first definite starting point of this movement in the poetry of Chaucer when the rough poverty of the Anglo-Saxon mind first succeeded in assimilating the French influence and refining and clarifying by that its speech and its aesthetic sense.

The spirit of English poetry having struck its first strong note, a characteristic English note, having got as far as the Anglo-Saxon mind, refined by French and Italian influence, could go in its own proper way and unchanged nature, came suddenly to a pause. Many outward reasons might be given for that, but none sufficient, for the real cause was that to have developed upon this line would have been to wander up and down in a cul-de-sac, it would have been to anticipate in a way in poetry the self-imprisonment of Dutch art in a strong externalism, of a fairer kind indeed, but still too physical and outward in its motive. English poetry had greater things to do and it waited for some new light and more powerful impulse to come. Still this external motive and method are native to the English mind and with many modifications have put their strong impress upon the literature. It is the method of English fiction from Richardson to Dickens, it got into the Elizabethan drama and prevented it, except in Shakespeare, from equaling the nobler work of other great periods of dramatic poetry. It throws its limiting shade over English narrative poetry, which after its fresh start in the symbolism of the *Faery Queen* and the vital intensity of Marlowe ought either to have got clear away from it or at least to have transmuted it by the infusion of much higher artistic motives. To give only one instance in many, it got sadly in the way of Tennyson, who yet had no real turn for the reproduction of life, and prevented him

from working out the fine subjective and mystic vein which his first natural intuitions had discovered in such work as the *Lady of Shalott* and the *Morte d'Arthur*, we have to be satisfied instead with the *Princess and Laocœ* and the picturesque triviality of the *Jdyls of the King* which give us the impression of gentlemen and ladies of Victorian drawing rooms masquerading as Celtic mediæval knights and dames, with a meaning of some kind in it, all that does not come home to us because it is lost in a falsetto mimicking of the external strains of life.

The new light and impulse that set free the silence of the poetic spirit in England for its first abundant and sovereign utterance, came from the Renaissance in France and Italy. The Renaissance meant many things and it meant too different things in different countries, but one thing above all everywhere, the discovery of beauty and joy in every energy of life. The Middle Ages had lived strongly and with a sort of deep and sombre force, but, as it were, always under the shadow of death and under the burden of an obligation to aspire through suffering to a beyond their life is bordered on one side by the cross and on the other by the sword. The Renaissance brings in the sense of a liberation from the burden and the obligation, it looks at life and loves it in excess. It is carried away by the beauty of the body and the senses and the intellect, the beauty of sensation and action and speech and thought,—of thought hardly at all for its own sake, but thought as a power of life. It is Hellenism returning with its strong sense of humanity and things human, *nihil humani alienum*, but at first a barbarised Hellenism, unbridled and extravagant, riotous in its vitalistic energy, too much overjoyed for restraint and measure.

Elizabethan poetry is an expression of this energy, passion and wonder of life, and it is much more powerful, disorderly and unrestrained than the corresponding poetry in other countries, having neither a past traditional culture nor an innate taste to restrain its extravagances. It springs up in a chaos of power and of beauty in which forms emerge and shape themselves by a stress within it, for which there is no clear guiding knowledge, except such as the instinctive genius of the age and the individual can give. It is constantly shot through with brilliant treads of intellectual energy, but is not at all intellectual in its innate spirit and dominant character. It is too vital for that, too much moved and excited, for its mood is passionate, sensuous, loose of rein, its speech sometimes liquid with sweetness, sometimes vehement and inordinate in pitch, enamoured of the variety of its notes, revelling in image and phrase, a tissue of sweet or violent colours, of manyhued fire, of threads of golden and silver light.

It bestowed on the nation a new English speech, rich in capacity, gifted with an extraordinary poetic intensity and wealth and copiousness, but full also of the disorder and excess of new formation. A drama exultant in action and character, passion and incident and movement, a lyric and romantic poetry of marvellous sweetness, richness and force are its strong fruits.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The New Women Voters

Of recent events of importance happening in England which have a world-wide interest the granting of suffrage to women is one of the greatest. In the course of a luminous article contributed to the *Review of Reviews* (London) Millicent Garrett Fawcett tells us that the struggle which led to this achievement "has been fairly long but it has never been dreary," as many friends of the movement think. In fact, "it has all along been punctuated by victory after victory for one phase or another of the women's cause."

Taking the introduction of J. S. Mill's amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867 as the starting point two years after that women were admitted to the Local Government franchise the next year 1870 when the first Education Act was passed, women as well as men became electors of the newly formed School Boards, and women as well as men were made eligible for sitting upon them. Three women were elected for London, one for Manchester, one for Edinburgh and in every one of these cases the women thus chosen were prominently identified with the Suffrage movement. In that same year, too, 1870 a Woman's Suffrage Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons. Great work was also going on in the decade 1870-1880 for women's education. The Girls Public Day School Company was founded and the Charity Commissioners revised the educational endowments of the country, reclaiming for the benefit of girls' education many ancient endowments originally intended for them which had been absorbed by the other sex during the dark ages of our movement. The universities were gradually opened and from 1877 onwards the victory was won for women's medical education. In the May, 1918, examinations for medical degrees at the University of London considerably more than half of the successful candidates were women.

The first Guardianship of Children Act was passed during the more early years and also the first Married Women's Property Act. Before the passing of these Acts no married woman had any rights at all as a guardian of her children nor any control over her own property, not even over her earnings. The heroic and eventually successful fight of Mrs. Josephine Butler against the Contagious Diseases Acts (which had been passed in 1866 and in 1868 the one by a Conservative, the other by a Liberal Government) was initiated in the same period, and culminated in the repeal of the Acts in 1886. All this time suffrage work was going vigorously forward. Innumerable meetings were held, the political parties were bombarded with resolutions and amendments brought forward in their own party meetings. All the suffrage societies were growing in membership and in financial strength. Speaking of the one I know best, the National Union of Women's Suffrage

Societies, it grew from about 30 societies when it was first formed to 70 in 1903, and to over 500 societies in 1914, while our budget in the years just before the war averaged over £12,000 per annum.

Instead of fifty years 'in the wilderness' I should be inclined to speak of fifty years spent in cultivating a fertile soil, and the labourers being constantly cheered by abundant harvests. Even in point of time I claim that the fifty years from 1867 to 1917 in which it took women to win household suffrage are not an extraordinarily long time for so big a job, especially when we remember that it took men 52 years, from 1832 to 1884, to gain household suffrage for themselves. They only accomplished this in two steps, one in 1867 and one in 1884, whereas household suffrage for women, for such the recent Act amounts to, was carried at a single legislative stroke. It must be remembered also that men had many advantages in their struggle which were denied to us. The Reform Act of 1832 gave them a jumping off place of an organised representative system which had created a constituency of about 500,000 men; moreover men had behind them the invaluable tradition of 700 years of political freedom for their own sex. We could not muster one single vote between us and instead of the tradition of freedom behind us, we had the tradition of thousands of years of political subjection, a tradition in the earlier years unbroken in any part of the world. Therefore to advance to the point of household suffrage minus these advantages is slightly better time than our brothers' is a performance of which we have no cause to be ashamed.

These are in the main educative, they are non-party and non-sectarian, and are designed to foster the sense of citizenship among women, to encourage the study by them of civic, political and economic questions, and to accustom the women voters to the sense of strength which comes of united action.

An isolated individual can do little, but union gives strength, and if a woman belongs to an organised body she can help very materially to enable the country to utilise politically the domestic experience of women, for we feel that one of the national benefits of women's suffrage should be the use of the experience of women of all classes both in the making of the laws and in the carrying of them out. Women will more vividly probably than men see things from the domestic point of view and realise how the home and children will be affected by legislation or by the want of it. Very few men, for instance, realised when the Eight Hours Bill for miners was passed how very hardly it might bear on the domestic work of the wife and mother. It happens that a husband and two sons are working on each of the three shifts into which the twenty-four hours are divided; her work is practically never done. Each man very properly demands a hot meal before starting work and takes two meals with him, moreover he requires a hot bath on his return. The fire never goes out and the mother's work is never done. This could be avoided by a little thought and a little organisation, and now that women are voters it may be expected that this thought and organisation will be brought to bear on the solution of domestic problems.

The splendid activity of women's societies all over England in anticipation of and in preparation for the next general election is then described. These societies are responsible for the calling into being of Women Citizens' Associations.

Women Citizens' Associations are springing up in every part of the country, and much good may be expected of them. Leaflets and pamphlets on the subject are in great demand from the office of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and also from that of the National Union of Women Workers. Before the war Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool, started a Women Citizens' Association in Liverpool, which has proved of great use in encouraging the intelligent study of political and municipal subjects and in awakening in women voters a sense of their responsibility. In all probability the growth of Women Citizens' Associations will be a marked feature in the development of organised work among the voters.

The first political effect of the passing of the Representation of the People Act in February on the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was to cause it to adopt a very wide extension of its aims. Up to that date it had had but one object: "the franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men," and as this object has not yet been attained the Union will continue to work for it, but it has added to its objects the securing of all such reforms legislative, economic and social, as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties status and opportunities between men and women.

Bolshevik Rule in Russia.

"Russia under the Workmen's and Peasants' Government is not at all what the bourgeois reporters and diplomats and business men have made us believe." This is what is asserted by John Reed in the pages of the American journal *Liberator*. Our readers will find from the following extracts that the Bolshevik is not, after all, as black as he is painted. In fact, he is striving to make Russia better and nobler than anything she has ever been.

As for the disorganisation, that was accomplished under Nicholas the Second—who, as everybody then knew, wrecked the Russian army and the Russian system of transportation in order to bring about a separate peace with Germany, it was intensified by the bourgeois element in the Coalition Government of Kerensky, in order to wreck the Revolution. The Bolsheviks inherited a ruined Russia, whose soldiers were deserting in millions, whose transportation system was in a state of dissolution—a Russia starving and exhausted. At the time of the peace treaty with Germany, Russia was not so disorganised as it had been the last two months of the Kerensky regime. There was more food in the cities, better order in the streets, and a quickening of Russian life such as had never before occurred in her history. Kerensky had merely perpetuated, under the slightly changed conditions of capitalism, the institutions of Tsardom, under the Bolshevik regime there sprang

up an entirely new conception of the state—new political forms (the Soviets) new industrial organisation (The Factory Shop Committees), a new educational system, from top to bottom, a new kind of national army and navy, a new agrarian scheme, and a tremendous and myriad formed outburst of popular expression, in thousands of newspapers, books, pamphlets, in ceremonies and songs, in the theatre—rich, happy and free.

The "tyranny" of the Bolsheviks exists largely in the minds of interested persons who rarely if ever object to the violation of the rights of free speech and free assembly in other parts of the world. Yes, newspapers were suppressed in Russia, people were put in jail, Bolshevik commissars made illegal searches and requisitions. But it will surprise Americans to learn that almost nobody in Russia was or is in jail because of his opinions.

As for the arrests only those persons who were proved to be involved in plots of armed counter revolution, those who were caught grafting, those who were responsible for the dissemination of lies, and the most active members of the old Provisional Government, were imprisoned.

The stories about bloodshed are of course ridiculously false.

The workers in the factories, the soldiers in the barracks, the peasants in the villages got enough to eat, enough heat and light—pretty short rations, it is true, but still as much as Russians have been getting ever since the Tsar in his infinite wisdom tried to starve Russia into peace in 1916. And the two course dinner which the bourgeois traveler had to pay sixty roubles for in the Hotel d'Europe I could get for two and a half roubles in the great communal dining hall of Smolny Institute.

The Bolshevik state—it is hard for us to understand, for it is no bourgeois parliamentary democracy in which theoretically every man has a vote, and practically a small capitalist group rules, it is a dictatorship of the proletariat, of the unskilled, propertyless masses of the people, for the purpose of forcibly and permanently wrenching from the hands of the property owning class the weapons of its dominance. In its resistance to this process, the Russian bourgeoisie has shown itself ready to join the Kaiser himself.

The Evolution of Revolution

A profoundly thoughtful article under the above heading appears in the *Quarterly Review* from the pen of H. M. Hyndman, the well known English socialist.

The word revolution is loosely used, in ordinary language, to cover many forms of political and social transformation. In the definite historic sense, revolution means a complete change of the economic, social and class relations in any country, which, whether brought about peaceably or forcibly, ends in the general equalization of the new system. Mere political revolts are not social revolutions. They may represent a serious attempt at social and economic change from below, or they may be only the displacement of a governing family, or clique above. To-day, we speak of the revolts in China and Russia as revolutions. Nevertheless, the social and economic modifications in those great countries, below the surface, have so far, been very few. In no case has there yet been a real social and economic

in fact, the true revolution in both countries has only just begun.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the human race than the unconsciousness of mankind in their progress from one period of social development to another. Even a hundred and fifty years ago, or less, the greatest brains of our own period understood no more of approaching social changes than the ablest philosophers of antiquity did about the rise of slavery or its decline. The conditions which made for slave owning had created a form of society apparently so permanent that any crucial change seemed impossible. Religion gave no hint, ethics led nowhere, only economics, the lessons of which were entirely unapprehended at last enforced a change and compelled the gradual transformation. The power of the great landlords and slave owners of Rome and antiquity generally declined, not by the invasion of the barbarians from without, but by causes which silently sapped the edifice within.

A really complete revolution may be accomplished without bloodshed, at the critical time, when all is ready for the change. But the revolts against an existing form of domination before that stage has been reached, have been invariably unsuccessful and often accompanied by horrible cruelty and massacres. It is just the failure of such revolts when they come before their time, which compels us to regard the process of class domination through the centuries in the light of a natural phenomenon, unmoved by feeling and unaffected by morality of any kind. The inevitable change marches slowly and relentlessly onward over the heaps of slaughtered human bodies piled beneath the juggernaut car of economic advance.

The risings of the slaves against Roman slaveholders in Italy, Sicily, and the Provinces were fully justifiable. But their repeated efforts to obtain freedom failed to win any general amelioration of their condition. To all appearance slavery in both East and West was a permanent institution. Its continuance in full vigor depended however upon causes that were beginning to disappear, thus its base was rotting even when it seemed at the height of its power. The two elements which enabled slave cultivation and slave production generally to hold their own were the cheapness of slaves themselves on the market and the cheapness of their keep as compared with the wealth they produced. Cheapness on the market depended upon the supply of slaves being kept up by conquest or by domestic breeding, and supply by conquest was the far more important source. When this failed, the value of slaves inevitably rose. Slave labor, too, is always relatively inefficient. The exhaustion of soul, which almost invariably accompanied its use, by degrees increased both the cost of production and the price of maintenance. Moreover the difficulty and expense of replacement rendered greater care of the slaves and less pressure upon them essential. Hence the labor of free men became more and more important, and slave production less and less profitable.

The most reactionary anarchists of the period admit that the downfall of the Ancien Régime was due to economic causes rather than to violence. The old system of privilege and exemption from national taxation could not work any longer. It was not the licentiousness, extravagance, and cruelty of the aristocracy which brought them down. So long as they chiefly lived on their estates, like the junkies of to-day, and conducted their own business, all this turpitude, however objectionable morally,

failed to shake their power. When, however, they betook themselves to Court, managed their estates through agents, and combined with the Church to fleece their countrymen for no advantage to the rising middle class, they fell, because they had become not only vicious but obviously useless. They could not even handle effectively the means of resistance at their hand. "Why did you run away?" the fugitive nobles were asked at Cologne. "Nous étions des lâches," was the reply. They were not physically cowards—both men and women proved this at the crisis of their fate, but they felt that their position could not be defended, so they lacked the moral courage to hold on.

The same causes made themselves felt in the great development of capitalist production and factory industry which, beginning in its recognized shape in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, has spread and is still spreading over the civilized world. This change moved far more rapidly than any previous social modification. Put it went forward in this island, as well as later in the United States without any national superintendence or control. The horrors thus engendered fully equalled any of the chattel slave or serf period. Children of tender years were never deliberately worked to death for the profit of the slave owner or the feudal lord, as they were by capitalist employers at the end of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth century. But the resistance of the wage earners proved as useless as the previous risings against slave owners, nobles, and land expropriators had been futile. Luddite anarchist destruction of machinery, Chartist organized denunciation and physical force movements against the capitalists had no effect. Within a century or less, Great Britain was revolutionized from an agricultural country into being almost entirely a nation of manufacturers and profiteers. The peasant became a landless wage-earner, the land population was drafted into cities, and the cities grew up with the most crowded and miserable dens in which a pauperized proletariat had ever been housed. Such limitations as there were to the employer's power to work women and children to death were chiefly due to opposition made by the landowners to the factory owner class that was depriving them of political control.

Thus the transformation from home production and domestic industry to importation from abroad and great factory industry—one of the greatest economic and social revolutions ever known in any country—was achieved in Great Britain, not certainly without much perturbation and discontent culminating in armed violence, but relatively to the crucial character of the change effected, with little bloodshed. Once more, individual revolts against economic conditions failed for the victory of the capitalist and profiteering class was complete.

James H. Dillard contributes a very thoughtful article to the *Crisis* for July on

Education.

Covering the brief space of a page and a half, it is one of the most sane and ably written articles on the subject that we have read for many a day. We are in full agreement with the views of the writer and draw the attention of all Indian educa-

tionists and the honorable member of the Imperial Council who is in charge of the portfolio of education Says the writer

I have frequently said I do not believe in industrial education I do not believe in academic education I believe in education The question how we are to get education has in my opinion, no definite answer Three of the best educated men I have ever known went to school but two or three years in their lives Yet they knew how to use their minds they had high vision and broad vision and they loved art and good literature Looking back over my own experience I find that the place to which I look with most gratitude for what help in education I received was a one-room school, but there was a great minded man in that one room school He was one of two men whom I have ever met who could really read Latin and Greek He knew the whole range of history and he took us boys into his confidence So it comes from my experience that I would have for answer to the question how to get education, only this your self, wanting to learn and a real man, wanting to teach All our modern expensive equipment so far as real education goes is as nothing in comparison

As things go, I think it is well for us to have both *book* teaching and *thing* teaching and for real education I value the latter very largely because of its reaction upon the former I can see that when I was a boy at school I did not think back of the words to the facts or things represented by the words I can sympathize fully with the boy to whom China was yellow because the map was yellow and Russia pink because the map was pink I did not connect even mensuration in Arithmetic with actual things although the words named the things I should have been shocked if told to get on the floor and actually measure it It seems to me that dealing with things, doing things with hands, has a tendency to correct this danger of having the mind stop with the words and fail to project the thought to what the words mean

There is, of course an educational value in knowing how to do things whether it be to make a table or a biscuit, or to raise cabbage There certainly is an educational value in such work if the instructor insists that the table sit steady, that the biscuit be a good one and the cabbage-planting be done just right Accuracy is one of the marks of an educated man But in my own mind I confess that the material benefit of what is called industrial education comes second

I can never think of education as depending on grades, high or low I am sure that I got more of what seems to me to be education from the one-room school than I got from my course in college And yet for the sake of knowledge we have the grades from the primary to university, and I am sure that we should neglect none I think moreover that every boy and girl should have a chance at all of them if be or she can be benefited thereby Knowing however, the inevitable fact that the great majority for a long time to come are to be in the so-called lower grades of education, I am sure that relatively much more money should be spent than at present on these lower grades Even for the sake of the colleges this should be.

What we need is education rather than any particular kind or grade Some day perhaps another Socrates, or Froebel, or Rousseau may tell us some surer way of going for the thing At present we know nothing beyond the fact, which is certainly sure as far as it goes, that the necessary factor is the educated and consecrated personality of the teacher We are in great danger in America of thinking too highly of machinery and system The process of machinery and system however efficiently we may use the machinery and apply the system, may be called education—but is it? It surely is not unless it carries with it the idea that its main concern is not the fine machinery or the perfect system It must know that the real thing is the personal contact and individual instruction, through which the child or youth learns to use his powers, and comes to find in the best use of these powers which God has given him be they great or small, the value and meaning of life

It may be well to emphasize the fact that in using the word education I have not meant knowledge, either general or technical The two words have naturally been confused because of course in getting knowledge there is likely to be some acquirement of education and in getting education there is sure to be some acquirement of knowledge So it happens that in practice we merge the two I doubt if a satisfactory definition of education can be given We may perhaps put it this way In each of us there is a real self and education is the process of leading forth this real self into the free play of good desires and true uses Or more simply, perhaps we may say that the educated man is one who has a liberal and generous mind and is capable and desirous of leading a useful life

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

CHAPTER X NIRHIL'S STORY II.

I LEARNED from my master that Sandip had joined forces with Harish Kundu, and there was to be a grand celebration of the worship of the demon destroying

Goddess Harish Kundu was extorting the expenses from his tenantry Pandits Kavaratna and Vidyavagish had been commissioned to compose a hymn with a double meaning

My master has just had a passage at arms with Sandip over this "Evolution

is at work amongst the gods as well," says Sandip. "The grandson has to remodel the gods created by the grand father to suit his own taste, or else he is left an atheist. It is my mission to modernise the ancient deities. I am born the saviour of the gods to emancipate them from the thralldom of the past."

I have seen from our boyhood what a juggler with ideas is Sandip. He has no interest in discovering truth but to make a quizzical display of it rejoices his heart. Had he been born in the wilds of Africa he would have spent a glorious time inventing argument after argument to prove that cannibalism is the best means of promoting true communion between man and man. But those who deal in delusion end by deluding themselves and I fully believe that, each time Sandip creates a new fallacy he persuades himself that he has found the truth, however contradictory his creations may be to one another.

However I shall not give a helping hand to establish a liquor distillery in my country. The young men who are ready to offer their services for their country's cause, must not fall into this habit of getting intoxicated. The people who want to exact work by drugging methods set more value on the excitement than on the minds they intoxicate.

I had to tell Sandip in Bimala's presence that he must go. Perhaps both will impute to me the wrong motive. But I must free myself also from all fear of being misunderstood. Let even Bimala misunderstand me.

A number of Mahomedan preachers are being sent over from Dacca. The Mussulmans in my territory had come to have almost as much of an aversion to the killing of cows as the Hindus. But now cases of cow killing are cropping up here and there. I had the news first from some of my Mussulman tenants with expressions of their disapproval. Here was a situation which I could see would be difficult to meet. At the bottom was a pretence of fanaticism which would cease to be a pretence if obstructed. That is just where the ingenuity of the move came in.

I sent for some of my principal Hindu tenants and tried to get them to see the matter in its proper light. "We can be staunch in our own convictions," I said, "but we have no control over those of

others. For all that many of us are Vaishnavas those of us who are Shaktas go on with their animal sacrifices just the same. That cannot be helped. We must, in the same way, let the Mussulmans do as they think best. So please refrain from all disturbance."

"Maharaja," they replied, "these outrages have been unknown for so long."

"That was so," I said, "because such was their spontaneous desire. Let us be have in such a way that the same may become true, over again. But a breach of the peace is not the way to bring this about."

"No Maharaja," they insisted, "those good old days are gone. This will never stop unless you put it down with a strong hand."

"Oppression," I replied, "will not only not prevent cow killing, it may lead to the killing of men as well."

One of them had an English education. He had learnt to repeat the phrases of the day. It is not only a question of orthodoxy he argued. Our country is mainly agricultural, and cows are

Buffaloes in this country," I interrupted likewise give milk and are used for ploughing. And therefore, so long, as we dance frantic dances on our temple pavements smeared with their blood, their severed heads carried on our shoulders, religion will only laugh at us if we quarrel with Mussulmans in her name, and nothing but the quarrel itself will remain true. If the cow alone is to be held sacred from slaughter, and not the buffalo, then that is bigotry not religion."

"But are you not aware, Sir, of what is behind all this?" pursued the English knowing tenant. "This has only become possible because the Mussulman is assured of safety, even if he breaks the law. Have you not heard of the Pachur case?"

"Why is it possible for them?" I asked, "to use the Mussulmans, thus, as tools against us? Is it not because we have fashioned them into such with our own intolerance? That is how Providence punishes us. Our accumulated sins are being visited on our own heads."

"Oh, well, if that be so, let them be visited on us. But we shall have our revenge. We have undermined their greatest strength which was their devotion to their own laws. Once they were truly kings dispensing laws, now they will

become law breakers and so no better than robbers. This may not go down to history, but we shall carry it in our hearts for all time."

The evil reports about me which are spreading from paper to paper are making me notorious. News comes that my effigy has been burnt at the river side burning ground of the Chakravarti's, with due ceremony and enthusiasm, and other insults are in contemplation. The trouble was that they had come to ask me to take shares in a Cotton Mill they wanted to start. I had to tell them that I did not so much mind the loss of my own money, but I would not be a party to causing a loss to so many poor shareholders.

"Are we to understand, Maharaja," said my visitors, "that the prosperity of the country does not interest you?"

"Industry may lead to the country's prosperity," I explained, "but a mere desire for its prosperity will not make for success in industry. Even when our heads were cool, our industries did not flourish. Why should we suppose that they will do so just because we have become frantic?"

"Why not say, plainly, that you will not risk your money?"

"I will put in my money when I see that it is industry which prompts you. But, because you have lighted a fire, it does not follow that you have the food to cook over it."

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What is this? Our Chakua sub treasury looted? A remittance of Rs 7,500 was due from there to head quarters. The local cashier had changed the cash into small currency notes at the Government Treasury for being carried conveniently, and had kept them ready in bundles. In the middle of the night an armed band had raided the room, and wounded Kasim, the man on guard. The curious part of it was that they had taken only Rs 6000 and left the rest scattered on the floor, though it would have been as easy to carry that away also. Anyhow, the raid of the dacoits was over now the police raid would begin. Peace was out of the question.

When I went inside, I found the news had travelled before me. "What a terrible thing, brother," exclaimed the Senior Rani. "Whatever shall we do?"

I made light of the matter to reassure

her. "We still have something left," I said with a smile. "We shall manage to get along somehow."

"Don't joke about it, brother dear. Why are they all so angry with you? Can't you humour them? Why put everybody out?"

"I cannot let the country go to rack and ruin, even if that would please everybody."

"That was a shocking thing they did at the burning grounds. It's a crying shame to treat you so. The Junior Rani has got rid of all her fears by dint of the English woman's teaching, but as for me, I had to send for the priest to avert the omen before I could get any peace of mind. For my sake, dear, do get away to Calcutta. I tremble to think what they may do, if you stay on here."

The Senior Rani's genuine anxiety touched me deeply.

"And, brother," she went on, "did I not warn you, it was not well to keep so much money in your room. They might get wind of it any day. It is not the money,—but who knows."

To calm her I promised to remove the money to the treasury at once, and then get it away to Calcutta with the first escort going. We went together to my bedroom. The dressing room door was shut. When I knocked, Bimala called out "I am dressing."

"I wonder at the Junior Rani," exclaimed my sister-in-law. "Dressing so early in the day! One of their *Bande Mataram* meetings, I suppose." "Robber Queen!" she called out in jest to Bimala. "Are you counting your spoils inside?"

"I will attend to the money a little later, I said, as I came away to my office room outside.

I found the Police Inspector waiting for me. "Any trace of the dacoits?" I asked.

"I have my suspicions."

"On whom?"

"Kasim, the guard."

"Kasim? But was he not wounded?"

"A mere nothing. A flesh wound on the leg. Probably self-inflicted."

"But I cannot bring myself to believe it. He is such a trusted servant."

"You may have trusted him but that does not prevent his being a thief. Have I not seen men trusted for 20 years together, suddenly developing

"Even if it were so, I could not send him

to gaol But why should he have left the rest of the money lying about ?

'To put us off the scent Whatever you may say Maharaja he must be an old hand at the game He mounts guard during his watch, right enough but I feel sure he has a finger in all the dacoities going on in the neighbourhood

With this the Inspector proceeded to recount the various methods by which it was possible to be concerned in a dacoity twenty or thirty miles away, and yet be back in time for duty

Have you brought Kasim here ? I asked

No, was the reply he is in the lock up The Magistrate is due for the investigation

I want to see him I said

When I went to his cell he fell at my feet weeping In God's name he said I swear I did not do this thing

I do not doubt you Kasim I assured him Fear nothing They can do nothing to you if you are innocent

Kasim however was unable to give a coherent account of the incident He was obviously exaggerating Four or five hundred men big guns numberless swords figured in his narrative It must have been either a disturbed state of mind or a desire to account for his easy defeat He would have it that this was Harish Kundus doing he was even sure he had heard the voice of Ekram the head retainer of the Kundus

'Look here Kasim I had to warn you don't you be dragging other people in with your stories You are not called upon to make out a case against Harish Kundu or anybody else

13

On returning home I asked my master to come over He shook his head gravely I see no good in this — said he this setting aside of conscience and putting the country in its place All the sins of the country will now break out hideous and unashamed

Who do you think could have

Don't ask me But sin is rampant Send them all way right away from here

I have given them one more day They will be leaving the day after to-morrow

And another thing Take Bimala

away to Calcutta She is getting too narrow a view of the outside world from here, she cannot see men and things in their true proportions Let her see the world—men and their work—give her a broad vision

That is exactly what I was thinking

Well don't make any delay about it I tell you Nilhil man's history has to be built by the united effort of all the races in the world and therefore this selling of conscience for political reasons,—this making a fetish of one's country, won't do I know that Europe does not at heart admit this but there she has not the right to pose as our teacher Men who die for the truth become immortal and, if a whole people can die for the truth it will also achieve immortality in the history of humanity Here in this land of India, amid the mocking laughter of Satan piercing the sky, may the feeling for this truth become real What a terrible epidemic of sin has been brought into our country from foreign lands

The whole day passed in the turmoil of investigation I was tired out when I retired for the night I left over sending my sister-in-law's money to the treasury till next morning

I woke up from my sleep at dead of night The room was dark I thought I heard a moaning somewhere Somebody must have been crying Sounds of sobbing came heavy with tears like fitful gusts of wind in the rainy night It seemed to me that the cry rose from the heart of my room itself I was alone For some days Bimala had her bed in another room adjoining mine I rose up and when I went out I found her in the balcony lying prone upon her face on the bare floor

This is something that cannot be written in words He only knows it who sits in the bosom of the world and receives all its ranga in his own heart. The sky is dumb the stars are mute the night is still and in the midst of it all that one sleepless cry !

We give these sufferings names bad or good according to the classifications of the books but this agony which is welling up from a torn heart pouring into the fathomless dark, has it any name ? When in that midnight standing under the silent stars I looked upon that figure my mind was struck with awe and I said to myself Who am I to judge her O life

O death, O God of the infinite existence, I bow my head in silence to the mystery which is in you

Once I thought I should turn back But I could not I sat down on the ground near Bimala and placed my hand on her head At the first touch her whole body seemed to stiffen, but the next moment the hardness gave way, and the tears burst out I gently passed my fingers over her forehead Suddenly her hands groping for my feet grasped them and drew them to herself pressing them against her breast with such force that I thought her heart would break

BIMALA'S STORY

16

Amulya is due to return from Calcutta this morning I told the servants to let me know as soon as he arrived, but could not keep still At last I went outside to await him in the sitting room

When I sent him off to sell the jewels I must have been thinking only of myself It never even crossed my mind that so young a boy, trying to sell such valuable jewellery, would at once be suspected So helpless are we women, we needs must place on others the burden of our danger When we go to our death we drag down those who are about us

I had said with pride that I would save Amulya,—as if she who was drowning could save others! But instead of saving him, I have sent him to his doom? My little brother such a sister have I been to you that Death must have smiled on that Brothers Day when I gave you my blessing—I, who wander distracted with the burden of my own evil-doing

I feel to-day that man is at times attacked with evil as with the plague Some germ finds its way in from some where, and then in the space of one night death stalks in Why cannot the stricken one be kept far away from the rest of the world? I, at least have realised how terrible is the contagion—like a fiery torch which burns that it may set the world on fire

It struck me I could not get rid of the idea that Amulya was in trouble, that he had fallen into the clutches of the police There must be great excitement in the Police Office—whose are the jewels?—where did he get them? And in the end I

shall have to furnish the answer, in public, before all the world

What is that answer to be? Your day has come at last, Senior Ram, you whom I have so long despised You, in the shape of the public the world, will have your revenge O God, save me this time, and I will cast all my pride at my sister-in-law's feet

I could bear it no longer I went straight to the Senior Ram She was in the verandah, spicing her betel leaves, Thako at her side The sight of Thako made me shrink back for a moment, but I overcame all hesitation, and making a low obeisance I took the dust of my elder sister-in-law's feet

Bless my soul, Junior Ram! she exclaimed What has come upon you? Why this sudden reverence?

It is my birthday, sister said I have often caused you pain Give me your blessing to-day that I may never do so again My mind is so small I repeated my obeisance and left her hurriedly, but she called me back

'You never before told me that this was your birthday, Junior darling! Be sure to come and have lunch with me this afternoon You positively must'

O God, let it really be my birthday to-day Can I not be born over again? Cleanse me, my God, and purify me and give me one more trial!

I went again to the sitting room to find Sandip there A feeling of disgust seemed to poison my very blood The face of his which I saw in the morning light had nothing of the magic radiance of genius

'Will you leave the room!' I blurted out

Sandip smiled 'Since Amulya is not here, he remarked, 'I should think my turn had come for a special talk'

My fate was coming back upon me How was I to take away the right I myself had given I would be alone,' I repeated

'Queen,' he said, 'the presence of another person does not prevent your being alone Do not mistake me for one of the crowd I, Sandip, am always alone, even when surrounded by thousands'

'Please come some other time This morning I am

'Waiting for Amulya''

I turned to leave the room for sheer vexa-

tion, when Sandip drew out from the folds of his cloak that jewel casket of mine and banged it down on the marble table I was thoroughly startled "Has not Amulya gone, then?" I exclaimed

"Gone where?"

"To Calcutta?"

"No," chuckled Sandip

Ah, then my blessing had come true, in spite of all. He was saved. Let God's punishment fall on me, the thief, if only Amulya be safe.

The change in my countenance roused Sandip's scorn. "So pleased, Queen!" sneered he. "Are these jewels so very precious? How then did you bring yourself to offer them to the Goddess? Your gift was actually made. Would you now take it back?"

Pride dies hard and raises its fangs to the last. It was clear to me I must show Sandip I did not care a rap about these jewels. "If they have excited your greed," I said, "you may have them."

"My greed to-day embraces the wealth of all Bengal," replied Sandip. "Is there a greater force than greed? It is the steed of the great ones of the earth, as is the elephant, Airavat, the steed of Indra. So then these jewels are mine?"

As Sandip took up and replaced the casket under his cloak, Amulya rushed in. There were dark rings under his eyes, his lips were dry, his hair tumbled, the freshness of his youth seemed to have withered in a single day. Pangs gripped my heart as I looked on him.

"My box!" he cried, as he went straight up to Sandip without a glance at me. "Have you taken that jewel box from my trunk?"

"Your jewel box?" mocked Sandip.

"It was my trunk!"

Sandip burst out into a laugh. "Your distinctions between mine and yours are getting rather thin, Amulya," he cried. "You will die a religious preacher yet, I see."

Amulya sank on a chair with his face in his hands. I went up to him and placing my hand on his head asked him, "What is your trouble, Amulya?"

He stood straight up as he replied. "I had set my heart, Sister Rani, on returning your jewels to you with my own hand. Sandip Babu knew this, but he forestalled me."

"What do I care for my jewels?" I

said. "Let them go. No harm is done." "Go? Where?" asked the mystified boy.

"The jewels are mine," said Sandip. "Insignia bestowed on me by my Queen!"

"No, no, no," broke out Amulya wildly. "Never, sister Rani! I brought them back for you. You shall not give them away to anybody else."

"I accept your gift, my little brother," said I. "But let him, who hankers after them, satisfy his greed."

Amulya glared at Sandip like a beast of prey, as he growled. "Look here Sandip Babu, you know that even hanging has no terrors for me. If you dare take away that box of jewels . . ."

With an attempt at a sarcastic laugh Sandip said, "You also ought to know by this time, Amulya, that I am not the man to be afraid of you."

"Queen Bee," he went on, turning to me, "I did not come here to-day to take these jewels, I came to give them to you. You would have done wrong to take my gift at Amulya's hands. In order to prevent it, I had first to make them clearly mine. Now these my jewels are my gift to you. Here they are! Patch up any understanding with this boy you like. I must go. You have been at your special talks all these days together, leaving me out of them. If special happenings now come to pass, don't blame me."

"Amulya," he continued, "I have sent on your trunks and things to your lodgings. Don't you be keeping any belongings of yours in my room any longer." With this parting shot, Sandip flung out of the room.

17

"I have had no peace of mind, Amulya," I said to him, "ever since I sent you off to sell my jewels."

"Why, sister Rani?"

"I was afraid lest you should get into trouble with them, lest they should suspect you for a thief. I would rather go without that six thousand you must now do another thing for me,—go home at once, home to your mother."

Amulya produced a small bundle and said, "But, sister, I have got the six thousand."

"Wherefrom?"

"I tried hard to get gold," he went on, without replying to my question, "but could not. So I had to bring it in notes."

the rarest masterpieces,—and those of the ancient art of India (when the painted caves of Ajanta and Cigirra were discovered). Each of these tendencies can be seen to predominate in turn in the work of Tagore, and that of his disciples.¹ He painted charming figures of women after the Indo-Persian style: “A young girl doing her hair” and who stops suddenly—a long lock between her fingers—to follow her dream [fig. 8] a young woman seated at the edge of the terrace, absorbed in the contemplation of the “Message of Love” graven on the lotus flower. [fig. 1] Historical pictures: “The Emperor Aurangzeb looking at the head of his brother Dara,” whom he has just caused to be killed by treachery. Placed on a tray, and wrapped in a red turban, this cut-off head recalls the *Saint John the Baptist*’s of the Italian renaissance; “The Dream of the Emperor Shah Jahan” who saw one evening, rising on the horizon, the exquisite mausoleum where the body of his beloved wife Tajmahal was to rest²; and finally an “Illustration for a quatrain of Omar Khayam.” Kneeling on the prow of his bark the Sufi watches the water of the river as it flows on, symbolising the course of the lives of the sages, and he composes this meditative verse:

The ball no question makes of eyes or nose,
But here or there, as strikes the player goes.
But He that cast us down into the field,
He knows about it all, he knows, he knows!

Pictures of Hindu inspiration, which portray episodes from the divine legends, are more numerous. Tagore has devoted pictures full of grace, and bright in tone, to the life of Krishna. He has not, certainly, seen in him the supreme god of the Bhagavat-Gita—the source and end of all things—but only the charming shepherd of the Gita Govinda, who dances in the fields, plays on his flute to charm nature, and frolics and swings with the shepherdesses whom he intoxicates with his presence. [fig. 4] The mystic thought that animates the whole story of Krishna—the milkmaids who are in love with him symbolizing the

union of the soul with the Divine—is absent from the work of Tagore. It is hardly to be traced in a picture with darker colours where he has shown us Radha seeking her lover in the forest.³ Anxious, and as if already troubled by the divine presence, she does not see the God, who hides behind a big tree, embracing its dark trunk. In the shadow, the light of his forehead, crowned with an aureole, his blue arms and his glittering robe can be distinguished. It is the image of the God who hides himself from Souls after having possessed them and exacts from them a loving quest.

In the Portrait [fig. 12] A. Tagore has painted with a perfect distinction and charm the trouble that takes possession of the heart of young girls at the sight of the divine youth. He makes them sigh forth the despairing words of the Bengali poet—their gaze laden with desire and melancholy—

“I was happy in my house
Until the day I saw his picture”

Shiva has inspired Abanindranath Tagore more than his pupils. K. N. Mazumdar has painted a “Dance of Destruction” [fig. 10] with taste, but he does not give the god the ardent fire and the intoxicating passion of the dance, that the ancient sculptors were able to render with such striking realism. Tagore has placed Shiva and Parvati among the groves at night—fall—face to face with arms entwined—in the act of the divine identification⁴. And whilst they gaze upon each other, the god provokes his wife—“Oh! daughter of Himalaya, I am white as the moon, and thou art dark as the cloud that passes before her—I am the sandal wood tree and thou the serpent that twines around it.”⁵ But however charming these pictures may be, they do not equal in beauty a fresco representing the divine couple,

7 The picture of Radha that Tagore composed after a Bengali poem has the same inspiration
“She was passing by in the light of evening.

I did not know who she was
But the sight of her made glad my eyes”

8. It is well known that the god who contains in himself both the male and the female elements, capable of assuring him totally of action over the universe can project outside of himself active energy and incarnate it in a goddess “Shakti.”

9 The legend relates that Parvati, humiliated by these reproaches fled into the woods and by means of penitences obtained a complexion as bright as the sunny sky.

5. There are even some Mahomedans among his pupils—Samur Zama who has painted with grace episodes from the life of Nur Jehan, Iswari Prosad who has illustrated in the style of Persian miniatures the poem of Saade,—Leila and Majnun.

6. This monument built at Agra in the 17th century, and known by the name of Taj Mahal is one of the most perfect of the Islam Muslim art.

that has been copied from the caves of Ajanta¹⁰ by Nanda Lal Bose. Adorned with his rich coronet, the cord of the ascetic round his arm, and the emblematic *chakra* in his right hand, Shiva clasps his beautiful wife, who is crowned with her diadem in the form of a crescent moon and a lotus flower. Entranced and as if possessed by the god, Parvati leans, more supple than a creeper, towards her spouse. Cheek against cheek, grave and meditative, with their beautiful bodies lying in elegance, they make the most disturbing picture that art has presented, of the human couple troubled by the double mystery of the spiritual and the fleshly union.

The Buddhistic legends have not been a happy source of inspiration to the artists of the Calcutta School. O Gangooly modernising to excess his 'Buddha preaching' has given him a Roman profile and Gogonendra Nath Tagore has conceived the *Nirvana* under the appearance of a puerile symbol of a bluish ocean from which a head emerges. Happier in his illustrations of the life of Chaitanya the mystic reformer¹¹ he has drawn grave and noble pictures of him and in spite of the clumsiness in the drawing he has succeeded in communicating his emotion, in "grief on the threshold of the unknown".

Nanda Lal Bose, the most gifted of Tagore's pupils, has illustrated the principal episodes of the Hindu epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat*. The engravings that represent the struggles of the Kurus and the Pandavas, and that were drawn some years ago, bear traces of English influence in their coldness and banality¹². "The burning of the house of lac" (fig 11) however, shews a very sure sense of composition, and there is some nobility in the 'Last voyage of Judisthira' (fig 9). The history of Rama is drawn according to quite different ideas

of technique. Freed from imitation of European art, Bose has attached himself to the old Hindu traditions—those of Ajanta—which the painters of the people cherish in their bazaar pictures and which women follow by instinct when painting the figures of gods on the inner doors of their houses. Here there is none of the Persian affectation, but strength, movement, warm colouring, and realism. Dressed in bright red, the subjects are shown in relief on a background of indigo blue. The "Mother of Rama" bearing in her arms the hero as a child (fig 3) is a Hindu woman in all her fullness, such as the *Mahabharat* describes to us under the form of Shakuntala. "She has passed this way, my sweet love, the track of her feet made deeper by the weight of her hips is imprinted in the ground"—And "Kamali lying down on the sea shore" is one of the noblest pictures by which painting has added to poetry.

Tagore has only once turned from religious and symbolic subjects to attempt caricature. There also, however, he was guided by a desire to work for the education of his people. The personages that his ironical fancy has reproduced in the forms of 'The Amorous Prince' (fig 3, "The Great Goddess," "The Captive Hero"—are actors who are to represent before an enthusiastic public the heroes and gods of ancient poems—true clowns who deck themselves with paper flowers and motley tinsel in the setting of an English music-hall.

Such is the work of the Calcutta painters—a work of charm, distinction and thought. It comes to prove to Europe, to whom it presents itself for the first time, what collective effort united round a common inspiration, can do. These sincere and gifted artists have subdued their own private temperaments to the necessity for reviving the technique and the ideal peculiar to India. If to this they have sacrificed richness of colouring and freedom of form, they have at least affirmed their will to live and the precision of their aim.

In order to produce great works, this little group must free themselves from foreign influences and try to translate more than episodes of the legends from Hindu thought. Grace and serenity have suppressed in them the gifts of force, movement and passion, that belonged to the ancient sculptors. They do not bring

10. The underground temples of Ajanta (situated to the west of Central India) were built between the second century of the ancient era and the 6th century of the modern era. The walls are adorned with paintings whose perfection has never been surpassed in India.

11. From 1480 to 1527 Chaitanya whose life is full of marvellous deeds became the apostle of divine love. Standing on the roofs of the town he used to cry to the excited crowd—Krishna, Krishna, love, love—and then fall raved in an ecstasy.

12. They served to illustrate the book of Sister Nivedita and Ananda Coomaraswami 'Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists'. A Tagore and Venkatappa also helped to illustrate the book.

before us India with her essential symbols. A country of wonderful dreams, in ancient days she incarnated in her multiform gods all the forces of nature. They have a thousand arms with which to create and a thousand faces that they may enjoy with all the senses. Conflicting elements mingle in them, life and death, sensation and thought, enjoyment and asceticism. At the height of madness and confusion they tend towards a state of equilibrium and from the frenzy of the instincts they produce intellectual order. We shall see one day this diverse and abundant thought spring up in the works of the Calcutta school, unless India, having already advanced beyond the stage of intuitive thought and turning towards the world of experience—India, suddenly grown young again—reveals to us the forms of an art till now unknown.

Our sole duty today is to look upon the artistic awakening of India with sympathy. We use this word in all its force, sympathy implying an idea of knowledge. We must come prepared before these pictures and restore them to their civilization without trying to imitate them. Thus we shall not fall again into the mistake, that, for three years, for the pleasure of a dress maker, imposed upon us the Persian style and made of it a trumpery affair, taking away its true meaning and depriving it of its inner life.

Hindu art ought to be for us something other than a mental pastime. Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples are worthy of any effort we can make to understand them and to reach through them the precious civilization of India.

Translated by
PRAMILA CHAUDHURY.

BENGALI IN INDO-ROMANIC SMALL LETTERS

IN the *Modern Review* for July 1918 a writer who signs himself *A Madrassé* writes to say that he has read "with great interest" my two recent articles in the *Review*, and further writes as follows:—"From the point of view of a non Bengali Indian, I believe that the adoption of Roman script for Bengali will be of great benefit to the country. It would immensely facilitate the learning of the Bengali language and literature by non Bengalis, the chief obstacle in their ways at present being the script. To provide every facility for learning Bengali and popularise its literature is a great necessity for us Indians. As a step in this direction, therefore, I urge that the Bengalis should come to a conclusion immediately about the adoption of the Indo Romanic script for their language."

The Rev. J. Knowles has also written to me from Cambridge, under date May 29th 1918, saying that he "should like to enlist you [me] in an effort to arouse attention to the great need of some reform in Indian characters."

Hindustani was romanised long ago on the basis of transliteration. It appears to me desirable that Bengali should now

be brought out in small Indo Romanic character, without waiting for European savants and phoneticians coming to an agreement about the application of the Roman alphabet to the writing of all languages—an agreement which shows yet no signs of coming, the *amour propre* of individual scholars and learned societies standing as a great obstacle in the way. A move in Bengal in the matter may be a spur to the other linguistic areas in India and even to Europe itself. So I now take upon myself the task of offering suggestions for the phonetic transcription of Bengali in Indo-Romanic character, which in effect would be transliteration on the basis of the real powers of the Bengali letters and not transliteration on the basis of the powers of the corresponding Devanagari letters as used in writing Sanskrit.

At the outset I have to say that the system that has with a few variations, been long in use in India for transliteration into Roman character, and has recently been employed in writing certain previously unwritten Indian languages—Santal, Khasi, Lushai and Garo—is the best fitted for the phonetic romanization of all Indian writing, as being the system

(2) It retains for the symbols \times their historical place between the vowels and the regular consonants ক খ গ ঘ ঙ , etc, and does not transfer them to a place after these consonants

(3) It has the symbol \sim put over vowels to indicate their nasalization, instead of $\underset{\sim}{m}$ after vowels for the same purpose

(4) It has n with a loop attached below instead of n , for ন

(5) It has g , instead of s , for গ

(6) It has l , instead of l , for ল

(7) It has r for র

The Linguistic Survey system differs from the Royal Asiatic Society's on the following points —

(1) It has certain additional vowels a for the sound of a in *all*, \tilde{a} for the sound of a in *hat*, \tilde{e} for the sound of e in *met*, \tilde{o} for the sound of o in *hot*, and it has also ts for the Marathi ত (which seems to be the same as the East Bengal ত), ch instead of c for চ , sh instead of s for ষ , ng for the Bengali ং which has the sound of ঙ

The Bengal Government system differs from the Royal Asiatic Society's in having \tilde{n} instead of m , for — (*anusvara*), in having no symbol for া (*anunasika*), and in having \tilde{p} instead of \tilde{n} for ব

As regards the transliteration of Arabic characters with additional characters for Hindustani, I need here only say that h used for ه and s used for س cannot properly be used for two Arabic letters whose sounds are quite different from those of h and s . In the Royal Asiatic Society's Transliteration announcement in the Society's Journal for 1896 it is indeed said of the two tables of transliteration, (1) of Sanskrit-Pali and the allied alphabets, and (2) of Arabic and allied alphabets, that "these two tables are inconsistent with one another on several points." It is further said that "the practical difficulties arising from this discrepancy are, however, so small that the council would merely point out the discrepancy." But the discrepancy is certainly not irremovable. I have further to say that Arabic letters having Arabic sounds should be transliterated differently from the same letters used in Hindustani but bearing, after Persian sounds different from their Arabic sounds. The Arabic letter called *se* in Persian and Hindustani

and the letters *sin* and *sād* have all the sound of *s* in Hindustani, and the letters called *zāl*, *ze*, *zād* and *zoe** in Persian and Hindustani have all the sound of *z*. In this case *s* may very properly be used to represent the first three letters, and *z* the second four for Hindustani.

All the four systems of transliteration under comment, in dealing with the Devagari and allied alphabets follow the present incorrect Indian practice of making अ with its modern sound of *u* in *but* the short of अ , of which the universally recognised sound is the sound of *a* in *father*. A rectification is needed here अ requires to be represented otherwise than by *a*, which should stand for the short of *a* (अ). The italicised form of *a*, changed from slant to vertical, may well serve the purpose, it seems. It would not be a newly invented character. In this paper I shall use *a* for अ and अ (short) as a tentative measure. The sound of *o* in *hot*, of *a* in *all*, and of *a* in *hat*, all of which exist in Bengali, require also to be properly represented. Sir George Grierson's representation in the *Linguistic Survey*, of the sound of *o* in *hot* by *o*, of the sound of *a* in *all* by *ā* and of the sound of *a* in *hat* by *ä* is faulty. One and the same sound is often indicated by *ā*, *a* and *ä*. The sound of *o* in *hot* is but the short of *a* in *all*. Two different characters for two quantitative variations of the same sound cannot be proper. As for the sound of *u* in *but*, no shortening of the Latin *a* sound or of the English *a* sound in *bate* either, can give the English sound of *u* in *hat*. Sir George Grierson seems to have here sought immediate convenience with reference to English readers. The Bengali sound of অ in আজ (to day), the first *e* sound in ঘরে (floor), and the *o*-sound in কন (bride) require to be represented. A dot under each of the letters *ä*, *e*, and *o* may serve the purpose. The Bengali এ sound which corresponds with the English *a* sound in *hat* may be represented by e (*e* underlined) the sound being allied to the Latin *e* sound.

The question of অ and আ I discussed at some length in my last April Article. Discarding অ as being practically useless, I shall only say about আ that considering the Upper India pronunciation, *kirt*, of ক

* The want of Arabic types in the Press obliges me to give the names of the letters instead of the letters themselves.

in the phrase *गुणवर्द्धन रामायण* the turning of *गुण* into *murg* and of *वर्द्धन* into *hirdā* in Hindi and the *guṇa* and *ṛiddhi* sounds of *ग* *व* as given by Sanskrit grammarians being *ar* and *ār*, respectively, it is hard to resist the conclusion that a very short vowel sound precedes the *r* sound in *ग* *व* and does not follow it. The transliterations *ri ri*, which originated in Bengal where traditionally the Bengali letters corresponding to *ग* *व* have been sounded as downright *ri* and *ri* is obviously incorrect. The rejection by the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal of the *i* and *ī* from the current transliterations appear to be quite proper. But the two Societies *r* and *ī* are objectionable as lacking any indication of the very short vowel sound preceding the *r* sound in *ग* and *व*. This very short vowel sound may be taken to be the indeterminate vowel and be represented by the apostrophe reversed as the apostrophe is used for the Devanagari *ara graha*. The *guṇa* and *ṛiddhi* forms *ग* and *व* show that the preceding short vowel sound was not distinctly *i* as in the modern sound of *ग* in Upper India and that the *r* sound was not different from that of *r*. I would therefore suggest that *ग* be represented by *r* and *व* by *'rr* the *r* sound in the latter case being doubled.

The Bengal Asiatic Society's and the Linguistic Survey's mode of representing the *anunasika* sound by means of the symbol *~* placed over a vowel is decidedly preferable to the Royal Asiatic Society's representation of the sound by *̣* after a vowel, for *~* over a vowel plainly indicates that it nasalizes the vowel while *̣* after a vowel suggests the idea that the vowel is followed by a nasal sound as does the *u* in the French word *mon*. But the employment of *~* for indicating the nasalization of a vowel should be a bar to its being also put over *n* for representing the sound of the Devanagari *ॢ*. A good representation of *ॢ* would be it seems *n* with two dots under it for the sound of *ॢ* is only very slightly different from that of *ॣ* which according to all the four methods of transliteration, is represented by *ṇ*. The Bengal Government system's representation of *~* (the *anuvāra*) by *ṇ*, and of *ॢ* by *ṇ* (*n* underlined) which is different from that of the other three systems

appears to have no justification in its favour.

The *व* of the Devanagari alphabet is represented by *n* by the Royal Asiatic Society by the Linguistic Survey System and by the Government of Bengal System. But the Asiatic Society of Bengal represents the *व* sound by *n* with a loop attached to it below. The universal adoption of this method would be an improvement, for dotting or otherwise marking vowels above and consonants below would be a good general device.

For *व* both the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Asiatic Society have *c*. The Linguistic Survey and the Bengal Government systems have obviously for practical convenience the popular English *ch* for it. This is of course an unscientific procedure, for whatever sound may be assigned to *c* no combination of that sound with the *h* sound can produce the *व* sound. A universal adoption of *c* for *व* is desirable as bearing the *k* sound the *s* sound and in a few cases in English even the *sh* sound, *c* is a superfluity in the Roman alphabet. The *व* sound which *c* has partially in Italian gives *c* a serviceable function.

ॣ is represented by *n* by the Royal Asiatic Society the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Linguistic Survey system, while the Government of Bengal system has *ṇ* (*n* underlined) for *ॣ*. It has already been pointed out that the use of the symbol *~* for indicating the nasalization of a vowel and at the same time the putting it over *n* for expressing the sound of *ॣ* is bad.

For *ॣ* the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Government system have *v* only, but the Linguistic Survey system has *v* and *w*. The Latin sound of *v* being like that of *ॣ* a dual representation of *ॣ* is unnecessary.

For *ॣ* the Royal Asiatic Society the Linguistic Survey system and the Bengal Government system have *ḡ*, but the Bengal Asiatic Society has *g* which by the way, stands in the Bengal Government system for the Arabic letter called *sād* in Persian and Hindustani. An accent mark over *s* does not appear to be a very appropriate mark for differentiating the sound of *ḡ* from that of *s* while *ḡ* of which the sound is closely like that of *ॣ* is represented by *ḡ*. It would be preferable for *ॣ* to be represented by *ḡ* and for *ॣ* by *ḡ* (*ḡ* with two dots below). In French *g* has a sound almost, if not exactly, the same as that of *s*. To

make g represent the ɣ sound, which corresponds to the English sh sound, is no justifiable procedure, for it amounts to making the same character bear different sounds in different languages. The sh for ɣ in the Linguistic Survey system and the Bengal Government system is unsatisfactory though practically convenient for English speaking people. For ɣ the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Asiatic Society have s. But they both have s also for the Arabic letter called sād in Persian and Hindustani. This is most objectionable for the sounds of ɣ and the Arabic letter sād are wide apart. The fact is that learned societies that have devised systems of transliteration have had a narrow outlook before them, and so have represented by the same character a particular sound of a particular language and also a clearly different sound of some other language, repeating thus the vice that prevails in Europe of using the same Roman character for expressing different sounds in different languages.

The ɣ sound is romanized by the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Linguistic Survey system as r and by the Bengal Government system as ɾ. This ɾ is preferable to r, for the r sound in ɾ has to be distinguished from the ɣ sound. In ɾ transcription transliterated as rɪsɪ or ɾɪsɪ the r sound is not the same as the sound of ɣ in ɾɪsɪ which borders on that of ɾ. Rɪsɪ or rɪsɪ for ɾɪsɪ and ghaɪɪ for ɾɪsɪ can cause only intolerable confusion. The Bengal Asiatic Society's r for both ɾ and ɣ, the sounds of which are wide apart is a huge anomaly.

For practical convenience it is desirable that in ordinary writing and printing, the marking of the quantity of vowels should be avoided but that in books for elementary instruction in a language and in dictionaries Dr Sweet's three distinctions of long half long or medium and short should be marked as needed. Bengali requires the half long or medium mark in the following scheme for the writing and printing of Bengali phonetically in Indo-Romanic small letters: no distinction of long and short is made in the vowel characters, as the long and short vowel of Bengali writing have no correspondence with sound.

Bengali requires the following Indo-

Romanic small letters* for being phonetically written

I Vowels—(1) a for অ, for the conventional very short a sound caused by ɪ in words like ব্যবহাৰ, and for ʌ in words like দেহী and পুষ্করী, a for আ, and for ʌ in words like বাঁহা and খাইহা, a with a dot below for ʌ in আঁহ (to-day) and কাল (tomorrow), ɪ for ই and their abbreviated forms ɪ̇, u for উ and their abbreviated forms ʊ̇, e for এ with normal sound and for ʌ in words like বাঁহ and বাঁহ, e with a dot below for the first e in বেঁহ (floor), e with two dots below or e underlined for ʌ in এক and for ʌ in বাঁহ, o for ও with normal sound, o with a dot below for ʌ in কোন (bride) as distinguished from ʌ in কোণ (in corner), for the indeterminate vowel required for the transliteration of the Devanagari ʌ as r

Vowels nasalized—(2) ɪ̇, ʌ̇, ė, ȯ etc.

Vowels aspirated—(3) ah, aḣ, iḣ, uḣ, eḣ, oḣ.

II Consonants—k for ক, g for গ, ɳ for ণ with a loop below for t and for ʈ in বন্ধ, বাঁহা, গা, not for ʈ in কোঁহ (koar) or গোঁহ (goar), c for চ, ɟ for ʈ in পাঁহ টাঁহ and for the East Bengal sound of ʈ generally, ʃ for ʃ z for the z sound that ʃ has in certain Bengali dialects and even in Calcutta Bengali in মেজা (mezda) from মেজা দাঁহ (mejo-dāda), n for ঞ in চকল and হুঁহ, not for ঞ in মিঞা (mīa) or গাঞি (gañi and v gai), ʈ for ʈ, ʈ for ʈ, r, better ɾ, for ɾ, n for ɳ in কঁহ and পঁহ not for ɳ in কাঁহ and পাঁহ, n for n, p for ʃ, b for ʃ, m for ʃ with normal sound, r for ɾ, l for ɳ, v (only for transliteration from other languages) for the second ʃ which in theory represents ʃ s for ʃ, ʃ, ʃ—except where ʃ is combined with ʃ following, and where ʃ is combined

* All useful purposes served by Roman capital letters may be well served by increase of size of small letters as seen in C and S compared with c and s

† ক গ etc. are to be taken as k g, etc., which can be sounded by themselves. The letters ক গ etc. may in the Indian way be named ka ga, etc. It appears to me better to name them k, g, etc. in order that the r sound, both at the end of a word or syllable may be c

with ড, ঞ, or ঞ following, as in the words ঞ and ঞ and the words ঞ, ঞ and ঞ, in which two cases s has to stand for ঞ and ঞ, h for ঞ

Kh, gh ch, etc., can perform the functions they now perform in the current methods of transliteration.

As Bengali is not a phonetically written language, as Hindi almost entirely is, remarks on the sounds of some of the Bengali letters, simple and compound, appear to be called for, in order that the path to phonetic romanisation may be smoothed. The vowels have necessarily to be dealt with before the consonants.

The letter ঞ, express and inherent, is both short and long, but hardly ever so short as the Hindi ঞ, and it is but rarely as long as the English a in *call*. The short ঞ has a tendency to take up the sound of o short. ঞতি is *oti*, and গতি is *goti* in Calcutta Bengali, and so is কাল (black) *kalo*, and ভাল (good) *bhalo*. On learning from Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterjee that ঞ and ঞ are pronounced as *man* and *manu* in East Bengal, I inquired of an East Bengal kinsman of mine whether the a sound was adhered to universally in his part of the country (Bikrampur, Dist. Dacca), and he said in reply that the adherence was general, though not quite universal and instanced an exception ঞ in 'একদ্বয় ঞ' pronounced as *mon Bhala* and *kala* he gave as the sounds of ভাল and কাল. Two Bikrampur Pandits who visited me later, gave *dokkhin* and not *dakkhin*, as the sound of ঞ in their part of the country. This then is another exception to the general practice of adhering to the a sound of ঞ ঞতি being a transcript of the Sanskrit ঞতি and গতি of গতি, no one can venture to interfere with their spelling. But some writers now write কাল for *black* and ভাল for *good*. This innovation does not appear to me to be a desirable one, because it is not extended to all cases of ঞ (express or inherent) having the o sound, কতি, for instance, not being written কতি and also because the East Bengal sounds of কাল and ভাল are *kala* and *bhala*, respectively.

So strong is the tendency in Bengali to turn the a sound of words into o that

words drawn from foreign languages are subjected to this transformation. The Arabic word *sadr*, turned to *sadar* in Hindustani, is written in Bengali as সাদর (*sadar*), but is pronounced as *sador*, and the English word *summons*, written in Bengali as সমন (*saman*) is pronounced as *samon*. Not only ঞ, but also ঞ tends in Bengali to take up the o sound. The word ঞ and উদাহরণ turn the sound of their i into o in colloquial Bengali.

The distinction between ই (theoretically the short i) and ঐ (theoretically the long i), and that between উ (theoretically the short u) and ঊ (theoretically the long u) are in reality distinctions for the eye only and not for the ear, and are in reality confused for the most part to words drawn or derived from Sanskrit. Wherever in Sanskrit words there is a long i or u, it is bound to be reproduced when the words themselves or their derivatives are used in Bengali, though the sounds may not be long in Bengali. ঐষর (pronounced *issar*), নদীয়া (pronounced *nodia*), মূল্য (pronounced *mullo*) and উদ্বিগ্ন (pronounced *unig*) are examples of this. On the other hand Bengali words, in which the vowel sound is i or u, are written with the short i or u. ঐন is the same in sound as the Hindi ঐন, ঐ the same in sound as the Hindi ঐ, ঐ the same in sound as the Hindi ঐ, and ঐ the same in sound as the Hindi ঐ. The Persian words *khuh* and *khun* have been naturalised in Bengali, but, though they have in Bengali as spoken the u sound, in writing they appear as *খু* (*khuh*) and *খুন* (*khun*). For *Home Rule* we have now both হোম রুল and হোম রুল. At present in Bengali there is a tendency to write the i (i short) in all cases where there is not the stamp of the Sanskrit ঐ (i long), and also the u (u short) similarly. ইয়াবী, ইয়াবী and ইয়াবী have not indeed been driven out of the field yet by ইয়াবী, ইয়াবী and ইয়াবী, but the latter have been pushing their way in print. By the way, the current word ইয়াবী has not yet obtained a footing in the written language.

No one can venture to write দেশি instead of দেশী, but side by side with দেশী there are to be seen in notice boards in front of cloth dealers' shops in Calcutta বিনাতি instead of the venerable বিনাতি. As to the real character of the final *i* sound in দেশী and বিনাতি, no one can contend that it is long in দেশী and short in বিনাতি. It is not easy to understand how the time honoured হিন্দী has come to be dressed out as হিন্দি. By writing হিন্দি instead of হিন্দী, and following a similar procedure in other cases in which the Hindi language has a final long *i* sound, we can only create an unreasonable petty barrier between ourselves and our Hindi using countrymen of Upper India, and put also a small difficulty in the way of Bengalis learning Hindi and of Hindustanis learning Bengali.

The Bengali ঐ has by no means the same short sound as the Hindi इ has. In Hindi दिन has the *i* sound as short as, the *i* in the English word *dim*. It is otherwise with the Bengali word দিন. The *i* sound in দিন is really half long or medium, according to Dr Sweet's nomenclature. In fact the short *i* sound and the short *u* sound which are very common in Hindi and English are almost non-existent in Bengali. কিন কিন, হুট হুট, and a few other words can only be mentioned as instances of the decidedly short *i* and *u* sounds in Bengali.

On scientific grounds it is desirable that the quantity of the vowel sounds in Bengali should be settled according to sound as determined by a phonometrical measurement—to the disregard of Sanskrit or any other spelling. But a thoroughgoing change like this would not be practicable in the present state of public opinion in the country. A departure from Sanskrit spelling cannot be ventured upon. But in the case of non-Sanskrit words, sound can be conformed to in all cases. Sound is now followed by some Bengali writers in respect of the word কি তুমি কি জান? is used for *Do you know?* তুমি কী জান? is used for *What do you know?*

The sound of ঞ in Bengali is exactly

that of জি, and so to be transliterated by *ri*. It has no pretension whatever to be considered a vowel.

The Bengali ঞ is the same in sound as জ, and so can count only as a pure consonant, with no inherent ঞ.

The Devanagari *anusvara* appears to have been at first a vowel nasalizing symbol, as ^ৱ now distinctively is, and then to have undergone changes of sound till it came in Bengali to have the decidedly consonantal sound of ঙ, *i* e, of ङ or the English *n* in *bank*. The Bengali so called *anusvara* (anusvara) ঞ is now on the way to supplant ঙ in a large measure in writing, for not only is it used in writing words of non-Sanskrit origin, such as ইয়েক and ঞক, but in writing also words of Sanskrit origin, as ঞ instead of ঙ (from ঙ) and ঞা instead of ঙা (from ঙ). By the way, it seems extraordinary that ঙা should have a place in writing, but not ঙা. Is it because ঙ is supposed to be incapable of being without its inherent ঞ any more than ঞ is incapable of being without its inherent ঞ in the word ঙালাল? Anyhow there can be no objection to ঙা taking the place of ঞা. Words drawn bodily from Sanskrit, such as স্মৃতি and সঙ্কেত do not always appear as such in print, but appear often as স্মৃতি and সঙ্কেত. It is desirable, I think, that ঞ should be reserved for use exclusively for the *anusvara* of words borrowed from Sanskrit, except where the ^ৱ has come to bear an *m* sound, as in কিসা and স্প্রতি, which would better be written, always and not only sometimes, as কিসা and স্প্রতি.

The Bengali ঞ calls for some notice. It has generally not the *visarga* sound. It is only when ঞ is final that it has the *visarga* sound, as in ঞা, ঞে and ঞে. Occurring in the middle of a word, as in ঞেব and ঞেব, it only doubles the sound of the consonant that follows it. ঞেব is sounded as dukkha (not dukkha) and ঞেব as dussapna (not dussapna).

The Sanskrit diphthongal sounds *au* and *ou* have become *oi* and *ou* in Bengali, which has, however, numerous other diphthongs, which it manages to express by combinations of two vowels in each case.

The nasal consonants ঙ and ঞ are not

named after their proper sound is as na
na in ā (ā here being the palatal n)
So far as my personal knowledge goes it is
named na in Bengali as named to Prof Jogesh
Chandra Ray in his *সাহিত্য কোষ* (Bengali
Dictionary) gives কৈ (ai) as the name
of ঞ and ঞৈ (ei) as the name of ঞ. So I
take it that the two letters are so named
in the part of the country where he learnt
his Bengali letters. I know of a case in
which a *Pathshālā* teacher deluded by the
bad naming of ঞ taught his pupils to
pronounce the word কৈ in Vidyasagar's
বর্ণমালা শব্দ-লিপি. When one such
pupil (my informant, joined an English
School he had his pronunciation corrected
into bang as pronounced in English—ব্যাং
in Bengali character কৈ for the sound
ko: and কৈ for the sound kō: for
the sound in ঞ and ঞৈ for the sound
gāi (now gāi) are spellings that have
arisen from the misnaming of the letters
ঞ and ঞ. These two letters and also ঞ
should be named after their proper sounds

The Bengali η used to be called *ṣṇo* in the old Pathshala days. It is now called in our schools *murdhṇo* (murdhanya) *no*. *Murdhṇo* is abbreviated to the infant learner and it remains quite a puzzle till the learner is advanced enough to learn the proper sound of η which corresponds with the Bengali η . In Bengali η has the sound of η only when it is compounded with উ ঊ or ও following as in the words বউ কউ and শউ . Else where it has the same sound as ন . It is a question whether it would not be expedient in writing Bengali in Indo Romanic character, to employ η for r representing the closely allied sounds of ঋ in কৃ η in শউ and ন in নন and to employ ṣ for representing the closely allied ষ and ষ sounds though for transliteration from Sanskrit different letters are needed as there are different letters in that language for the slightly different sounds. In applying the same alphabet to the writing of different languages it is possible only to express by the same symbol sounds that are closely though not exactly alike. The English k sound in *college* for example, is not exactly the same as the k sound in ক but they have both to be represented by k .

The nasal letter न when conjoined to another र following is in the word नर, retains its proper sound of m. In a few cases न in नर and नर, the र doubles the sound of the consonant to which it is attached and imparts besides a nasal sound to the vowel following this consonant, नर being pronounced as mra and नर as mra. In नर the र only doubles the sound of र making the sound of the word padda, and in नर the र has no power the word being sounded as lokkhi, as if it were written नर. Teachers in schools now teach boys to pronounce the words नर and नर as pra and lokkhi, giving र the sound of

The letter *ṛ* except when conjoined in the form of *ṛ* called *ja phala*, to a preceding consonant has exactly the same sound as *ṛ* in *ṛṇa* and *ṛṇa* *ṛ* and *ṛ* take up respectively the sound of *ṛ* and *ṛ* and turn the sound of the inherent *a* of the preceding consonant into *o* *ṛṇa* phonetically transcribed is *danto* * *ṛṇa* phonetically transcribed is *donto* *ṛṇa* is sounded as *karo* or *kāro*, and *ṛṇa* is sounded as *sojho* In the latter case *ṛ* assumes the sound of *ṛ* and is doubled, and the sound of *ṛ* is shifted from before to after *ṛ* with its *ṛ* sound doubled In some cases *ṛ* has a very short *a* sound as in *ṛṇa* and *ṛṇa* *ṛ* with *ṛ* attached to it in the form *ṛ* has changed its original sound of *ṛ* into the sound of *ṛ* in *ṛṇa* which is a simple vowel sound But this sound of *ṛ* does not assert itself in the words written *ṛṇa* and *ṛṇa* but is turned into *a* *Sam* *bajā* and *Simaciron* are the names as sounded

The dotted *व*, *ॠ*, *ॡ*, is a vowel and has the sound of *अ* (a) in words like *दग्धि* and *पुद्गेध*, *ॠ* + *ॠ*, *ॡ* has the sound of *आ* (ā) as in *वाग्धा* and *कग्धि*. In words like *वग्ध* and *पग्ध* *ॠ* is a short (e) in *वग्धे* (sounded da me an ti) *ॠ* is a short + *ॠ* the *ॠ* and *ॠ* being thrown into different syllables, in *ग्ध* (sounded da ā) *ॠ* is a short + *ॠ* the *ॠ* and *ॠ* being thrown into different syllables, in *वग्धि* (sounded da ā mo i) *ॠ* is

* In all cases in which I transfer a π (express or inherent) by ϕ I follow Calcutta Bengal

ই+ঈ, the ই+ঈ being thrown into different syllables ই is always a consonant, ঈ is always a vowel, I, when it has ঈ sound as in কাই, is a consonant, and elsewhere it performs a consonantal function as in গা, it is always a vowel.

A recent use, or rather misuse, of I claims a notice. The English word *Sir* is usually written in Bengali character as স্যার, for which there is even the high authority of the Sahitya Parishad. Some innovators now write ঞার and others স্যার for *Sir*. Can not ঞ be short that recourse should be had to I to express a short ঞ sound? In turning স্যার into Sircar, Englishmen have taken I to have a short ঞ sound, but the vulgar pronunciation of *Sir* given as *Sah* in the Calcutta Statesman of July 27, 1902 under the head of Varieties, I may mention as an instance of I being also given a short ঞ sound by Englishmen. Indeed the Bengali স্যার must have come from *Sir* as pronounced by Englishmen in Bengal. Transliterated into Roman character ঞ would be *syar* and ঞার would be *syar*. These transliterations are a sufficient condemnation of the innovations. The source of the first innovation ঞ seems to be the conventional sound of I in words like স্বাক্ষর. Letters with conventional sounds can have no rightful claim to be used in transliteration.

The letter ঞ when combined as ঞ্জ with a consonant preceding doubles the sound of the consonant, except when the combination begins a word. ঞ্জ is pronounced, not as bi kram, but as bi kram, and ঞ্জ is pronounced not as mitra, but as mit tra. Similarly স্বাক্ষর is pronounced, not as ha ro pro sād, but as ha ro-prosād. Here there would be a difficulty, as between transliteration and phonetic transcription. The doubling of the consonant in compound words like স্বাক্ষর, which, after all, may be a local practice in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, may be disregarded, I think.

The second ঞ of the Bengali alphabet when used alone has always the sound of the first ঞ, and is thus a pure superfluity. When used as ঞ্জ, i.e. when conjoined to a consonant preceding it generally doubles the sound of the consonant, স্বাক্ষর, for instance, being pronounced as aśśo. The ঞ্জ in ঞ্জর, ঞ্জা and ঞ্জী signify nothing. The adoption of the Assamese letter ঞ (= ঞ)

would be of service for transliteration, when required, from Sanskrit and other languages, in giving, for instance, the derivation of the Bengali word উকীল from the Arabic word *rakīl*. European linguists who have a scholarly knowledge of Bengali, and even a Bengali linguist of wide celebrity, have credited the Bengali language with the possession of the English sound, i.e. of the Sanskrit ঞ sound হাওয়া they would transliterate as hāwa, and খাওয়া as khawā. Their view of the matter is not correct. হাওয়া is not হা ওয়া, i.e. not hā oā, which borders on ha wa, but is হাওয়া, i.e. hao ā and খাওয়া is not খা ওয়া, i.e. | hā oā which borders on kha wā, but is খাওয়া, i.e. | hao a. খাওয়া has the sound of the imperative verbal form খাও+ the ঞ sound.

The letters ঞ, ঞ and ঞ used to be all called śa in the old Pathshala days and were discriminated from one another by names based upon their shapes, the middle one being very aptly called pet-hā ṭa (belly cut) śa. Bengali infants are now taught to call them tālobbo (talavya) śa, mur dhonno (murdhanya) śa, and donto (dantya) śa. The differentiating terms are quite unintelligible to the little learners, and they become intelligible only to those of them who on growing older learn the proper significance of the terms talavya, murdhanya, and dantya. The name *donto śa* (ঞ) is absurdity itself, for the śa sound can never be *dantya* (dental). But the *donto śa* (ঞ) is now the favourite śa in Bengal. The English śh sound in words appropriated from foreign languages by Bengali is expressed by means of ঞ instead of ঞ or ঞ. The Persian word *shahr* is generally written শহর (not শহর), so also the Persian name *Shēr Shah* is written in a school text book শের শাহ as is *Shah Jahān* written শাহজাহান (not শাহ: জাহান), the Arabic word *Shamīl* is written শামিল (not শামিল), and the English word *fellowship* is written ফেলোশিপ (not ফেলোশিপ). The misuse of ঞ, theoretically the equivalent of ঞ, loudly calls for rectification.

The s sound is about as alien to Bengali, as is the ś sound in Hindi. Even of the syllables স্ and স্ the sounds are not exactly sra, I believe, but ছ ছ being given its East Bengal sound. The East Bengal

sound of ঙ I have represented by ɳ. It is usually represented, however, by ts (ত্স), which, expressing a compound sound does not appear to me to be a suitable means for expressing the simple sound of the East Bengal ɳ. If this ɳ is represented by ɳ, then its aspirate ɳ̌ will have to be represented by ɳh and if this ɳ̌ is represented by ts its aspirate ɳ̌ will have to be represented by tsh. That the proper sound of ɳ̌ is tshri and not sri and that the proper sound of ɳ̌ is tshrot and not srot, receive some support from ɳ̌ being দ্বি and ɳ̌ being দ্বিগত in the mouths of Bengali illiterates. ɳ̌ here having its West Bengal sound I have heard even literate people in Calcutta call the late distinguished High Court Vakil Mr Sri Nath Das Chhat Das. The East Bengal ɳ̌ sound is hardly distinguishable from the English s sound. The Sylhet Bengali word ɳ̌ has been transliterated ɳ̌ in *The Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. 1, Part I, pp. 223-230). The true s-sound is however not wanting in Bengali as spoken everywhere in the Bengali speaking area. Manbhumi as a Bengali speaking district, is ethnically a part of Bengal though it is now politically outside the province of Bengal. At Purulia and its neighbourhood in Manbhumi the river কাশী is called Kasā and not Kasā by even the lowest classes of people as I can say from personal knowledge. So the s sound does exist in Bengali as spoken in a part of ethnical Bengal.

The sound expressed by the dotted characters ɳ̌ (Hindi) and ɳ̌ (Bengali) is more nearly allied to that of ɳ̌ than to ɳ̌. It would be more scientific therefore to represent ɳ̌ by d marked some how than by ɳ̌ or ɳ̌.

The compound characters ɳ̌, ɳ̌ and ɳ̌ demand notice —

(1) ɳ̌ was for ages recognized as a letter of the Bengali alphabet and was called kha, as it still is in the dictum, 'বহু বহু বহু' (bahu bahu bahu) which boys are made to learn, but how ɳ̌ + ɳ̌ can produce the sound ɳ̌, they are quite at a loss to understand. Theoretically ɳ̌ is a compound of ɳ̌ and ɳ̌ answering to the Devanagari ɳ̌ = ɳ̌ + ɳ̌. ɳ̌ + ɳ̌ changed its sound in Hindi to ɳ̌ as

in the word बिह pronounced bikh (बिख). This gives a clue to the Bengali ɳ̌ being considered equal to ɳ̌ + ɳ̌. ɳ̌ is now sounded initially as kh and non-initially as kkh. ɳ̌ and ɳ̌ are examples containing these two sounds.

(2) ɳ̌ as its form indicates is a compound of ɳ̌ and ɳ̌ so that its proper sound should be ɳ̌. But its sound has changed in Bengali *pari passu* with its change in Hindi. The word ɳ̌ in Hindi has become ɳ̌ (gyan) in sound and also in writing, and in Bengali ɳ̌ is sounded as if it were ɳ̌ (= gaa in the English word began), and ɳ̌ is sounded as if it were written ɳ̌ (bigga). The ɳ̌ (j) element in the letter ɳ̌ has changed its sound to ɳ̌ (g). The transliteration of ɳ̌ into Jnanendra is, therefore fully deserving of condemnation, for it changes the ɳ̌ sound of the name into the j sound.

(3) ɳ̌ according to the orthodox theory is a compound ɳ̌ and ɳ̌, but the form of the letter belies the theory. ɳ̌ is obviously a compound of ɳ̌ and ɳ̌, and its sound has become ɳ̌, though some persons nowadays give it the sound of ɳ̌ + ɳ̌, i.e., of ɳ̌ + ɳ̌ not of ɳ̌ + ɳ̌. The name written ɳ̌ is Bishtupur in the mouth of every Bengali. The transliterated form of the name Vishnupur is quite open to censure, the ɳ̌ (v) sound being wanting in Bengali, and ɳ̌ not having the same sound as ɳ̌. Kristodas Pal, is a name now in common use though the eminent owner of the name split it as Kristo Dass Pal, using ɳ̌ instead of sh in Kristo in conformity apparently to Hindustani pronunciation. But the name ɳ̌ is colloquially not even Kristodas but is Keshitodas, though the name as written is usually read as Kristodas.

Spelling does affect the sounds of words. Some sixty years ago there was a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, whose name in Bengali speech was Rāmchandra Mitter. His name in English letters was written as Ram Chunder Mitter. The name written then, as now, in Bengali character is ɳ̌, and it is now transliterated as kamchandra Mitra. How is the name to be phonetically transcribed? About the ɳ̌ part of the name there is no difficulty for the word in cur

rent speech is still *Mit tir*, and not *Mitra* or even *Mittra*, which is the sound of the written word. But *rāmcaandro*, if not *rāmcaandra*, has been gaining ground upon the old *ramcandor*, (from Hindi *ramcandar*), showing thus the influence of spelling upon the sounds of words. The names transliterated as *Jogendra* and *Surendra* are now generally sounded, I believe, as *jogendro* and *surendro* in Calcutta Bengali. It seems proper then that such names as রামেন্দ্র, যোগেন্দ্র and সুরেন্দ্র should be phonetically transcribed as *Ramcaandro* (optionally *Rāmcaandra*), *Jogendro* (optionally *Jogendra*), and *Surendro* (optionally *Surendra*). The option left would satisfy East Bengal people, and conform besides to existing practice.

There are difficulties about the phonetic romanisation of some other Bengali proper names. The name রামনারায়ণ, transliterated without diacritical marks, is *Ramnarayan*. But colloquially the name is *Rāmāraṇ*, the *a* here having the sound of অ in the word আঁহ. The old spelling *Ram Narain*, approached the sound *rām naraiṇ*. The name should, in Roman letters be *Rāmāraṇ*, I think. There is greater difficulty about the names হরর and হরীকেশ.

Boys at school now pronounce হ as *hri* (not *hr*, *hr*), but the proper name হরর is *Rīdāe* (not *Rīday*) in the mouths of people, and the proper name হরীকেশ is *Risikeś*. The Hon. Raja Kishore Case Law, C.I.E., spells his name as given here, and this shows that the initial *h* sound is ignored even in aristocratic families. How are such names as হরর and হরীকেশ to be phonetically transcribed? It would be expedient, it seems, to transcribe the names as *rīdāe* and *rīsikeś*, the initial 'apostrophe' showing the elision of the letter *H*. *Hr* is a sound difficult to pronounce, and so the sound has been given up in Bengali as it is spoken. The হ of হরর is pronounced by some Bengalis as *rhi* instead of *hri*.

To come now to the well known Bengali patronymics, which in writing, in Bengali character, still appear in their antiquated forms বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, মুখোপাধ্যায়, চট্টোপাধ্যায়, গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, বোম্বাল, ভট্টাচার্য, চক্রবর্তী, দেন, ধোব, বদু, দ্বিজ, দত্ত and দিশ, but which in Calcutta Bengali are spoken at the present day are

বড়ুজ্জ, মুখুজ্জ চাটুজ্জ or চাটুজ্জ, গাঙ্গুলি or গাঙ্গুলী, ঘোষাল (unchanged), ভট্টাচার্য or ভট্টাচারী, চকোবতি or চকোবোত্তী, শ্যান, (বাং (unchanged)), বোম্ব, দ্বিত্তর, দত্তো and দিশ) or দিশ. The latter set of names, as spoken in Hindustani, were anglicised very long ago as *Banerjea* (later *Banerjee*), *Mookerjee* (later *Mookerjee*), *Chatterjea* (later *Chatterjee*), *Gangooly* or *Ganguly*, *Ghoshal*, *Bhattacharjee*, *Chuckerbutty*, *Sen*, *Ghose*, *Bose*, *Mitter*, *Dutt* and *Singh*. The spellings *Chuckerbutty* (*H* *Chakarabatti*), *Ghose* (*H* *Gbos*), *Bose* (*H* *Bos*) and *Dutt* (*H* *Datt*) make it quite clear that the anglicised names sprung from the Bengali names as spoken in Hindustani. The Rev Dr. K M Banerjea and Dr Doorga Churn Banerjea spelt their patronymics as given here, and the latter gentleman's famous son, Mr Suren dranath Banerjea, keeps up his father's spelling. The late Rai Bahadur Bankim Chunder Chatterjea, of high literary fame, spelt his patronymic as given here. I have seen also the spelling *Mookerjea*, but cannot now specify where. The *jea* of older times stood apparently for the Hindustani *jā*, and as *ea* in English is usually pronounced the same as *ee*, as in the word *sea*, the *jea* in *Banerjea*, etc., appear to have changed to *jee*.

The Calcutta University a long time ago cast off the anglicised half Hindustani names *Banerjee*, *Mookerjee*, *Chatterjee*, etc., and put up in their place *Bandyopadhyay* (for বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়), *Mukhopadhyay* (for মুখোপাধ্যায়), *Chattopadhyay* (for চট্টোপাধ্যায়), etc. This innovation was on the line of nationalism, revivalism and transliteration combined. বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় owes its origin to বন্দিবাট, মুখোপাধ্যায় to মুখী (এবং 'মুখী'), চট্টোপাধ্যায় to চাটুতি (এবং 'চাটুতি'), গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় to গাঙ্গুল (চলিত নাম 'গাঙ্গুল' বা 'গাঙ্গুল') বন্দিবাট, etc being the names of villages in the রাঢ় (*Rārhi*) section of Bengal. I have not been able to ascertain how and when the names বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, মুখোপাধ্যায়, চট্টোপাধ্যায়, and গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় grew out of the names of the villages. The University innovation of *Bandyopadhyay*, *Mukhopadhyay*,

* বঙ্গের দ্বিতীয় ইতিহাস, দ্বিতীয় দশক, এবং দ্বিতীয় (ব্রাহ্মণ-ভাগ) — প্রাচীনকালের বঙ্গদেশের বহু বিখ্যাত ব্যক্তিগণের নাম।
পৃ ১১২-১১৩, ১১৪।

Chattopadhyay and Gangopadhyay have not been adopted by many. Ghosh in place of Ghose, Basu in place of Bose, and Mitra in place of Mitter have been largely adopted. But in these latter cases the gap between the old and the new has not been so wide as that between the handy Banerjee and the cumbersome Brindopadhyay, for instance. Government have not accepted Bandopadhyay, Mukhopadhyay, etc., and have recently rectified the spelling of the prevalent names, Banerjee, Mookerjee, etc. according to the rules of transliteration. The rectified spellings have not been adopted by many.

Leaving aside such isolated spellings as Bonnerjee instead of Banerjee or Banerjee, Bhose or Visu instead of Bose, and Mitra instead of Mitter, there was before the University's move a general consensus in Bengal about the spelling of patronymics in English letters. Neither, the University transliterations of names written in Bengali in antiquated fashion, nor the recent Government

rectifications, Banerji, Mukharji, etc., have received general acceptance. Is it not proper then that we should now consider whether we should not give up the old half-Hindustani anglicised names in their old and their present rectified forms and also the transliterated obsolete or all but obsolete names put forward by the University, and, taking up our stand on Bengali as it is now spoken, in the Calcutta section of the country, try to bring into general use the *living* Bengali names Bajarje, Mukujje, Chatterje or Chatterjee, Ganuli, Bos, Mitter, etc. Such a change would rest on a combined national and rational basis. There would be a difficulty about such names as Bajarje and Ganuli appearing in print, for most presses have no types with diacritical marks. They might appear in print without any diacritical marking of letters, but in writing with the hand diacritical marks could always be given.

SYANACHARAN GANGULI

NOTES

Foreign Praise and Patriotism

In foreign panegyrics of our customs, institutions and scriptures the elements of real appreciation of their intrinsic worth and the desire to be courteous to us are frequently combined, and a third element is sometimes added to it. In the charmed circle of savants, as well as among the lay public of the West, ancient Indian culture and civilisation had scarcely the reputation it deserved. The civilisations of Greece and Rome did not suffer from this disadvantage, but it is not easy to make a bid for originality in a subject worn threadbare by previous masters. A pioneer in a new field can, on the other hand, bring forward, by diligent search, fresh points of view for the delectation of a *biase* world athirst for new sensations, and herein the Oriental scholar finds his opportunity and usefulness. But he has to break unfamiliar ground, and for this reason, and also to attract attention to himself and his work, he must cry up his vares for all they are worth, and this

leads him to exaggerate the value of the subject on which he has specialised and of the objects with which he has to deal. Moreover, anything out of the common range of study exercises a mysterious fascination upon a certain class of select minds. Thus we find ourselves confronted by a perplexing situation created by the fact that while the generality of cultured Westerners condemn some of our customs and institutions and certain aspects of our civilisation as barriers to further progress and as lying at the root of our arrested development, there are others, often highly gifted and generous minds, who see a soul of good in them, and even ask us to stick to them. The question is, what is the Indian's duty under the circumstances?

That duty, as we conceive it, is not to surrender our right of private judgment in the face of either praise or blame. Accept just so much of both as you find, on critical examination, to be true and not a word more. In regard to disparaging remarks, our instinctive love of self and

country makes us adopt a vigilant and critical attitude, but when we are well spoken of, we feel flattered, our vanity is gratified, and we are usually not disposed to be critical, and may even consider such an attitude to be ungracious. Besides, an idea is prevalent among us that it is necessary to lay the colours thick on our bright patches in order to infuse self confidence in our minds, and without self confidence, it is truly thought no nation can make much headway. In other words, these foreign eulogies are regarded as serving the same purpose as what are known in medical psychology as 'auto suggestions'. We do deny that in a moderate dose, they do serve this purpose. But when we are apt to be carried off our feet by such praise, we do not think that the food is either healthy or wholesome for us. To lose our balance is not good for us either racially or individually, and is rather a sign of mental weakness and morbidity of temperament. A mind which hankers too much for other people's praise, or ignores the qualifications by which such praise is conditioned, is a mind diseased. Inordinate vanity, by making us blind to our faults, effectually shuts out the path to progress, which lies through the removal of those faults. It may even be the object of some designing persons to feed this vanity with a view to serve their own ends and utilise their personal opportunities, as is said to be the case with the courtiers by whom Indian noblemen are often surrounded. And there are even those who think that all the loud talk about our spirituality which we sometimes hear from foreign politicians who cannot be said to be very spiritually minded themselves, is purposely designed to keep our attention fixed on the other world in order to make it all the easier for them to exploit our material resources. Again, all eulogies of Indian customs and institutions ancient and modern are to be read subject to the rooted conviction at the back of every Western Orientalist's mind which they never care to conceal and must be evident to all who dive deeply into their writings, that for a people so imperfectly developed as the Indians, some of their institutions deserve all praise. Their praise is therefore always relative, and never unqualified, as many of us, who read it apart from the context are, in our enthusiasm, apt to suppose.

We are fond of quoting the Englishman

against himself. Let us remember how often in English literature, both permanent and ephemeral, we come across passages in which the writer holds up his national vices to scorn. This shows a strength of character and backbone, and a vigour of thought, which are lacking among us. The great nations of the world have become great not by sticking fast to every thing, but by casting off much that was bad in them. They have plenty of good men and true, men held in high esteem among their countrymen, who can accuse them roundly when occasion arises, and dare to be in the right with two or three. To hold fast to all that we have inherited from our past and prevent a single ray of critical light to penetrate its darkness except with a view to extol it connotes a pathetic though subconscious fear that the process will shatter many of our beautiful dreams. Should we imitate the bat and shun the light merely to hug our fantasies to our bosom? 'Light, more light' are said to be the dying words of Goethe, the greatest apostle of culture the modern world has seen and we could choose no better motto for ourselves. It may be that by allowing the light of reason to penetrate into the dark recesses of our mind we shall not be destroying only, but may also be building up anew, and placing our love of country and of our past on a reasoned and therefore permanent and lasting basis. That is certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished, and one more worthy of us than dancing like marionettes in the hands of our foreign admirers, who while pulling the strings from behind perceive our weakness and feel amused by it. Impartial foreigners, who are neither specialists nor politicians with axes of their own to grind, will respect us all the more if we import less of sentiment and more of discrimination in our patriotism.

We must love our country—that is the essential condition

Such is the patriots' boast, wherever we roam,

His first, best country ever is at home — truly said Goldsmith, and Cowper echoed the same sentiment when he said 'England, with all thy faults, I love thee still!' A genius, like that of Rabindranath Tagore for instance, cannot, it is true, give up to country what was meant for mankind, but without cultivating the unnatural detach-

ment of people whom the poet satirises as friends of every country but their own', we too may, in our own humble degree, reconcile patriotism with our higher mental needs as human beings. Rationalists may be nationalists, but Chauvinists can hardly be rationalists. If you really love your country, the sweet seduction of sailing with the multitude and winning their applause thereby should not appeal to you. It may be that by following the line of least resistance you shock current opinion the least and achieve the most result even in the direction of progress and reform, and for that reason it is perhaps to be desired. But it should certainly not be your aim to conciliate current opinion by the sacrifice of your reasoned convictions. "It is so much easier to assume than to prove," said Lecky. It is so much less painful to believe than to doubt: there is such a charm in the repose of prejudice when no discordant voice jars upon the harmony of belief: there is such a thrilling pang when cherished dreams are scattered and old creeds abandoned that it is not surprising that men should close their eyes to the unwelcome light." Let us beware of this insidious tendency and love our country in the spirit of men who really want to see her great and take her rightful place among the living nations of the world, and not like men who are content to brag of her past and let the present and the future take care of themselves. Just as we remind our rulers not to forget in India the doctrines of liberty which are being applied on the battlefields of Europe, so should we see to it that the democratic and rationalistic doctrines which we apply in our political sphere are not forgotten in the more intimate concerns of our social and cultural life.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report and a Story or Two

There is an Indian story of a miser who, unable to bear the badgering of his friends regarding his close fistiness, and also to allay the compunctions, visitings of his conscience, generously resolved to give away a few rupees. Thereupon he took out some coins from his strong box and summoned a beggar to his presence. But lo! when the beggar came, he found that he was quite unequal to the heroic sacrifice he had been contemplating, and instinctively he shut his palm. At the same time,

his friends were watching him, and he keenly felt the desire to make the gift and be quits with them. Only his lifelong habit proved too strong for him, and would not let him carry out his heart's desire. When he was in this fix, an idea struck him. He called out to the beggar to force his palm open, and snatch away the money, as he could not bear to transfer the coins voluntarily and of his own free will from his own hands to those of another. The reform proposals now before us remind us of this story. The Report contains ample evidence that the heart is willing, but the hand trembles when it comes to making actual changes in the present bureaucratic regime, and the people are left especially in the sphere of the Supreme Government which is the source of all power, to make as much, or as little, as they can of the Government's good intentions.

There is a story of another miser who started from home with a rupee in his hand to buy some good thing in the bazaar and have a good time. But when he stood before the shop which sold the thing of his choice, hesitating as to what he should do, he opened his palm to have a last look at his darling rupee. He found it wet (with perspiration). Whereupon he exclaimed, "*Bachcha rota hai*," "the child is weeping" (at the thought of parting from his master). So he went back home with the rupee unspent. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy want to purchase in the world's political bazaar, the good name of being friends of freedom at the cost of some of their Power and Pelf, but evidently their Power and Pelf are "*bachchas*" who "*roti hain*,"—"they are weeping at the thought of separation from their masters."

The 'Independence' of Councillors

The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms says that in the Punjab, where the nominated element in the legislative council is strong, there is more 'independence' of action than in the other provinces (para 98). This proves to demons-tration that nominated members do not represent the people, for the people's representatives, it is conceded, vote differently from them. The object of the councils being the representation of the people's views, this is in reality an admission that nomination does not fulfil this object and is therefore unjustifiable. This is in fact

admitted in para 232, where it is said that nominated members are an anomaly in a responsible council. But apart from this, what does the 'independence' of members mean? They may be independent of popular control and subservient to official opinion, or they may be independent of official influence and amenable to popular control. There can be no question as to which of the two alternatives is preferable in the present stage of India's political progress. The bureaucracy is powerful enough as it is and it requires no moral courage to swim with the tide of officialdom. Public opinion, on the other hand, is weak, and it requires some strength of character to stand up for it. Unprejudiced foreigners like Mr Ramsay MacDonald trained in the parliamentary life of England, are of opinion that the Indian lacks courage to oppose the ruling race in his councils' (*Awakening of India*, Pop Ed., p 181). The sort of independence of which the Report speaks is therefore neither more nor less than lack of courage. The use of the word 'independence' in para 98 of the Report is in fact an excellent example of the perversion of the meaning of words. This perversion of the meanings of words is no new thing. For when in connection with the Morley Minto Reforms it was at first officially proposed to have councils of 'Notables,' their object was stated to be to elicit independent opinion!

What are Educated Indians to Do?

In the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms one of the dominating conditions of India is admitted to lie in the fact that immense masses of the people are ignorant (para 132). When Mr Gokhale tried to remove this ignorance by universal elementary education, his proposal was rejected. When educated Indians ask for full responsible government, they are told that their number is very few and the great majority of their countrymen are sunk in ignorance and cannot furnish proper electorates (187, 133, 140, 263, &c). When they ask for employment in positions carrying administrative responsibility, they are told that 33 per cent of the 'superior posts' will be thrown open to them, and that "a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in her [India's] government and in her public service" (323), though at the same time it is admitted that the

weakness of Indian public life lies in the absence of a body of trained administrators among Indians and the success of the new policy will depend on the extent to which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration (313). When the educated Indian, finding every door barred against him, begins to clamour, the justice of his complaint is recognised and the Report admits that 'the charge that government has produced a large *intelligentsia* which cannot find employment has much substance in it' (182) and that "mere education without opportunities must result in serious mischief" (187). When friends like H. H. the Aga Khan and Sir Theodore Morison ask for his employment in the conquered German Colonies in Africa, the *Times* replies that the educated Indians will be far too few for India's own needs in the good time coming and they cannot therefore be spared for service elsewhere. In other words, want of education for the spread of which the Indian has hitherto clamoured unsuccessfully, is made the plea for not granting him full rights of citizenship and at the same time the few who are educated are shut out from the higher services in their own country, and when an avenue for employment outside India is pointed out, they are told that the white man must continue to bear the burden there inasmuch as educated Indians will all be absorbed by the reformed Indian administration, though the Report definitely fixes the proportion of those that will be so employed and leaves the others out in the cold, to shift for themselves as best as they may. Government is not of course bound to provide for all the educated men in the country, but so long as this can be done by the substitution of costly and foreign by comparatively cheap and indigenous agency, the educated Indians, 'in the more spacious days to come' (5) shall have every right to insist that not one of them should remain unemployed.

The Future of German Colonies.

Reuter wires under date the 12th September

Mr George a terrible indictment of German treatment of natives in South West Africa is generally commented on. The *Daily Chronicle* says: "Whatever the future of the other German colonies may be, it is impossible that South West Africa can be restored to Germany. The *Daily Graphic* says: "After such an exposure, the return of any colonies to Germany

would make the Allies partners in her unspeakable crimes. The "Times" says: "Knowing the Germans as we do, we could not restore any Natives to their tender mercies without becoming deliberate accomplices in their crimes."

The war has really been an eye opener from many points of view, and the new angle of vision, of which we hear so much, is nowhere more in evidence than in this new born love of the 'native' races of Africa. Who ever thought that there was such a latent fund of sympathy in the Anglo Saxon mind for these semi-civilised people trodden under the heels of Germany? It is of course quite a secondary matter that the non return of those colonies to Germany means their appropriation by the *Entente* powers, most probably by Great Britain, for the right of 'self determination' so generously conceded to them by Mr Lloyd George in a well known speech, must not be supposed to mean the right of these native races to be masters in their own land, but the glorious right to choose their master. By the way, the Germans in none of their colonies could have perpetrated horrors more blood-curdling than those of Belgium in the Congo Free State, popularly known on that account as the Red Rubber colony. The righteous indignation which has burst forth in the English press against German oppression in Africa makes it quite certain that it had long been decided to take away Congo from Belgium, though we do not remember to have seen any announcement to that effect in the English press. But as the British people are not in the habit of doing good by stealth or of hiding their light under a bushel, some misgivings may arise in sceptical minds regarding the future of Congo, which should be set at rest by the timely publication of authentic information on the subject.

Deportations in England,

We take the following passage from the book named "1920" which is reviewed elsewhere in this number —

'Then again others were guilty of a thing called enemy associations.'

'And what,' I interposed, 'does that exactly mean?'

'Why don't you understand?' Roxburgh replied. 'The conspicuous merit of the term depends upon its not meaning anything exactly. It is one of Dora's masterstrokes in semi-legal linguistics. You see it can cover everything from the possession of a German dictionary to plotting to deliver Woolwich Arsenal to the enemy. And the best of it is since it

isn't an offence against the law, no charge can be brought, and so no evidence is required, no legal trial follows, no cross examination or other defence, and above all, no publicity.'

'And therefore,' I suppose, 'no imprisonment, no punishment!'

Certainly not," was his reply. 'Persons against whom such reasonable suspicion lies may be 'deported' from their home and kept in 'detention,' but they are never subjected to imprisonment.'

"And where are they kept?" I asked.

'Why, usually in buildings otherwise employed for persons under legal sentence but in this case described as 'places of detention.''

'But does it really matter what they are called?' I broke in.

'Why, you surprise me," said Roxburgh. "Of course it matters everything. It would never do for a nation like ours to stain its glorious traditions of liberty and justice by imprisoning people without trial.'

"Of course it wouldn't," I replied. 'Pardon the clumsiness of my suggestion. But there is one other word you used on which I should be glad to have some light. You spoke of 'reasonable suspicion.' And who decides whether the grounds of suspicion are reasonable or not?'

Why Dora, of course, and the impartial persons she appoints to look after her interests. These important matters cannot be left to the hazard of conflicting counsel and the eccentricities of juries. But as for grounds or reasons, they are strictly out of place. For, since you suspect only in cases when you cannot prove the demand for evidence becomes irrelevant as well as inconvenient.'

I may tell you that one of the most valuable achievements of this war for liberty has been the liberation of the nation from the net-work of juridical and constitutional niceties in which she was in danger of being strangled. A free nation requires a free Government that is, a government free to make and to unmake its laws and constitution as it goes along.'

And who are the persons that exercise this freedom? For in the last resort it is always persons who do things. And even Dora, I gather, doesn't do everything off her own bat.'

'Well I suppose that in the last resort it is the members of Government—I mean of the cabinet, that is to say, of the War Cabinet.'

'And who?' I asked, appointed the War Cabinet, and conferred upon it this freedom?'

'Forgive my apparent rudeness," he replied, 'but you are evidently out of touch with the spirit of our times, or you wouldn't ask such a question. The War Cabinet could only come into existence in one way by virtue of that power of self-determination which is the essence of true freedom.'

'But," I broke in, 'what about liberty and making the world safe for democracy? Is there no loss of liberty in the doing of Dora?'

'Not at all' was Roxburgh's answer. 'There is just as much liberty as ever—only it is concentrated at the top. It is as the poet sang: Of old sat Freedom on the heights.' —1920, by Lucian, being reprinted from the London Nation (Hendley Bros, Kingsway, W C)

Dora is the name affectionately given in England to the Defence of the Realm Act. Similarly, we may call our Defence of India Act "Ida" (India Defence Act), though its

associations are different from those of the name *Ida* in Tennyson's *Jenone*.

War Truths.

The same book "1920" predicts how in 1920, if the war lasts so long, the State would assume complete control over the intellectual and moral resources of the British nation. The prophecy is only a sarcastic warning.

"Truth is what helps to win the war. Directly I realised the supreme significance of this judgment, I saw also how famously it fitted on to that political philosophy of State Absolutism which came to us from Hobbes, not from the Charlatan Hegel, as the men of Balliol so falsely taught. I felt myself a man with a mission, and immediately offered to put at the disposal of the Government a general scheme for the production and distribution of war truth, substituting a really scientific method for the clumsy empiricism of their censorship and war news department. Though quite early in the conflict we pretended to regard it as a War of Ideas, it took several years before we were really prepared as a nation to mobilise upon this basis. We didn't see at first that in a War of Ideas the State must have complete control over the intellectual and moral resources of the nation... they went on some time suppressing and doctoring what they called 'news', and merely conspiring at mob-violence for the suppression of inconvenient opinions. This loose sham voluntarism lasted for several years before it was recognised how essential a war-service it was to drill the whole intellectual and spiritual forces of the nation into complete harmony with the supreme purpose of a State at war. A joint conference of the leaders of the Churches, the Universities, and the Press, was the instrument by which the War Council was at last induced to sanction a complete scheme of intellectual conscription, the natural concomitant of military and industrial conscription in that it placed the mind as well as the body of all persons under military discipline. Truth is a raw material infinitely malleable and adaptable to purposes of State. Once grasp that notion, and the full potentialities of our Psychological Laboratory will become quite clear. We begin by accepting the familiar distinction, true for me, false for you. This idea of the relativity and adaptability of knowledge is then generalised and applied in the processes of our laboratory, for producing out of the same raw material the separate truths which war requires for the home consumer, the Ally, the neutral and the enemy. The crucial fact is the same for all, everything depends upon the treatment. Given the analysis of the recipient, it becomes merely a question of preparing and applying the requisite Alloy." "Alloy!" I exclaimed. "Do you mean that you deliberately falsify the facts?" "Not at all," he replied a little warmly, "you do injustice to the delicacy of our art. It is our duty to compose the sort of news which it is good for the respective parties to receive, and to mould the sentiments and opinions it is good for them to hold. And then when our expert taster says that we have got it just right, it is pumped into the news agencies and the other publicity machines... The public mind must not be allowed to be confused or depressed by information which, however accurate and even interesting, is not nutritious. The same applies to all sorts of opinion and discussion.

As certain sections of the public, you see, is always eager for exact measured information, and we have a clever little group of trained men from the school of Economics to give them what they want. But I have dared to reserve for myself the most delicate and interesting of all the jobs."

"And what," I said "may that be?"

"Why, the manufacture of the Myth. It is the mirage of a world Democracy rising instantaneously from the fumes of the blood-soaked battle field. Whenever the vision gets a little dim, which happens sometimes as the war drags on, I get some great phrase-maker of our statesmen to put in a few new bright touches, or sometimes a vigorous journalist will lend a hand. In one way or another, we have managed so far to keep the fine old Myth in excellent repair. You have no notion what a lot of war-spirit it can be made to yield. When occasionally things look very black, I set to work myself and put some new allurement into the substance of the Myth."—*Ibid*

War-Aims

"1920" has the following on war aims.—

"Surely our speeches and replies to Germany have made it evident that our aims are the crushing of Russian militarism, the liberation of subject nationalities, the restoration of conquered territories, the enforcement of public law in Europe, and making the world safe for democracy."

"These Russian idealists still persist in pressing on us the policy of 'No Annexation'."

"But I thought we'd accepted that long ago."

"So we have. But only, you must remember, as 'a matter of principle,' and with the qualifications which that expression carries to practical statesmen. If we had to do what you seem to require, reduce the principle to terms of concrete War Aims, we should be at once in the soup."

"I don't understand you. Surely no territorial ambitions of ours brought us into the war. We shall get nothing out of it."

"Oh! I wasn't thinking of what we were to get. Though, of course, there are those German colonies and those pickings in Asia and in Palestine. It would be awkward to explain how we didn't want these things but couldn't give them up now that Providence had put them under our trust, and how that the British Empire was one for the making of war, but five for the distribution of the loot. Neutrals simply can't be got to see the logic of the British Empire. We ought to have an Imperial Propaganda Campaign later on, with a really competent staff from the War Truth Department, to drive home the meaning."

"Then what's the difficulty?"

"Why, just this. It compels us to keep to that atmosphere of vague generalities of which you complain. For if we were to explain to all and sundry how that our interpretation of the principle excluded all cases of 're-annexation', 'areas of legitimate aspiration', 'historic rights', 'defensive frontiers', 'territorial adjustments', not to mention 'colonies', and that we only proposed the principle should be applied to the territory of enemy Powers, not only Russians, but other foolish sticklers for so-called consistency would gibe at us."—*Ibid*

Reprisals in 1920.

The book called "1920" tries to give some idea of what reprisals in 1920

be, if the war lasted so long and if Prussian militarism were not prevented from acquiring undisputed sway over the mind of the British nation

"Marlow was the man who planned out the splendid bombing excursions to Leipzig on Easter Day, when our air force got above the German barrage and dropped several thousand bombs on the great school children's procession—the most brilliant scoop of the year." Why yesterday he had conferred on him the new order of the Star of Bethlehem he began to dilate upon the Yeoman's service rendered by the Press in soothing the qualms of the 'sentimentalists' and in showing how a continued excretion of Hun methods was quite consistent with imitation of them. Indeed, the newspapers gave the nation a most serviceable lead over the stile by pointing out that we were entitled to hate the Hun the more in exact proportion to the moral turpitude of every method which he has forced us to adopt."

"But," again I interrupted, "no nation can force another to degrade itself." "I am sorry to seem rude," retorted Dodson, "but your crude ethics plausible as they appeared at first were soon disposed of by the Westminster in a convincing judgment which I think I can remember. We cannot give the enemy the military and moral advantage of practising on our nation what we do not practise on his—a rendering of the Golden Rule the equity and elevation of which at once commended themselves to all right thinking people."—*Ibid*

Help from Australia to Fiji

An important letter has been received by Mr C F Andrews from the Association for the Protection of the Races in the Pacific, which has taken up most thoroughly the cause of the Indian women in Fiji. The Association has been in official communication with Mr Edward Knox, Chairman of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. An interview with the Company was refused and in the Annual Report a slur was cast on the loyalty of those who were engaged in upholding the rights of the Indian women on the Company's Estates. This charge of seeking to stir up trouble in war time has recoiled upon the Company itself, and it has been pointed out that this has been the effect of the Company's refusal to treat Indian women with proper regard to modesty and decency. Mr Knox has replied briefly to the Association's letter of enquiry and his reply has been forwarded to the Fiji Government. It has received from that Government a long reply, which shows how unsatisfactory things have been in the past, but there are now hopes of improvement. The Association has determined to go on with this work for the Indians in Fiji till each wrong has been righted.

A personal letter has been received by Mr. Andrews from which the following may be quoted —

"There have been difficulties and unavoidable delays at times it seemed as if the enemy of humanity was going to succeed. But those in Australia, who have been convinced of the justice of the Indian cause, have remained staunch. I think that there is going to be a distinct change for the better. The 'matron' question I regard as well on the way to settlement. But the reform of the coolie 'lines' themselves, which we must tackle now, will be strongly opposed. It has been quite impossible to get the Australian daily press to take up the matter—the reason is not far to seek. I have been very glad, personally, to have been given an opportunity of helping in righting these flagrant outrages on humanity in Fiji. We have a lot ahead of us yet. You will be sorry to hear that—(mentioning one who had given the greatest assistance) is dangerously ill. I will give him your message when he is a little better. I will cable you if the matrons are to be appointed."

We are sincerely thankful to the Australian ladies and gentlemen who are taking so much interest in the welfare of Indians in Fiji, and working with zeal to promote it. It is Mr. C F. Andrews who roused the interest of our Australian friends in the Fiji Indian problem. We have cause to be deeply grateful to him. It must be a source of unalloyed satisfaction for him to find that his labours are bearing fruit, as is proved not only by news received from Australia but by the partial acceptance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution relating to indentured Indian labourers in the Crown colonies by the Government of India.

Freedom for Poland.

The Irish Poet T. D. Sullivan has written —

Oh! freedom is a glorious thing?
Even so our gracious rulers say?
And what they say, I sure may sing,
In quite a legal proper way
They praise it up with all their might,
And praise the men who seek it too,—
Provided all the row and fight
Are out in Poland,—*Thiggin thu?*

"Thiggin thu" is an Erse phrase meaning "Do you understand?"

The 'Matter' of Seditions and Their Remedy

One hears of seditions and other troubles almost every day. And journalists and bureaucrats write and speak of them for the passing hour and are forgotten. But there are men who wrote about them not only for their own age, but for succeeding ages, too. Let us hear what one such great thinker has written. Bacon writes in his essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles' —

"... the surest way to prevent seditions is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds: much poverty and much discontent."

In India there is much of both poverty and discontent.

Bacon also says in the same essay "For the rebellions of the belly are the worst."

He suggests remedies too.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spoke, which is want and poverty in the estate.

He did not consider suppression and repression a sovereign remedy. He wrote

... be that turneth the humors back and maketh the wound bleed inwards endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious impostumations.

"Is India so Poor?"

In the course of his speech on Sir William Meyer's resolution on the war contribution Sir George Lowndes, the Law Member, asked

'My Lord is India so poor when the balances you have with the bankers in England ran up to £85,000,000, upon which we shall draw assuredly at the end of the war?'

In thinking or speaking of the wealth or poverty of India, Englishmen and Indians have two Indias in view. When Englishmen think or speak of India's wealth they have in view either the India of the Government of India or the India of Anglo Indian merchants and bureaucrats. When we think or speak of India's poverty, we have in view the India of the people. The balances with the bankers in England do not belong to the people of India. These balances do not benefit our people, they do not protect them from sun or rain or wind, they do not cover their nakedness, they do not fill their bellies, they do not give them good water to drink, or irrigate their fields, they do not

finance their trade or industries, they do not give them clean healthy villages and towns, or provide them with medical relief at need, nor do they remove their illiteracy. The Law Member referred to these balances to show that some peoples' India is rich, but we are sure if a non-official Indian member had moved a resolution for increasing the grants for education or sanitation, these balances would not have been trotted out, they would have remained out of sight, as they are in far away England. By the bye, not to speak of any independent country, is there any country in the British Empire except India which keeps such huge balances in a foreign country for the benefit of foreigners?

India's Poverty

The abysmal depth of India's poverty may not satisfy the Law Member, but there have been other Englishmen who have been of a different opinion. Let us quote some of them. They shall be of various kinds.

Bengal which practically means Calcutta, has headed the second Indian war loan. Evidently, therefore Calcutta is a rich city, the richest in Bengal, if not in India. But it is mainly the Anglo Indian merchants and the Marwaris who are rich, not the mass of the people, even in Calcutta. In proof whereof, we give the following extract from the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* (a British owned and British edited monthly) for July 1914 —

It is usually assumed that, being a great city, a large Indian city is therefore wealthy. The converse is really the case. The average wealth of the units comprising such a city is very low. Absurdly low on a Western basis. In Calcutta, for example, the average yield per inhabitant for municipal purposes may be placed at about 12s per head while in London it is more like £5-10s per head. Again the 12s per head, although greatly less than the Londoner's contribution is an infinitely larger proportion of the average individual wealth.

The *Investor's Review* gave the following indirect testimony a few years ago

He [the holidaying bureaucrat] lives far away among the foot hills of the Himalayas for the greater part of the year and to him India, the real India, is only vaguely known as a haze-covered landscape in the far distance. Convert, however the figures of this budget into the conventional rupee and try to work out what they mean to the masses who find the money. A revenue of £73,751,000 is equivalent to nearly 1101 million rupees. Now this money has to be raised chiefly, if not entirely from the population of India directly under British rule. The average earnings of this population, leaving out of account

the small and diminishing number of the well to do, cannot be put at much more than 50 rupees per annum, and we will assume that one human being in every three is earning this average wage—that is to say, we put the families at an average of three including the bread winner. Instead of the five usually employed by statisticians in this country. On this basis the taxation comes to about 13 rupees per family, or roughly three months' earnings of the one who works. That is about what the brilliantly constructed bureaucrats budget for our Indian empire comes to, when brought down towards the unromantic fact. Is it possible to be sanguine about the future of British India under conditions such as this calculation implies?

Take again, another piece of indirect evidence. It is well known that India is the only country in the world where plague in an epidemic form has raged for the last twenty two years. Now, plague being a poverty disease it can find a hospitable abode for well nigh a quarter of a century only in a very poor country. Dr Simpson, late health officer of the Calcutta municipality, says in his work on Plague

"The plague, now as formerly is largely a disease of the poor, and perhaps falls proportionately more heavily than any other infection on the lower strata of society. At one time it acquired the name of the beggars disease, at another the poor plague and at another *miseræ morbus*."

"Dr Cabiadis in contrasting the immunity of Kerbelah with the prevalence of plague in Illilah attributes the difference to the prosperous condition of the inhabitants of the former place even the poorest class enjoying a meat diet and to the spacious and well aired houses, though the streets are narrow and crooked."

We will now quote some direct evidence. Mr Ramsay Macdonald says in *The Awakening of India* popular edition, p 91

"For days and days one goes through the land and sees nothing but thin bodies toiling, toiling toiling, trudging trudging trudging or pinched bodies worshipping worshipping, worshipping with a sadness that one sees in no other temples. India is the home of the poverty stricken."

Mr Keir Hardie, M P, has written as follows in "*India - Impressions and Suggestions*," 2nd edition

"The real rat plague, then, in India is poverty. The emaciated, bloodless body of the ryot has no plague resisting power, and so the fell disease finds him an easy victim."

Messrs Ramsay Macdonald and Keir Hardie's opinions may be dismissed as those of stinking labourites. Let us, therefore, quote the opinion of one more blessed by fortune. The extract given below is from "*India under Ripon* A Private Diary. By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt"

Unless I have wholly failed to make my reasoning

clear, readers of these essays will by this time have understood that, in answer to the question propounded at the outset of this inquiry—namely, whether the connection between England and India is of profit to the Indian people and to the further question whether the Indian people regard it as of profit—I have come to conclusions on the whole favorable to that connection.

"My argument in a few words has been this seeking the balance of good and evil. I have found, on the one hand, a vast economic disturbance, caused partly by the selfish commercial policy of the English Government, partly by the no less selfish expenditure of the English official class.

I have found the Indian peasantry poor, in some districts to starvation, deeply in debt, and without the means of improving their position, the wealth accumulated in a few great cities and in a few rich hands, the public revenue spent to a large extent abroad and by an absentee Government. I have been unable to convince myself that the India of 1885 is not a poorer country, take it altogether, than it was a hundred years ago, when we first began to manage its finances.

On the other side I have found an end put to the internecine wars of former days, peace established, security for life given, and a settled order of things on which men can count. I have never heard a native of India underrate the advantage of this, nor of the corresponding enfranchisement of the mind from the bondage in which it used to lie."

We will conclude with the testimony of Sir Frederick Treves, Bart, G.C.I.O., C.B., LL.D. He was Sergeant Surgeon to King Edward VII, and serves His Majesty King George V, too, in the same capacity. He was specially retained by the Government to go to the Boer War, and was Lord Rector of Aberdeen University, 1906-9. He has published several books of travel, being a much travelled man. This gives his opinion great weight. According to the Daily Mail Year Book he is "busy on war work." One of his books of travel is "*The Other Side of the Lantern*" from which we make the extracts given below.

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and toiling for leave to live. They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whether they go, Heaven knows for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move across the great red sun as it sets in the west and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed. The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre

comfort and a little above the nearest reach of starvation

At least there is no dark alley without the sleeping figure of the homeless man

These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifice to cholera, famine and plague. Plague will slay 20 000 in a week, cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year and the famine of one well remembered time accounted for five and a quarter millions of dead people

Other similar opinions might have been quoted, but *cui bono*? The typical British bureaucrat and the typical British merchant would remain unconvinced in spite of evidence piled on evidence. As for convincing our own countrymen, that is unnecessary, for the vast majority of them are themselves poor and see poverty on all sides. Whatever Englishmen may or may not say, our people know from personal experience that they are poor.

We have spoken above of the typical British merchant, for sweeping criticisms of classes of men are not likely to be entirely true, and there is evidence to show that there may be some British merchants in our midst who think that the masses of the people have not had a chance under British rule. For instance, Sir Daniel Hamilton is reported to have said in the course of a speech the other day

'As the holder of a few jute mill shares I feel ashamed to look a jute grower in the face. That we should be taking in 100 per cent dividends while he is on his beam ends... does not tally with British ideas of fair play. But what the jute growers are suffering now is what the masses of India more or less suffer from the day they take up life's burden till the day they lay it down. It is a condition of things that can be tolerated no longer and it is not a credit to British rule that it has been tolerated so long.'

Mr W. W. Pearson in England

The friends of Mr W. W. Pearson will be glad to know that he has arrived safely in England and is staying at his own home in Manchester. His health has very much improved and he is under treatment and advice from the Liverpool School of Medicine for Tropical Diseases. He is taking up work among the soldiers of a social and educational character, in connexion with the soldiers' camps near his Manchester home.

America and Alcoholic Drinks

The American Food Administration has decided that all breweries in the United States must close on December 1. The whole of the Dominion of Canada is also now under prohibition.

Thus in two great Western countries where people were accustomed to drink, prohibition is shortly going to be the rule. In India, of which the vast majority of the people never drank spirituous liquors, the drink revenue is on the increase, and the Government of India refused to declare, as suggested by the Hon'ble Mr B. N. Sarma, that the goal of its excise policy was prohibition.

A Sin and its Expiation.

Goru mere jut'i dan' is a proverbial expression current among Bengali Hindus. Hindus consider the killing of a cow a great sin, and the proverb ridicules the attempt to expiate the sin of cow killing by the gift of a pair of shoes. One is reminded of this proverb by the decision of the Bombay Government to spend the excess profits on the sale of country spirits in promoting education, sanitation, &c. It is, however, the best use that can be made of such ill-gotten gains. But the pity is what the Education and Sanitation Departments do in the way of making men intellectually, morally and physically fit, is undone by the Excise Department by making them intellectually, morally and physically unfit.

A Non Brahman Supporting Home Rule

It is proclaimed by the Sydenham gang in England and their jackals in the Anglo-Indian press that the non Brahmins are solidly opposed to Home Rule and that Dr Nair is the representative spokesman of that community. It has been repeatedly proved that such is not the case. We give one more proof.

Mr M. N. Venkataswami, M.R.A.S., and Member of the British Folklore Society, is a distinguished non Brahman. He openly avows that he is a Pariah, a caste even lower and therefore even more representative of the depressed classes than Dr Nair. His father, Mr Nagloo, rose by sheer ability and organising power from the lowest rank in life to be the owner of the first European hotel at Nagpur. Mr Venkataswami himself has received a good English education and written very readable English books like *The Life of Nagloo* (reviewed by us in February 1909), *The Story of Bobbili* and a neat volume of *Folk Stories from India* just published at Madras. This cultured non Brahman sent a representation to the Secretary of State

when in India (23 March 1918) advocating Home Rule. We quote his very words;—

"The Pariahs are a much persecuted and maligned race from antiquity down to the present time. . . . The Depressed Classes in the various parts of India, Bombay and Poona to wit,—waited in deputation on your honour and requested that self government be granted to India, while the Andhra Dravida Sabha of Madras, (also a Depressed class community) requested that self government be not granted. The persecution of the Pariahs is (therefore) much greater in Southern Presidency than in any other part of the country, and the poor fellows, being afraid that the persecution would be very much greater were the higher castes invested with additional power, showed a decided hatred against self government. But why the non-Brahmans of that very country, with no less a personage than Dr. Nair at their head, should show an unfriendly attitude towards self government, is difficult to understand."

But I, for one, connected by ties of blood with the Eastern section of the Andhra Dravidians, beg to state as my humble opinion that the tirade that is going on against Home Rule at the hands of my own people, is improper, and most respectfully submit at the same time that self government is the best form of government for the development of India in its various stages of progress, and pray that it may be granted in full measure. When the broad example of Booker Washington's country, which has done so much for the depressed classes of that great democratic country, is before my mind's eye, I believe in self government as I believe in my own existence."

He then makes some concrete suggestions for improving the condition of his caste men; but these do not involve constitutional changes.

Education of Girls and Women in Assam.

The following note appearing in the *Commonweal* of the 16th August 1918 will give some idea of the present state of Education of Girls and Women in Assam.

"For the first time two Assamese ladies have taken the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University this year, and we are glad they have passed with honours in Sanskrit. This fact, however, shows the very backward state of Women's education in Assam. It is understood there are no High Schools for girls in Assam at this distance of time, and girls who are anxious to secure English education have to go to Calcutta at considerable expense. Such a state of things must naturally retard the progress of women's education in Assam. It is high time that the Government and the public take steps to form the first High School for girls at the earliest opportunity."

Ninety years have rolled by, since the British have taken to their hands the reins of the government of Assam, and that within such a long period not a single high school has been opened for the education of the Assamese girls and only two Assamese ladies have graduated this year

from the Calcutta University do not really reflect any credit on the part of the Government or on the people.

Hindu Intercaste Marriage Validating Bill.

Mr. Vithalbhai Jhaverbhai Patel's Bill for validating marriages between Hindus of different castes, is thoroughly sound in principle. It simply provides that marriages between Hindus of different castes shall be considered valid, notwithstanding any prevalent custom or interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary. It has many defects, inasmuch as it says nothing as to whether the parties to such marriages must not have any other wife or husband living, whether they must not be minors, &c. But such defects may be removed when the Bill is considered in select committee. In moving for leave to introduce the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. Patel said in part:—

I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid. Under the existing Hindu Law as interpreted in Courts of Law, parties to a Hindu marriage must be of the same caste, otherwise the marriage is invalid unless it is sanctioned by custom. Therefore suits by either party for restitution of conjugal rights or by the wife for maintenance or inheritance or by the children for inheritance, succession or possession are not maintainable. This interpretation, my Lord, entails serious hardships in individual cases, as I have stated in the objects and reasons. I shall only quote two instances in support of my statement. . . .

The first instance which he quoted was that of a Hindu lady who married out of her caste when she was sixteen, and lived with her husband for 25 years, and had eight children by her. She was then discarded by her husband. But even the High Court of Bombay could give her no relief, owing to the current interpretation of Hindu law and legal technicalities. After citing another case, Mr. Patel proceeded to observe:—

Apart from these hardships in individual cases, marriage forms the substratum of the whole order of civil life, and upon the contracting of the best possible marriages depends the happiness of home, the strength and self respect of the people and the self reliance and progress of the nation. All unnecessary obstacles to such marriages must have of course evil effects, and obstacles on the ground that the parties do not belong to the same caste, are detrimental in more ways than one. They seal up the compartments of caste. They maintain the process of continual inbreeding and generate defective, helpless and despondent progeny. The evils of child marriage and forlorn widowhood, of sales, purchases and exchanges

and even hires of girls to be temporary wives, are due to them they perpetuate castes, some so small as containing eight persons and they are responsible for incestuous marriages, polygamy where there is a superfluity of girls, and homeless immoral life where there is a dearth of girls. These and other evils act and react upon one another, and all evils are strengthened to multiply further evils.

The necessity for a change in the present law is felt in many quarters. The most orthodox even know how difficult it often becomes to find a suitable match for their daughters and sons within their caste and how there are so many ill-matched unions resulting in violations of marital duties, miseries and social tragedies how sisters and brothers compete to catch such a match for their children and quarrels arise between them and they become life long enemies, how widowers and men of advanced age either marry little girls or remain unmarried and deviate from the paths of healthy moral life the influence of which on their children and surroundings they do not think of or care for. Sales, purchases, and exchanges of brides and compulsory dowries are disliked even by many of the orthodox of the caste, but they are help less.

Education, travel, contact in cities with people of other castes and such causes have widened the outlook of the younger generations whose ideas of marriage, home and life generally are broader, and they resent the evils I have mentioned, but they are help less.

It may be that large castes are not so much affected by the present law as the small castes, but the number of large castes is small. In provinces like Gujarat from which I come they are all small castes, and they are much affected by such a law. I say however that even if one province or one caste is affected, the law should not remain as it is.

I do not mean to assert that as soon as the requisite law is enacted there will be nothing left to come in the way of suitable marriages.

But the difficulties would then be such as private individuals might be expected to surmount.

Maharaja Sir Mamendra Chandra Nandi was the first to oppose even the introduction of the Bill. He is a pillar of the newly started National Liberal League. He made himself responsible for the view that the Bill "will make for disintegration, and is likely to act prejudicially to the best interests of society," how, he did not explain. He uttered many other platitudes. But we are thankful to him for admitting that it was "a Bill which certain sections of the people at least think desirable and necessary for the well being of the body politic and the progress of the community."

Mr. B. D. Sukul spoke as an alarmist. He expressed the opinion that the Bill would introduce a radical change in Hindu law, (which is not true) and would breed disintegration in Hindu society. That is not our opinion. We think, on the contrary, that such a bill would make for

the conservation and solidarity of Hindu society, as many would be enabled by such a law to remain within its pale who might otherwise leave it. Mr. Sukul even dragged the War into the debate. He said the masses were furnishing recruits, nothing should be done to alarm them. His imagination ran riot so far that he was even reminded of the Sepoy Mutiny! He also quoted Sir Reginald Craddock's opinion as to the two conditions which social legislation must satisfy before having the support of Government. At a subsequent stage of the debate Mr. Srini vasa Sastri showed the unsoundness and untenableness of Sir Reginald's position.

Sir W. Vincent explained the position of Government, who were prepared to accept the motion for leave to introduce the Bill and to circulate it for the expression of public opinion.

Mr. G. S. Khaparde supported the introduction of the Bill. He clearly appeared to favour the inclusion in and keeping within the fold of Hinduism as many persons as possible. He did not at all view with apprehension the formation of new castes or subcastes as the result of inter-marriages. He seemed to be in too great a dread of fortune hunters, and said that he intended to propose an amendment at the proper time excluding the children of such marriages from inheriting ancestral property. He forgot that Hindu converts to other faiths do not lose their right to ancestral property. He expressed the opinion that Mr. Patel's "proposal is not only not against the Hindu law, but in my humble judgment it really promotes the object of the Hindu law. The Hindu law does not like to drive anybody out of its fold."

Mr. Khaparde went on to observe.—

"It has been said that this Bill is inopportune and that we have got larger questions and ought not to deal with this. I humbly submit that this is the proper time. We have a maxim 'He who seeks equity must do equity.' If we seek for self government and all these higher powers, I believe we should be prepared to grant them to our own people in a peaceful manner. Both from the point of view of expediency as well as from the point of view of the Hindu law as it really is and Hindu sentiment as it really obtains, I humbly submit that this Bill should be admitted."

Raja Sir Rampal Singh's opposition was based on grounds somewhat different from those of the other oppositionists. He frankly said that he himself did not believe in the caste system of the Hindus. He

believed that so long as Hindus remained caste ridden they would not be able to advance in civilisation and occupy an exalted position among nations. He even admitted that the Bill has the support of reason and logic. But he confessed that he conformed to caste rules, but that was to lead the masses gradually to the destined goal. This is a false philosophy of social progress which has been repeatedly propounded and refuted again and again. History does not furnish any example of social progress effected without some person or persons leading the van guard in actual practice and running the risk thereby of social obloquy, persecution or ostracism.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastry said: I rise to signify my consent to the introduction of this Bill. According to him the Sastras sanction *anuloma* and discountenance *pratiloma* marriages. In his opinion the kind of marriages sought to be validated by this Bill should be of a civil nature, the parties should be adults or not below a certain age, the marriages should be monogamous and divorce would have to be introduced. He thought that the attitude of the Government towards reform movements was over cautious. He rightly held that Sir Reginald Cradock's first condition of Government support to social legislation, namely that an overwhelming majority of the people concerned should be in favour of it, was an impossible condition. He showed that the second condition for such support laid down by Sir Reginald, namely that Government can be in favour of such legislation when there is an outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity, had not been observed in practice. As an example he said that the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 was not passed to obviate any outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity. He advised Mr. Patel to wait for the formation of the reconstituted council and introduce it there, but said that if he insisted on introducing it now, it had his support.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar opposed the introduction of the Bill. He said custom should precede law, but Mr. Patel was trying to reverse the process. The observation was true to some extent. But we should take cognizance of facts and not be led simply by abstract theories. Society as at present constituted

tolerated the practice of illicit and disreputable connections between persons of different castes and even sects, but would not tolerate legitimate and honorable connections between such parties. Certain Hindu Maharajas and other persons of distinction or no distinction are publicly known to have even Musalman and Christian mistresses, but Hindu society does not ostracise or persecute them. It would however ostracise persons who married outside their own castes and the law as it stands would practically support such ostracism. Under the circumstances how can any custom grow with which respectable persons can have anything to do?

We say respectable persons advisedly. For in Bengal in the case of the Baishnab caste marriage between persons of different Hindu castes is a recognised custom. But the Baishnab caste is looked down upon and a proverb says that one becomes a *Bostun* (Baishnab) when one loses caste, — *jat harale Bostun*. Considering all these circumstances we think there should be a validating and permissive law recognising intercaste marriages. Mr. Ayyangar feared that Mr. Patel's Bill might lead on to a Bill validating inter racial marriages. We say why not? In these days it is only men who are very ignorant of the past history of India who think that there have not been any *varna sankars* and *jati sankars* among Hindus. Hindu society has absorbed many foreign races and tribes variously considered of Greek, Mongolian, Kolarian, Scythian, Persian, Hun and other stocks. There is not a single Hindu caste in India which has what is called pure blood. Pure blood is a myth in the science of anthropology. The existence at present among Hindus of hundreds of castes can be explained only on one of two suppositions: (1) that the existence at any time of only four Hindu castes was a myth, or (2) if there ever were only four Hindu castes there must have been innumerable intercaste marriages to give rise to so many other castes.

Say what orthodox Hindus will it is an infamous and outrageous arrangement which tolerates the presence in Hindu society of lecherous scoundrels who degrade and dishonor and put the brand of infamy on women of their own caste or other castes or sects by forming illicit connections with them but which will not tolerate a man who honours womanhood and

who would, therefore, if he loved a woman of a caste different from his own, form a lawful and honorable connection with her before thinking of having the joy and advantage of her company.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya thought that the general sense of the Hindu community would be opposed to the bill. He referred to what happened in the case of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's bill and thought that nothing had happened in the course of the last six years to make the introduction of another bill of the same sort expedient. But as Sir George Lowndes pointed out later on, the scope of Mr. Patel's bill was much narrower than that of Mr. Basu.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru accorded a cordial and warm support to the measure. He ridiculed the idea of Hindu society or Hindu religion being in danger in consequence of such a bill. There have been social laws passed before in respect of which also similar cries had been raised, but Hindu society still remains intact. Lawyers know how judicial interpretations have been practically changing Hindu law, and Hindu society has tolerated such interferences with Hindu law. Dr. Sapru scored a point when he said :

"But, my Lord, those who criticise this measure, I am afraid, entirely misunderstand the scope of the bill. It is not really an invasion upon orthodoxy. It is really meant for the protection of those who are not prepared to subscribe to all the conditions and tenets of orthodoxy. If orthodoxy is entitled to protection, so are those who do not subscribe to orthodoxy."

Dr. Sapru thought that the points raised by Mr. Sastri were side-issues. These can be settled in select committee.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said : "I am in very deep sympathy with the objects of the bill." But he was not in favour of throwing an apple of discord before the people at the present juncture. It would lead to agitation and controversy, it would lead to excitement : He counselled waiting for the reconstituted council, and opposed the introduction of the bill now. Generally it is the official classes who are more afraid or pretend to be more afraid of agitation or excitement than the leaders of the people. In the present case Government was not afraid, but Mr. Banerjea was.

And as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who spoke next, observed, it was "an irony of fate that my friend Mr. Surendranath

Banerjea, who has been agitating for the last 40 years and more, should be so much afraid of agitation and unrest."

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to observe that personally he would go much further than Mr. Patel's bill. Liberty of conscience ought to be granted to individuals. Regarding the talk of requiring overwhelming majorities in favour of social enactments, he asked whether Government was guided by the sense of the majority in other matters. "And is the Government going to stand by and allow the majority to oppress the minority?" In the present case, Government was responsible for the growth of the minority.

Mr. B. N. Sarma said :—

"I am in hearty agreement with the principles underlying this bill." "A section of the educated community believes in the fundamental spiritual doctrines of Hinduism, but does not believe in the sacred character of the marriage laws as at present understood by the Hindus." "Are we to drive them out of the Hindu fold?" "Are we to compel them to say that they are not Hindus in order that they may contract a legal valid marriage?"

In Mr. Sarma's opinion radical alterations in the bill were needed. He counselled delay, and the introduction of the bill in the reformed councils.

Sir George Lowndes, Law Member, explained that Sir W. Vincent did not say that the fate of the bill would depend upon the majority of the opinions received. After pointing out the difference between Mr. Basu's bill and the present one, he proceeded to observe :

"In most cases where we are asked to legislate with regard to questions which touch the Hindu religion (and sometimes the Muhammadan religion), we are told that it is only going back to the old law, that we shall only be restoring the law of the ancient *shastras* which has been over-ridden by the Privy Council or by the Courts in India. That is the common argument. The curious thing is that this is the exact opposite of that position. So far as marriages between a Hindu man of one caste and a Hindu woman of a lower caste are concerned, they were allowed by the *shastras* in India during the whole of the best period of Hindu history. They were not only legal but they were recognised as such by every great writer on the subject....."

Mr. Malaviya.—That is not correct.

Sir G. L.—"I believe it is quite correct."

Sir G. L.—"For 3000 years it has not been so."

Sir G. L.—"My Hon'ble friend is very brave, and my Hon'ble friend Mr. Ayyangar was braver still, though I fancy with a very slight knowledge of the subject." He ventured to quote Manu as laying down that such marriages were improper. Now, Manu, as my Hon'ble friend ought to know, is a consideration of texts belonging to

number of different periods. I can point out to my Hon. ble friend Mr. Ayyangar and to the Hon. ble Pandit passages in Manu which directly recognise the legality of such marriages and the succession of property under them. It is not certain to what period the later texts belong but they are clearly not of the same period as the others. Manu it is true contains one or two texts—to one of which the Hon. ble Mr. Ayyangar referred—disapproving of such marriages but Manu is hardly an authority as the work contains texts both ways.

But apart from Manu take the Benares school of writers. I start with the *Mitakshara* and the *Mitakshara* recognises the legality of these marriages. That is somewhere about the 11th century. The doctrine goes on right down to *Mitra Mishra* one of the latest commentators in the beginning of the 17th century who also recognises their validity. Take the Southern School. We have got exactly the same thing there. From the writers of the 13th century right down to the 17th century the validity of these inter-caste marriages is directly recognised. Take even the school of Bengal. Here we have the *Dayabhaga* which was definitely very definitely Brahministic. I had almost said a recrudescence of Brahminism—the whole foundation of which was the getting away from the secular views of the time—even the *Dayabhaga* recognises the legality of these marriages. Therefore I think the Council ought to understand that when we hear talk of the foundations of the Hindu religion being disturbed it is not the foundations of the old Hindu religion but the foundations of modern custom which has supplanted the old religion since the 16th century. And this I submit is a point of considerable relevance.

In conclusion Mr. Patel replied to some of the points raised in the course of the debate. He quoted from the preamble of the Kolhapur State law relating to inter-caste Hindu marriages, which stated that such marriages among Hindus and Jains generally were common in ancient times. Government granted leave to the mover to introduce the bill.

Laws permitting and validating inter-caste Hindu marriages have been passed in recent times, as far as we are aware in three Indian States—viz., Baroda, Indore and Kolhapur. In the independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal such marriages have been and are customary. In the British district of Darjeeling they are customary. These marriages in Nepal and Darjeeling are not civil or contractual; they are just as sacramental and respectable as marriages within caste limits.

The debate on the motion for leave to introduce the bill did not rise to a high level. It is rather humiliating to find a distinguished Hindu leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya subjected to correction on points of ancient Hindu history, law and custom by one who is neither an Indian nor a Hindu.

As mentioned above, the bill is defective in several respects. We shall refer to one which we have already mentioned. Whatever old social systems or social codes may have sanctioned, modern social legislation must proceed on the basis of equal justice to both man and woman and of the equal social rights of man and woman. Hence monogamy should be the ideal of all social legislation. For this reason Mr. Patel's bill should be so amended as to provide that inter-caste Hindu marriages would be valid only when the parties contracting such marriages had no wife or husband living or, in other words, the parties should be either bachelors or spinsters, or widows or widowers. Inter-caste marriages would for some times to come expose the parties to social or family persecution. A weak husband might feel inclined to yield to such persecution, discard the wife of a different caste from his own whom he had married and make up with his community and family by marrying another wife, belonging to his own caste. If such a practice were made penal it would act as a deterrent on would-be backsliders.

Similarly, inter-caste marriages should be adult marriages. The parties should contract such marriages, understanding their full social and other consequences. No parent or guardian has the moral right to subject his male or female ward to the consequences of such a marriage at an age when the bride or the bridegroom is not in a position to fully realise what they may be.

Those who are inclined to oppose the bill should understand that it is only a validating bill. It does not compel anybody to contract an inter-caste marriage, nor does it compel anybody to socially recognise such a marriage and have social intercourse or social dealings with the parties to such a marriage.

Such a law is required for the solidarity of Hindus. The fusion of castes and sub-castes cannot be promoted in any other way. And unless the numerous castes and sub-castes of Hindus are gradually united, the Hindu community cannot become a compact part of the Indian nation.

Apart from such considerations, it is a mere matter of the primary freedom of the individual in a civilised State and community that he should be fully at liberty to do what is neither immoral nor criminal, so

long as he does not interfere with the equal and similar liberty of others. An inter-caste marriage is neither immoral nor criminal. If it were, some of the most revered characters in Hindu history, literature and mythology must cease to be respected.

The mental constitution of man is not made up of a number of separate "water-tight" compartments. There is interaction and inter relation among all spheres of thought and action. Hence, man will be in politics what he is socially, and he will be socially what he is as a political animal. The majority of educated Indians of all sects want some kind of political freedom for the individual and the nation. That is to say, we want that we should be in political matters masters of our selves. This cry of self rule has been raised in consequence in the spheres of finance, industry, commerce and education, too. It is only in social affairs that a large section of our countrymen think that the individual should have no liberty, and that he must prostrate himself before custom like a slave even when he felt that it was tyrannous. This section of our countrymen ought to know that those who are socially unfree, would be unable to maintain their political freedom and exercise the rights of free men and enjoy its blessings, even if political freedom were thrust upon them. Looking at the matter from another angle, these countrymen of ours must rest assured that men would not be satisfied with mere political, fiscal, economic, industrial, or educational freedom, they would have social and religious freedom, too. If you teach men to question the authority, the wisdom, the justice, and the right of the bureaucracy or of the foreign exploiter or educator, you must be prepared to see them questioning the wisdom and the justice said to underlie the present day social customs, too. Nay, people will not stop short there. They will question the authority of the scriptures, too, and assert the supreme right of the human soul to be the final judge and master in all matters.

We home rulers are fond of citing the authority of John Stuart Mill. In his *Representative Government* he discusses the theory that 'the strongest power in society will make itself strongest in the government,' and admits that 'there is a portion of truth in this doctrine', though he adds that 'to make it of any use, it must be

reduced to a distinct expression and proper limits." He discusses it in the last three paragraphs of the first chapter of his book. And his summing up is given in the very last two sentences of the chapter, which are quoted below.

'When therefore the instructed in general can be brought to recognise one social arrangement, or political or other institution as good and another as bad, one as desirable another as condemnable, very much has been done towards giving to the one or withdrawing from the other, that preponderance of social force which enables it to subsist. And the maxim that the government of a country is what the social forces in existence compel it to be, is true only in the sense in which it favours, instead of discouraging the attempt to exercise, among all forms of government practicable in the existing condition of society, a rational choice.'

Mill no doubt discussed the maxim primarily as it was applicable to political institutions. But it is permissible to deduce from what he has written that those who are fit to exercise a rational choice among all practicable forms of government are also fit to exercise a rational choice among all practicable social institutions. In any case, there can be no question that true advocates of human freedom ought to 'favour the attempt to exercise' "a rational choice" among both political and social institutions of various kinds.

The belief in the political equality of all castes underlying the demand of self rule, implies that even a man of an "inferior" caste may be as wise, as unselfish, as public spirited, as honest and incorruptible as a man of a 'superior' caste. If that be so, is it rational to think that for purposes of marriage and other social purposes a man or a woman belonging to an 'inferior' caste must be necessarily worse than a man or a woman of a "superior" caste, irrespective of physical, moral or intellectual qualifications? That some men and women of 'inferior' castes are often equal or superior to some men and women of 'superior' castes in point of physical fitness and beauty, is undeniable. That a similar equality exists as regards mental, moral and spiritual worth cannot but be admitted. Wealth and worldly position are also not the monopoly of any particular castes. The objection to intercaste marriages must therefore rest on grounds other than physical, moral, material, intellectual, and spiritual. The peculiar sanctity or 'impurity' of any man or woman merely because of his birth cannot be maintained.

Hindus claim that they eat less

bathe religiously, travel religiously, marry religiously, die religiously, &c., in fact, that everything that they do is connected with religion. We admit that this was and is true of many Hindus. The struggle to be politically free is, then, in the last resort, a religious endeavour with true Hindus. From the objections of some Hindu leaders to intercaste marriages, we must conclude that the struggle to be socially free is for Hindus an *ir*religious endeavour. Therefore, to seek to be free is both a virtue and a sin.

Whatever view we take of Mr Patel's bill, we should be particularly careful that it does not prove a veritable apple of discord, as Mr Surendranath Banerjee apprehended it might. It is impossible that men's views should be similar or identical in all matters, religious, social, political, economic, &c. We should work together in those matters in which we agree. Our differences in other matters ought not in the least to stand in the way of our co-operation in those in which we agree.

Importance of Archaeology and the Duty of our Publicists

National vigilance should be directed to the work and working of the Department of Archaeology. *The Bombay Chronicle* recently remarked:

Few realise the true importance of the science which collects, classifies and interprets all the evidence of a nation's activities in the past. The relation of Archaeology to history, its aid to the nation's architecture, arts and crafts and its place in the scheme of national education thus remain unrecognised. India specially, cannot dispense with the aid of archaeology.

Our publicists ought to study the expenditure on archaeology in this country, the *personnel* of the department and the work alleged to have been done by it each year. The indifference of the public makes the Department immune, its affairs pass unchallenged.

It appears to be part of the settled policy of the Archaeological Department to import men from continental obscurity and set them up as authorities on India's Past. To be such authorities it is not necessary to be conversant with any Indian classical language and literature. The present head of the Archaeological Department, for instance is not an expert in the Sanskrit, Pali or Persian literature of this country. He did not know a word of any Indian language when he was

appointed to the headship of the Department, although he came to preside over a department whose daily business is to deal with inscriptions and other ancient records of the country. Prof. Bendall publicly protested against the appointment in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, reported in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of Oct 30th, 1903. The officers of the Department devote special attention to finding out foreign origins of Indian civilisation. The theory, for instance, of Dr. Spooner, of the Persian origin of Chandragupta, Pataliputra, Buddha, Chanakya and the Nandas which proved too much even for 'Orientalists' (one of them characterising it as "puerile"), was given high praise by the present Director General of Archaeology in his letter read out at Dr. Spooner's Simla lecture. In Sir John Marshall's Annual Report, Part I, of the Archaeological Survey of India, recently published, he is more cautious. There Sir John observes—

I may be permitted to state in order to remove a misconception that appears to have arisen in the point that Dr. Spooner's views are personal to himself and in no way represent the official views of the Archaeological Department. So far as monumental evidence from Pataliputra is concerned, it seems to me to confirm what had already been deduced from previous finds of the Maurya epoch, namely that the art of that period was subject to strong Perso or Perso-Greek influence and that a close intercourse must have existed in those days between India and Iran. But for my own part, I see no reason to infer that these discoveries connote the religious, social or political dependence of the former country on the latter.

But as the author of the discredited theory is inducted again and again into the Director General's chair on every slight occasion when a temporary vacancy arises, that, one may presume, is a surer criterion of what the Department thinks of his work and worth.

Competent art critics have condemned the work of the department on several occasions. Not much artistic judgment is evidenced in the reports and the major portion of the energy apparently is spent up in matters like proving the Italian origin of the Taj and the Parsi nationality of Chandragupta and receiving congratulations from politicians of the type of Chisrol.

The Government of India admitted by their resolution of 22nd October 1915 that employment of Indians in archaeological work was of "great importance." But who was appointed in place of the

late Government of India Epigraphist Mr Venkayya? Not an Indian, but Dr Thomas, librarian of the India Office Dr. Vogel is believed to be manufacturing an epigraphist for India in Holland.

The work of editing Asoka's inscriptions for the Department according to the current policy would necessarily be given to some one in Europe, while there are as good scholars (if not better) in this country as elsewhere, on the subject. The department excludes Indians as much as possible and when an occasion arises the department practically says that Indians have done nothing, that it is against their genius to take interest in history, &c. This was said with a lot of abuse by Dr Vogel only a few years back when Sir Harcourt Butler had called a conference of orientalists at Simla. Dr Vogel was officiating as Director General at the time.

The Department needs a thorough overhuling and weeding out of incompetency. It must be placed under Indian control, as even Mr Curtis suggested, without much delay. It must cease to be the hunting ground of international pretenders to Indian learning. It should be one of the "transferred" subjects. A commission with a non official majority should be appointed to recommend a reorganisation of the department. The present system has worked since 1902 with no satisfactory results.

X

'Resolution re Financial assistance in respect of the cost of the military forces raised, or to be raised, in India'

We have copied the above heading from the *Gazette of India*, dated September 21 1918.

The resolution was moved by Sir William Meyer, Finance Member. He said "We want to leave the decision thereon to the non official Members on behalf of the much larger public in India to whom we desire to appeal." While the non official members are to a small extent representative of the public, their votes can under no circumstances be said to echo public feeling in the country. The electorates which elected them were very small and were themselves not truly representative of the people. Still, if the Government wanted to treat the votes of the non official members as representing public opinion Sir William Meyer's resolution ought to have been moved a fortnight after publication,

so that those non official members who wanted to vote according to public opinion might have an opportunity of observing the trend of that opinion. The framing of the resolution as well as its consideration ought also to have been left entirely to them, the choice of a president being left to them. As a matter of fact, the matter was not really and entirely left to the decision of the non official members. The Viceroy presided, official members took part in the discussion, the Finance Member framed the resolution, and he made two or three speeches on it, which strictly speaking ought to have been confined to explaining the needs of the situation and to the means which he wanted to adopt to raise money. But he brought in 'love and loyalty', and also an argument, anything similar to which in the mouth of a non official would have been characterised as huckstering. Let us quote from his speeches.

I accept the statement of the Hon. Member who said it was trifling compared with what England is paying for the war, but I say it is anything but trifling as an example of India's loyalty and devotion.

He had also said previously, "as I pointed out yesterday, if this contribution were not made, it would not affect the war England would pay." So, it was not a matter of extreme urgency that India should make this additional payment. It was wanted only, to use Sir William's words, as, "a further proof of our solidarity with Great Britain, of our love for the Empire, of our determination to do what we can to see this war through." From the speeches made on various occasions by many high officers of the Crown from the Premier downwards, and paragraph 20 of the *Montagu Chelmsford Report* on India's loyalty, one might have thought that India had already given sufficient proof of her loyalty, devotion and love to satisfy them completely. But one never knows. India must go on giving fresh proofs of loyalty, as often as she is called upon to do so, even at the risk of bankruptcy, and even though her children have to do without sufficient food, sufficient clothing, sufficient medical help and sanitation, and sufficient schooling.

However, considering how meagre the safeguards of personal liberty in India are, how powerful and irresponsible the executive and the police have

various regulations, ordinances and Acts, what uses are made both of our "loyalty" and our "disloyalty," how when we are considered loyal it is argued that the people are thoroughly satisfied with the present form of government and no change is necessary, and how when we are deemed disloyal it is argued that such traitors as we deserve no concession but only "martial law, Sir, and no d—d nonsense,"—considering all these circumstances Indians may be excused if they are somewhat unnerved and lose the balance of their judgment whenever anything is made a matter of loyalty or disloyalty.

It is not once that Sir William brought in the "love and loyalty" argument. Rising after Mr. B. N. Sarma, he had also said :—

"I also of course reject the plea that it does not matter if we cut down the contribution, because in any case England can and will pay. If this Resolution is rejected, it will make a great difference to the feelings with which India is regarded in England. I say, even though your contribution is small as compared with England's outlay, still it is a proof of love and loyalty. It is like the gifts which children make out of their little savings, valuable for the self-deal and love which have called them forth.

It was, therefore, not without reason that Messrs. Malaviya and Sastri said what they did. Mr. Sastri observed

In speaking to the Resolution as I propose to amend it, I wish at the outset to say that Government in bringing this Resolution forward have placed non-official Members on the horns of a cruel dilemma. If we accept the Resolution, while we shall be declaring our loyalty to the Empire, we shall at the same time be handicapping the responsible government which is to be inaugurated and which is to undertake the expansion of education and sanitation and other things on a large scale. If, on the other hand, we reject the Resolution we shall, I fear, be causing an aspersion on our own loyalty which will be entirely unjustified and unfounded, and at the same time inviting risks to the political future of India which we have so much at heart.

Mr. Malaviya said :

I wonder, my Lord, if any disinterested person will regard this as a fair way of consulting and carrying the non-official Members of this Council with the Government. By adopting the procedure your Government have adopted, you have placed us in a position of great disadvantage. We must either swallow the proposal and become responsible for a large additional burden and fresh taxation being imposed upon the country, or we must expose ourselves to the risk of our opponents, and unfortunately they are neither few nor unimportant, making political capital in England by saying that Indian representatives had withheld the further aid which the Government of India desired to tender to His Majesty's Government at this crisis. He will be a bold man who will say that the vote of the non-official Members on the Resolu-

tion will, in these circumstances, be an altogether free vote. I yet hope, however, that my colleagues will try to act according to the dictates of the small voice within, which after all is the last anchor that holds.

Sir William Meyer suggested something like a bargain, too, when he concluded his first speech by expressing confidence

"that they [the non-official members] will also feel that when India is legitimately claiming larger political freedom and a higher Imperial status, she must likewise be prepared to assume a larger share of the burdens required by the safety and interests of the Empire, with which her own safety and welfare are so closely intertwined."

When agitators for Indian self-rule were understood (rightly or wrongly, it is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss) to say: "Give us our rights first, and then we will help," such an attitude was characterised as huckstering, bargaining, &c. But when the finance member says conversely, "As you claim political freedom and a higher Imperial status, be ready to pay the price thereof in advance," it is neither bargaining, nor huckstering, but only high statesmanship. To us it seems that if the affair is to be looked at as a politically commercial transaction, the difference between the agitators' and the bureaucrats' attitude is this, that the bureaucrats want payment in advance and the agitators have been understood to promise payment on delivery or by V. P. P. The two parties to the bargain, it seems, do not have faith or confidence in each others' capacity, promises and intentions. It would be futile to discuss the causes of such mutual distrust. The officials can speak for themselves if they choose. The non-officials (supported by what Lord Lytton once wrote) think there have been failures, on the part of the officials, to carry out promises. Whatever may have happened in the past, there ought not to be any doubt about India gaining "political freedom" and "a higher Imperial status" in the near future. But there seem to be some doubts. For in the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Indian Reforms, Mr. Charles Roberts, who formed part of Mr. Montagu's mission to India, is reported to have said :—

The unanimity of the debate was in a sense misleading. It must not be forgotten that the Secretary of India had not so far, the Government behind him. The Government had not yet accepted the Report, though there was some encouragement in the fact that they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration of last August. He suggested that

the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the reforms together with certain hostile voices which had been raised constituted a real danger signal to impatient idealists who were not content with the rate of progress proposed.

We need not say more on huckstering

European officials and non officials cannot help thinking of what the Dominions and India have done respectively. We do not think India suffers by the comparison. But the comparison itself is unjustifiable and improper. India would not at all be to blame if she had done less. Supposing India had done less than the Dominions, would it not show an unscrupulous and grasping nature to expect India to do what the Dominions had done, simply because India *only claimed* what the Dominions *had already got*, viz, political freedom and a high Imperial status?

Sir G. Lowndes' Speech on Sir W. Meyer's Resolution

We have said that the resolution was not really and entirely left to the decision of the non official members. No doubt it is only they who voted. But official members were at liberty to and did take part in the discussion. The Finance Member wanted to persuade the non official members to vote in the way the Government desired by various means, including sarcasm. On the other hand, Sir G. Lowndes, the Law Member, tried to bully the unfortunate non official members. We have already had something to say on that part of his speech which suggested that India was not so poor after all. But India's great poverty is admitted in the Montagu Chelmsford Report, and in the course of the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Indian Reforms Mr. Montagu said

It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources and that contributions to [war] loans of this kind could only be made not by denying luxuries but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities as education, sanitation and the development of its industries.

We will therefore pass on to some other points in Sir G. Lowndes's wonderful performance.

'Helping England'

Sir G. Lowndes said —

My Hon. ble friend Pandit Malaviya spoke of India helping England. Is that again the sentiment in which we are going to vote on this Resolu-

tion today? Helping England! What we are asking India to do today is to take her share in the great burden of the Empire and not to help England. We are not here as a Government to beg for England. We are merely to point out to India her opportunity.

But in page after page of the *Gazette of India*, dated September 21, 1918 published by the Government of India Sir William Meyer's resolution is called 'Resolution re financial assistance in respect of the cost of the military forces raised, or to be raised, in India.' We suppose assistance is somewhat like help and that when India's contribution has been officially called "assistance," there is some party who or which receives that assistance. It is for Sir G. Lowndes to name that party.

Sir George exclaimed 'We are not here as a Government to beg for England.' Who called the Government beggars? Every one knows begging is not the only recognised political means of getting money.

It is easy to insult India as a beggar woman. But the high and mighty need not forget that the proud position of England is not without connection with the humble position of India.

"The Navy Fighting for India"

Sir G. Lowndes asked —

Without it [the Navy] where would India's prosperity and India's wealth be today? Is not the Navy fighting for India as much as for any other part of the Empire?

India's prosperity indeed!

We appeal to Sir George not to make our burden of gratitude too heavy for us to bear. India and Indians have been treated up till now as the property of Great Britain and may continue to be so treated for an indefinite period to come. It is just possible that the British Navy has had to perform the duty of defending and protecting the British property called India. The Property no doubt ought to feel duly grateful for the benefit of protection incidentally received. But in order to make our burden of gratitude bearable we may be allowed to remind ourselves that the property holder has not given India any chance to have her own navy, and that, as on the one hand the British Navy has guarded India, so on the other the Indian Army has for generations fought the Empire's battles in and India and saved the situation in first stage of war.

Nesopotamia and East Africa for Great Britain Might not one, therefore, very humbly and very timidly ask, "But for India, what and where would the British Empire be to day?"

Ridiculous Pretensions

There is no harm in officials claiming to be 'jealous for the future reputation of India.' They may do so sincerely. They may also claim to "know and love" India or parts of India. But it is ridiculous nonsense for any official to suggest that he knows or loves India better than certain well known representatives of the people or that he is more jealous for her reputation than they, as Sir George Lowndes did in his speech on the war 'financial assistance' resolution.

"First Touch of Responsibility"

Sir George Lowndes accused Mr. J. Patel of shrinking 'from this almost the first touch of responsibility that has been laid on the Honble Members.' It is a curious notion of responsibility which these officials have. India was not responsible for the declaration of war, for she was not, and, as her constitution stands, could not be consulted before such declaration. India's responsibility was only for payment. When peace negotiations begin, far from the duly elected representatives of India being consulted even the Government of India may not have their say. For in his speech at the Ministry of Information dinner on July 13 last, the Prime Minister addressed himself solely to the Dominions, and was, as India puts it, strangely silent as to India's part. He said—

Henceforth you have a right to be consulted as to the policy beforehand; and that is the change which has been effected as a result of the war. The contributions which you have made to enforce these treaties have given you an undeniable right to a voice in fashioning the policy which may commit you, for this reason the Imperial War Cabinet is a reality.

He continued—

I have no doubt that in the course of the next few weeks Canada and Austral and New Zealand—yea, and Newfoundland they have all contributed their share of sacrifice, and they are entitled to an equal voice with the representatives of these islands—to determine the conditions under which we are prepared to make peace. Unless I am mistaken we are pretty well in agreement upon them. Another point which you must have a voice in is the settlement of the conditions of peace. We have discussed war aims, and conditions under which we are prepared to make

peace. At the War Cabinet we arrived at an agreement upon the subject last year with the representatives of the Dominions, and we shall reconsider the same problems in the light of events which have occurred since, and then we shall reconsider the whole of these problems.

"Where does India come in?" asks India. Our answer is, "When Sir George Lowndes demands that she should be responsible for payment."

Again, India has no responsibility as to how the money to be derived from her is to be raised and is to be spent. Sir George Lowndes and his colleagues will save her all that trouble and raise and spend the money for her.

Bearing in mind all these circumstances one may be pardoned for suggesting that the Law Member's theory of responsibility is defective, though possibly only to an infinitesimal extent.

'A Great Daughter of this Empire'

In one passage of his speech the Law Member referred to India as "a grown up daughter of the Empire," in another as "a great daughter of this Empire." The truth is, India is not a daughter of the British Empire either from our point of view or from the point of view of the European rulers of India.

Let us say first what our point of view is. The population of India is not derived from Great Britain, as the white populations of most of the Dominions are. The languages and literatures of India are not derived from Great Britain. The most prevalent religions of India are not derived from Great Britain. There are, it is true, some Christians in India, but Christianity is not a British religion, and the majority of Indian Christians are descended from those who became Christians before the British set foot on India. Indian civilisation is of older date than the civilisation of Great Britain and is not derived from the latter. British civilisation has touched only a fringe of the population. Out of the total population of India consisting of 315 millions only one million and six hundred and seventy thousand are literate in English. Those who are literate in the vernaculars may be argued to have been indirectly affected by British civilisation, but even their number is a little more than eighteen and a half millions. India has not derived any wealth from Great Britain. The shipping is practically eu-

tirely non-Indian. India has no mercantile marine or navy of her own. The railways are practically non-Indian concerns. The large manufacturing concerns, except in the Bombay Presidency, are practically non-Indian. The system of administration is un-British, and carried on by non-Indians.

In what respect then is India a daughter of the Empire?

From the point of view of the British rulers of India, too, she is not a daughter of the Empire. She has not got the political freedom and the high Imperial status of those real daughters of the Empire, the self-governing Dominions. What is India's place in the household? Far from being welcomed by the Dominions, are India's children even given the right of free entry into Canada, South Africa and Australia? Has any real daughter of the Empire ever furnished slaves euphemistically called indentured labourers? What then is the value of the hypocritical flattery implied in calling India a daughter of the Empire? It is simply adding insult to injury. No official should have recourse to such tricks simply to make non-official members vote money. If any official wants India to be a daughter, or a sister, or a partner in the Empire, he must be prepared for the fulfilment by Great Britain of certain conditions. Some of these may be stated in the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who wrote in a letter on "The Causes of Discontent in India" addressed to Lord Welby, dated 31st January, 1897:

"Indians are repeatedly told, and in this commission several times that Indians are partners in the British Empire and must share the burdens of the Empire. Then, I propose a simple test. For instance supposing that the expenditure of the total navy of the Empire is, say £20,000,000, and as partners in the Empire you ask British India to pay £10,000,000, more or less, British India as partner, would be ready to pay, and therefore, as partner, must have her share in the employment of British Indians and in every other benefit of the service to the extent of her contribution. Take the Army. Suppose the expenditure of the total Army of the British Empire is, say £40,000,000. Now you may ask £20,000,000, or more or less, to be contributed by British India. Then as partners, India must claim and must have every employment and every benefit of that service to the extent of her contribution. If, on the other hand, you force the helpless and voiceless British India to pay, but not to receive a return to the extent of the payment, then your treatment is the unrighteous wicked treatment of the slave master over British India as a slave. In short, if British India is to be treated as a partner in the Empire, it must follow that to whatever extent (be it a farthing or a hundred millions) British India con-

tributes to the expenses of any department, to that extent British India must have a share in the services and benefits of that department—whether civil, military, naval or other—then only will British India be the integral part or partner in the Empire. 'If there be honour and righteousness on the side of the British, then this is the right solution' of the rights and duties of British India."—Quoted by "Antiquary" in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

In future, if India is able to win true partnership in the Empire, she may be rightly styled a sister nation among other sister nations in the Empire. Then on account of her vast population, her wide extent of territory, her inexhaustible resources, and her ancient civilisation, the world may accord her the place of an elder sister in the commonwealth of nations comprised in the British federation. The mere possession by her of Western political institutions or Western manufacturing and mercantile methods would not make her a daughter to anybody. Japan has these: but whose daughter is she called?

Of the speeches in the debate, those of Mr. B. N. Sarma and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya seem to us the best.

The Special Congress and Moslem League Sessions.

The special sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League were highly successful.

Particularly noteworthy was the resolution on the Declaration of Rights passed unanimously by both the Congress and the Moslem League.

We certainly want

That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British Citizens—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in the Dominion whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association, free speech or in respect of writing, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial.

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, as in Great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper.

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

The Congress also did well to pass by a majority a resolution to the effect that "women, 12 377c qualifica-

tious as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex.

With regard to the Reform Scheme the Congress recognised that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions but expressed the opinion that as a whole the proposals are disappointing and unsatisfactory. The Moslem League in effect said the same thing only it said that the recommendations as a whole are unsatisfactory not adding the word disappointing. Perhaps the Moslem League did not entertain any hopes and were therefore not disappointed or it may have been a mere matter of chance that the word disappointing occurred in the Congress resolution and did not in that of the Moslem League. Our own feelings are such that we would not say that we had been disappointed for we did not and do not cherish any definite hopes. We think it is a wise thing which the Sanskrit proverb says—

‘**प्राप्ता हि वरम दुर्लभं नराणां वरम क्षुण्णम्**

Hope is the greatest of miseries and the cherishing of no hope is the biggest happiness

‘Self determination

We learn from India that in a review of Mr H G Wells latest book Mr Maurice Hewlett the well known writer who is a new recruit to the Labour Party, says

‘I look forward to the day when Great Britain shall accept the root idea of self-determination with all its implications. It is my hope that we shall give up Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar. I hope that India and Egypt will cease to be dominated and will federate with us as Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have federated. If they cannot do that, if they prefer to federate elsewhere or to stand alone I don't see how we can lawfully prevent them. I hope and believe that we shall not attempt to. I do not presume to speak for the Labour Party but I should not be so sure a member of it as I am did I not believe that its aim was self-determination for all the world over.

There spoke a true freedom loving man

Excess Profits Tax

The Government of India have decided to levy an excess profits tax but not this year it appears and when the war is over as it is likely to be in 1920 at the latest there will be no excess profits tax. So those who have obtained these profits will be assessed after they have made their

piles for about 5 years, and they will have to pay the tax for a year or two. So their representatives need not boast of their preparedness for sacrifice and all other nonsense of that sort. The real sacrifice—and it is a vicarious sacrifice—has been undergone by humbler people like the jute growers, who have helped to make others rich but have been themselves exposed to great distress owing to the high prices of cloth, food stuffs, &c. So if the excess profits tax had been utilised on such vital necessities as education, sanitation, and the development of industries, (to quote Mr Montagu), that would have been the most equitable course. But the war profits tax will go towards making a fresh contribution to war expenditure, in spite of the admitted fact that England is quite able to pay these additional 45 millions of pounds. India is required to pay only as a fresh proof of her love, devotion and loyalty to the Empire. Officials like Sir G. Lowndes may wax sarcastic, but even if the war were for the sole benefit and protection of India, which it is not, there would not have been any injustice if England had paid all the expenses of defending India. For the Indian Empire had been acquired solely at India's expense, and India had also fought outside her own borders for the benefit of England for generations. Moreover the British people have grown immensely rich owing to England's connection with India at first by commerce and by loot after victory, &c., and afterwards by industries and commerce and by manning the military and civil services. Where then would have been the injustice if out of the thousands of millions which the British nation has obtained from India they had paid 45 millions of pounds?

India undoubtedly expects to gain by the victory of the Allies. But the benefits expected to be reaped by the British people and the other white inhabitants of the British Empire would certainly be immeasurably greater than any benefits that might accrue to India. Under the circumstances considering what India has already done and considering also the poverty and vital necessities of her people it would certainly have been noble and just of England to have refrained from demanding fresh financial assistance—particularly as at the time of the free gift of 100 millions sterling, it was spoken of

by Government as the ultimate total special contribution to the war

Worthless Sycophants "

Mr Ramsay Macdonald has written in the *Awakening of India* (p 158, popular edition)

Some of the most worthless sycophants in India are to be found amongst the Indian aristocracy who have seats on the councils and hang round Viceregal lodges and Government houses

It would be difficult to prove that all aristocrats were sycophants, some of them are not. But those of them who are, are according to many high European officials, natural leaders of men, a fact which Mr Macdonald ought to have noted

Bengal Advisory Committee's Memorandum

The Advisory Committee appointed by the Bengal Government consisting of Mr Justice Beachcroft and Sir N G Chanda vankar, to advise the Governor in Council in respect of the cases of those persons now under restraint, or who during the sittings of the Committee, may be placed under restraint either under the provisions of the Defence of India Act (Act IV of 1915) the Ingress into India Ordinance (V of 1914) (to the extent that the persons so dealt with belong to the province of Bengal) or Regulation III of 1818 whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that they had acted, were acting or were about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India have submitted their memorandum. The procedure laid down for them was as follows —

The proceedings of the Committee will be held in camera and no Counsel will be permitted to appear. The papers of each case will be placed before the Committee by an officer deputed by Local Government is the grouping essential to the proper understanding of them and in the manner best calculated to effect that end. Should the Committee desire further information the request will be dealt with by the Local Government to the best of the capability.

With regard to this Committee the Pioneer and other papers of the same sort and some officials require reminding that the Committee was appointed at the suggestion of Mr Surendranath Banerjee, that it was not composed in the way even he desired, that the procedure laid down for it was different in some essential respects from what he wanted, that a very important section of the press and the

public, perhaps constituting a majority, protested against the appointment of such a committee and expressed the fear that its results would be unsatisfactory, that it was constituted, in spite of these protests and that it was supported, subject to some mild qualifications, mainly by Mr Surendranath Banerjee and some men of his party. It is also to be noted that up to the time of this writing (September 27), Mr Banerjee's paper the *Bengalee* has written nothing on the committee's memorandum, though it was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th September.

The total number of cases examined and advised on by the committee was 806. In 6 of the total number of cases they have advised Government that there are not sufficient grounds, in their opinion, for believing that the parties concerned have acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of India, and that, therefore, they should be unconditionally released. In the rest we have advised that the parties have, in our opinion, so acted. The committee have not, therefore, suggested anything which lies between immediate and unconditional release and detention for an indefinite period. But they have gone out of their way (we say so because it was not within their terms of reference) to pronounce an encomium on the Rowlatt Committee's Report. (It is not a matter for surprise that the conclusions of the two committees agree for the material before them and the procedure adopted were practically the same.) That, however, is a small matter in itself. The reason why we mention it at all is that in the Rowlatt Committee's Report, the revolutionaries are divided into various classes according to the degree and extent of their guilt or complicity, and different methods of administratively dealing with them have been suggested. The Chandavankar committee's memorandum, on the other hand, would lead one to suppose that there was no shade between black and white. As they mention the Rowlatt Committee's Report they ought also to have suggested, as the former has done, that different classes of revolutionaries required to be dealt with in different ways.

Let us quote what the Rowlatt Committee have said —

193. Our function is to suggest a scheme of law not of administration.

'Nevertheless in as much as we have necessarily gathered something of the psychology of these offenders in the course of our inquiry and as these impressions have necessarily guided us in reaching our conclusions, we think we may indicate generally the lines on which we have contemplated that they may be worked out administratively. These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influence of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. [So in the Committee's opinion only some are desperadoes. E. M. R.] Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and in a measure reason.

"190. The scheme above set forth is as has already been pointed out designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

'There are however a limited class of persons namely those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for these cases.

'In the first place there are a number of persons still at large such as Kash Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who if tried at all, ought to be tried even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

Secondly there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

'Some, if not most of these persons are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which five involve further murders. There are others like him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organizers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1918. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

'Assuming however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

I finally, it may be that a few of those now merely offered and some of the convicts who will be re-

leased may require some control. At any rate it is to be deprecated that the persons interested should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually.'

The italics are ours.

We are glad that as the result of the labours of the Committee at least 6 men may get released. The innocence of this small number of men also establishes the surprising fact that the C I D may be fallible in some cases. But taking the committee's conclusion to be correct, we may venture timidly to suggest that the possible maximum proportion of innocent men among those deprived of their liberty at the instance of the police is not 75 or three fourth per cent. It should be remembered that 806 is not the total number of men who have been deprived of their liberty after the passing of the Defence of India Act up to the commencement of the sittings of the committee. There has been a continuous stream of arrests, internments and releases. 806 is only the residue remaining after the release by the Government of those *détenus* whom they considered innocent or practically innocent. Nobody knows the exact total number of those who had been at one time or other deprived of their liberty,—a question in council may elicit the figure. Our impression is that the total number would not be less than fifteen or sixteen hundred, if not more. It is only out of such a total number that the committee's inquiry adjudges 800 to have been guilty. If our conjecture be correct, some 50 per cent were innocent.

We are not disposed to attach great importance to the fact that only 167 out of 806 men submitted a written representation. The remainder probably, like a large section of the press and the public, had grave doubts whether under the procedure laid down by Government the committee's labours would afford them any relief, and so they refrained from submitting any representations. Some, being inexperienced young men, possibly could not write out a presentable representation in the absence of help from lawyers, guardians or other advisers.

The committee mention that only 18 out of 168 who had confessed retracted their confession. As the 18 retractors have not evidently gained thereby, the

remaining 130 had perhaps wisely anticipated the result of retraction!

The committee say that "the representations in some, though but a very few cases, use strong language and allege ill treatment and torture." They also say, "In only ten cases in all are there allegations of torture—seven of these are from the Presidency and the rest from the Alipur Jail." It is possible to draw a wrong conclusion from the fact that so few complained of torture or ill-treatment. In the first place, there was the ever present fear of the police and the jail officials, few would naturally complain until they felt they were beyond the power of these persons. In the second place, in the letter addressed by the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Superintendents of Jails for the information of the accused, it was distinctly said that "any representation outside this [viz, the conditions] will be discarded as irrelevant," among the conditions was "(c) That it [the representation] is confined to the merits of the case." We do not know how many representations, if any, were discarded as irrelevant on this ground. The letter addressed to the detenues by Superintendents of Police was still more explicit. Besides laying down the condition "that it [the representation] is confined to the merits of the case against you," the letter explicitly says "Representations regarding such matters as the treatment you are receiving while in detention or requests for transfer to a home domicile or release will not be considered." Under the circumstances, it is quite easy to understand that most of those who may have been subjected to torture, may not have complained of it.

Regarding the small number of the representations, we have some other observations to make. What is meant by "the merits of the case?" Eminent lawyers and judges differ as to what is relevant and what is not relevant to a particular case. Are inexperienced students and other young men likely to know without legal help what points are relevant to the merits of their cases? If owing to their ignorance the majority did not or could not write representations, or had their representations discarded as irrelevant it would be no wonder. We do not positively assert that such was the case, but we only suggest a probability. More-

over, it has been taken for granted that all detenues, state prisoners, &c., had been actually informed that they could exercise the right of making representations. We do not know what steps the committee took to be quite sure on this point. We may be considered too distrustful, but where the liberty of so many men was concerned and when they were not to have a regular and open trial, it was necessary to make absolutely sure that (i) every one of them knew that they could make representations, and that (ii) every representation made had reached the committee. The committee simply observe that "The representations, *appear* to have reached us in their original condition" (italics ours), but did they make sure that all the representations had reached them? We think it would not have been superfluous labour or unnecessary zeal on their part if they had made personal enquiries of the detenues and state prisoners on these points.

We do not find it mentioned anywhere in the memorandum that "seditious letters, books, papers," &c. "seized by the police during searches or while apprehending offenders for revolutionary crime" were proved by the evidence of search witnesses to have been actually so seized. But it is really useless to make such a remark. There was no evidence except the untested evidence produced by the police and therefore though one ex-judge of a High Court and another High Court judge made the inquiry, it cannot be given the weight of a judicial inquiry. In explaining why they did not require the presence of any of the parties concerned, the committee say "(1) Our committee is in the nature of an appellate or revising authority, which does not usually require the presence of a convicted party in revising his case." That implies that the offenders had had the opportunity of being present before a judge in a law-court in an original trial. But as that is not the case, we cannot but treat this as an unsound argument. In the next place they say

(2) Even then we might have exercised our discretion by requiring the presence of a party had we in any case found it necessary in the interests of the party himself. But in no case did such necessity, in our opinion arise. We did not think that hearing his defence from his own mouth would have placed a party in a better position than a written defence prepared by him after full deliberation and submitted to us for consideration. Such written defence we saved. From our judicial experience we have found

that if an accused person is not defended by Counsel, he, generally speaking spoils his case when he conducts his own defence or in answer to questions from the trying Judge either gives irrelevant answers, or makes vague protests of innocence or makes unwittingly admissions against himself or by his demeanour in answering questions prejudices his defence by producing an unfavourable impression on the mind of the Judge. That risk to the parties whose cases we have examined was almost certain, seeing that from 70 to 80 per cent of them are inexperienced and young students. (3) The exceptional conditions of revolutionary crime and the special procedure of judicial investigation necessitated by those conditions (with which we deal in the concluding part of this memorandum) have also weighed with us in not calling the parties before us. The Sedition Committee 1918 have pointed out in their Report that several of those, who have made long and detailed confessions to the police and thrown light on revolutionary organisations and crime and enable Government to track their course successfully stage by stage have made those confessions on a well understood though often unexpressed condition that their names will not be divulged and that scrupulous care will be taken to save them from exposure to the vengeance of their associates. (page 21 of the Report) We have satisfied ourselves that those persons are unwilling to appear before any judicial or quasi-judicial tribunal however constituted whether sitting in open court or in camera and make any statement or answer any questions. Under those circumstances to differentiate between them and others would have been dangerous.

When an ex-judge and a judge bring forward their experience in defence of a certain line of action, we laymen can say nothing. We may simply appeal to the experience of other judges. But there is no such record of experience before us. Still we venture to think that the committee's observation may not be of universal or very general application. And seeing that they have judged 800 out of 806 men guilty, why could they not give these guilty 800 a chance of appearing before them? Even if all had spoilt their cases, they would still have been nothing worse than guilty, and it is possible that a few might have improved their cases.

We have already pointed out some probable reasons why inexperienced young men might not have been able to write out relevant defences, or any defences at all. The committee have unconsciously suggested another. If an undefended accused person spoils his case by giving oral evidence, it is probable that he would spoil it, though possibly to a less extent, by a written defence, too. It is not an easy thing to make out a relevant, clear and convincing case, as all controversialists know, And as for "full deliberation", are the committee sure that the accused

were given the time and the opportunity for such "full deliberation"? We printed the following in our last number from the *Express*, in which paper we have not yet found it contradicted.

The Advisory Committee is now sitting to consider the cases of the political detainees and the procedure that is being followed is this: The accused is supplied with a copy of the charges at the Thana in the presence of a police officer and he is required to answer them in writing within a short time as best as he could. He is enjoined not to consult anybody nor to keep any copy of the charges. Now may we ask how is it possible for him to answer satisfactorily the charges which the Police had taken care to formulate against them at a moment's notice in the presence of a police officer without consulting any of his friends, relatives or guardians, much less any legal adviser, and without being apprised of the evidence which have been accumulated against him?

It may or may not be that our contemporary wrote with reference to what was being done in Bihar, but as it cannot be contended that the Bengal police are angels and the Bihar police not, what is possible in Bihar is possible in Bengal, too.

It may not have been possible to call the parties before the committee, but the committee might have visited them. We are loth to believe that if the committee had not called those who had confessed under a promise of secrecy, and had called only the others, the Government would have been powerless to keep it a secret that any such distinction had been made.

We do not know whether the committee considered the feasibility of allowing the accused persons to produce rebutting evidence from the lips of witnesses for the defence. The committee were not precluded from doing this by the procedure laid down. And the revolutionaries would certainly not have terrorised or murdered such witnesses for the defence.

Laymen though we are, we cannot entirely accept "the radical difference between the nature and conditions of ordinary crime on the one hand, and of revolutionary crime on the other" pointed out by the committee. The committee say:

X. Ordinary crime, by which we mean crime which is committed for private purposes and not with the object of upsetting the Government and striking at its very foundations and authority, is individual in its nature, that is to say, when a person is arrested for such crime and tried in a Criminal Court, there is an end of the case whether he is convicted or acquitted. A confession therefore whether made to the police or to a Magistrate before trial or to the trying Court, is in operation and

serves its purpose only until the case is tried and disposed of

Confessions connected with organised crime, such as Thuggy, gang robbery, kidnapping girls for immoral purposes, kidnapping girls for selling them as brides to persons of castes who find difficulties in getting wives &c, do not, we presume, exhaust themselves when the trial of a particular case ends

The committee proceed to observe

If an individual member of the revolutionary organisation is arrested and dealt with by the State, the revolutionary crime does not end it goes on and where a person arrested confesses the crime the confession is useful to Government only if it becomes a starting point to the police for fresh investigation of the crime continuous as it is

Why is a confession useful to Government "only" if it becomes a starting point to the police for fresh investigation of the crime? Is it not useful if the confession leads merely to the conviction of the accused? Of course, if it becomes a starting point for fresh investigation it is still more useful

Again

Every such confession, so far from exhausting its activity with the arrest and disposal, according to law, of the person making it continues subject to the sifting process of truth for a long period. The temptation, therefore to which a Police officer is exposed, of extorting confessions true or false in the case of ordinary crime is very much less in the case of revolutionary crime. The risk which the police run of certain exposure is greater in the latter than in the former

We cannot subscribe to this opinion. Whatever may be the case when revolutionaries are tried regularly and openly, in the case of the persons whose confessions or alleged confessions came before the committee there was not the least fear of exposure. It is mostly by the cross examination of counsel and the evidence of defence witnesses that extorted confessions, forgery, perjury and concocted evidence are exposed. There was no such fear in the case of the present inquiry. Moreover, is it impossible for the police to extort confessions in harmony with their theories or with previous confessions, or to suppress those confessions or parts of confessions which are contradictory of previous confessions, and to place before a committee or a secret tribunal only a well-cooked and congruent series of confessions? Is it impossible for the police to obtain a confession after the occurrence of an incident or the finding of materials

like arms, &c, and to antedate a confession obtained afterwards? Even in the scriptures of many nations, fraud of this description has been perpetrated, and accounts written long after events have been palmed off as prophecies

And suppose there is "certain exposure," what is the "risk" the police run? In the Musselmanpara bomb case, the High Court Bench said distinctly in their judgment that the police had been guilty of forgery, and a committee appointed by Government said the same thing only taking care to whitewash the superior officers. Now this was an exposure. But was any policeman dismissed or prosecuted for forgery? During the administration of Sir Andrew Fraser, there was an attempt to wreck a B & R train in the Midnapore district. Some coolies were tried and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Afterwards in a trial of revolutionaries, it came out that the attempt to wreck the train was not the work of the coolies but the work of some of these revolutionaries. We do not now remember whether the coolies were released but, unless our memory plays us false, we are sure no police officer was dismissed or prosecuted for getting the coolies wrongly convicted. There have been many cases in which men have been sentenced to death by a district sessions court on evidence concocted by the police, but in which they were released on appeal by the High Court but we never hear of any policeman being punished in consequence

In paragraph XII the committee say

XII In the case therefore of confessions made to Police officers, by persons arrested on the charge of revolutionary crime the question of their admissibility in evidence and of the weight to be attached to them when admitted must depend not on whether those confessions were extorted either by torture or inducement or other like means, but on whether the confessions are true such confessions, by the very nature and conditions of revolutionary crime continuously—so long as the revolutionary crime is continuous—undergoing certain tests as to their truth

This goes dangerously near suggesting an indirect defence of obtaining confessions by torture, &c, it certainly is calculated to induce the disposition to connive at torture, provided it serves a useful purpose. The tests which follow the passage quoted above, may or may not be all, but we emphatically say that not be connived at under

or for any purpose whatever, be it even the safety of the state, or any other high sounding thing. Once torture is lightly spoken of, those among policemen who are not men of high principle may be encouraged to torture accused persons and take the chance of discovering the truth.

In their 17th paragraph the committee refer to a class of "Persons arrested while in possession of arms or ammunition or other incriminating materials and articles of revolutionary crime. These persons under the circumstances of the arrest carry their own evidence against themselves." But the question is, was there any properly tested independent evidence of these incriminating things having been *actually found in the possession of these persons when they were arrested*? In the trial of a few cases we have read of incriminating things being placed in the houses of or in proximity to the accused by God knows whom. If we remember aright, in the Musalmanpara bomb case and in the case of the murder of Inspector Nripendra Ghose, the persons arrested were said to have been found in possession of fire arms. But in neither case could the police prove their case and obtain conviction.

This note has already become long, and as laymen we feel the disadvantage of our position in having to criticise a document whose value depends so much on the soundness or unsoundness of the legal and judicial principles enunciated therein. What we have said, we have said from a sense of public duty. The committee's main task was not to ascertain the existence or otherwise of a revolutionary organisation, but to pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the individuals whose cases had been placed before them. We may be wrong but the committee's finding that 800 of the accused are guilty has failed to produce clear conviction in our mind.

Whatever our doubts may be, it is satisfactory to read the following —

XIX. We have in every case declined to act on circumstances of mere suspicion by which we mean absence of positive proof of guilt and the mere presence of circumstances of an equivocal character not necessarily leading to a presumption of crime. For instance, mere association with proved revolutionaries, or mere residence in a mess consisting of revolutionaries and others or mere seditious talk of an irresponsible character in company without more of an incriminating nature has been treated by us as insufficient

for action whether under Regulation III of 1818 or the Defence of India Act or the Congress Ordinance.

The committee observe —

Before the Defence of India Act was brought into force, the fair trial of a person accused of revolt on any crime had been rendered practically impossible by the murders of approvers, witnesses, Police officers and law abiding citizens suspected by revolutionaries of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime.

That the trial of revolutionaries was difficult we admit. But we also know that before the Defence of India Act had made it easy for the police to arrest innocent and guilty alike, there were many successful trials of revolutionaries and conspirators. There were several big conspiracy cases.

We find the following in the memorandum —

Revolutionaries who having received wounds in dacoities were unable to escape, were shot dead by their associates in the dacoities for fear that if left alive they might confess and disclose the secrets of revolutionary organisations.

But this is not a peculiarity of revolutionaries. Ordinary dacoits have been heard to do the same thing occasionally. Only they are said to go a step further, and decapitate and carry away the heads of their wounded comrades to prevent both identification and confession. But this was not considered a ground for changing judicial procedure.

Rammohun Roy Anniversary

Rammohun Roy, the anniversary of whose death in Bristol 85 years ago was celebrated in all provinces of India on the 27 September, was a man much in advance of his times. Nay, he was in many respects in advance of our age, too. He was a man of universal outlook. Believing in the unity of the human race he believed that human welfare meant the welfare of men of all countries, races and sects. He rejoiced wherever the cause of human progress triumphed and grieved wherever there was a set back in the tide of progress. Human and national progress did not to him mean progress only in politics, or in social institutions, or in material prosperity. He knew that progress in any direction was dependent on progress in all others. Hence, we find that he was the pioneer of all the most essential and important movements for the regeneration of India. This was not due to any belief in a mechanical theory of harmoni-

ous development in all directions. It was his religious faith, his true spiritual insight, which made him fight with whatever was unjust, false, degrading, or obstructive of progress, wherever he found it. In his own personality he unified the cultures of the East and the West and thus prefigured the coming inter action of all cultural influences, whatever their origin throughout the world. Similarly he was the meeting place of Hindu and Semitic cultures and civilisations. In his personality there was no conflict between Hindu and Moslem and Christian. He had found that within himself and in the ancient spiritual wisdom of India which enabled him to realise the unity underlying the diverse systems of faith prevailing in the world.

Though the anniversary of his death is celebrated in some place or other, every year in all provinces, it cannot be said that we have yet been able to appreciate and honour him as he ought to be. One reason is that he never played to the gallery. While there has never yet been another Indian who has more deeply realised what is really the essence of the ancient spiritual teachings of India, he was never afraid of pointing out what was false or degrading in our popular religious customs or scriptures. Like all truth tellers he has to fight his way to acceptance. Though the present may seem to belong to men much smaller than he there is not the least doubt that the future belongs to him.

Riots in Calcutta

There is a large rowdy element in Calcutta ready to take advantage of any popular excitement to gratify their desire for plunder. These low class people took *advantage of the excitement among* Musalmans resulting from the prohibition by the Bengal Government of a large Moslem meeting which had been arranged to be held, and made Calcutta the scene of probably the worst riots within living memory. Much blood shed has been caused, and many shops have been looted. Cloth shops owned by Marwaris suffered most which was natural owing to the high prices of cloth. Such riots leave their legacy of racial and sectarian hatred behind which is not the least of their harmful consequences.

All these evil results could have been

prevented if Lord Ronaldsday had allowed the Musalmans to hold their meeting under proper safeguards and guarantees. But he prohibited the holding of the meeting instead. The meeting was prohibited on the ground that its holding would create excitement and might lead to a breach of the peace. But it was the prohibition of the meeting which produced exactly these undesirable results.

Government knew that the Musalmans were not satisfied with the order of prohibition and that there was widespread excitement. Yet there was no adequate preparedness for emergencies on the part of the police. Some precautions had been taken, but they proved utterly inadequate to prevent a state of temporary anarchy. It has been stated in the papers that men were done to death and shops plundered within sight of the police.

It has been an argument used by our European opponents against Indian self rule that Indians if placed in authority would not be able to prevent riots. But are the Anglo Indian bureaucracy able to prevent riots and disorder? Their advocates say, that but for them, things might have been worse. That is a very nice argument because what might have been is unknown and unknowable and therefore irrefutable.

In the recent riots, according to the daily papers the Marwaris lost most in property and the Musalmans in lives. This has furnished an occasion for some Anglo-Indian papers to observe with ill concealed glee that the Hindu Moslem *raproachment* was a farce. The wish may have been father to the discovery. *The Empire* dated 11th September for instance said —

The commentary once again made by the d's turbances on the cold and wonderful anti-supposed according to Congress Leagues, to bad Hindu and Moslem together into a nation is too obvious to be significant to need labouring here.

Similar comments were made in several Anglo Indian papers after the Arrah riots. Even if Hindus and Musalmans of all classes fight no man professing to be civilised and a follower of the prince of peace should be pleased at such occurrences. It would be a great calamity to India if men who are so pleased were ever to be placed in authority for they might not scruple to foment sectarian riots to gratify their malevolence.

This note was in type before the publication of the Government resolution on the subject

Food Riots in Madras

The food riots in Madras are a commentary on the pretensions to infallible statesmanship and perfect efficiency of the administrators of India. We know in August last there were bigger and more destructive riots in Japan in consequence of the high prices of rice and food riots are not unknown in other civilised countries too. We do not therefore say that the British rulers of India are a set of very incapable men. What we do say is that their achievements are not in keeping with the unique reputation which they and their advocates have manufactured for them. But this is a comparatively unimportant matter. What is of vital importance is the relief of distress. Sir George Lowndes and others like him may dream of India's prosperity, but the real India is a hungry and half-naked India. May we not grow callous at the constant sight of misery?

The Floods in Northern Bengal

The floods in northern Bengal have caused intense and widespread sufferings which are not less than those caused by the Damodar floods a few years ago. But the relief given to the sufferers has not yet been on a scale comparable with that given to the people of the areas flooded by the Damodar. Probably the majority of our people having been affected by the high prices of necessities they have not been able to render adequate help. There is perhaps also another fact to be taken into consideration. The policy of repression may have made public spirited men hesitate to do philanthropic work like the collection of subscriptions and the distribution of relief for as the revolutionaries are said to have made philanthropy a part of their recruitment methods those who render social service may, it is feared, be objects of official suspicion. But we should not be deterred from doing our duty by fear of such suspicion.

Early Release of Indentured Indians in Fiji

We are glad Government have accepted

the following resolution moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State for India to negotiate with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerning the early release of Indian labourers in Fiji whose indentures have not yet expired.

The original resolution moved by the Pandit did not contain the words in Fiji. He wanted all the indentured labourers in all the Crown Colonies to be released. But that was not acceptable to Government. So we must be satisfied with what we have got which is certainly far better than the total rejection of the resolution.

In the course of his speech the Pandit rightly spoke of the philanthropic labours of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in the following terms —

I should like to say here Sir that I doubt if we fully realise how much we owe to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson for their self-sacrificing mission to Fiji in 1915 and for the continued interest and repeated mission of Mr. Andrews last year to that island. I do not think that the enormity of the evils of the system of indentured labour would have been so fully realised by us but for the humane efforts of these two gentlemen.

The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to them.

In the speech of Sir George Barnes we find an account of what Government have done and intend to do in the matter. We thank them for the part of their duty which they have done. But by implication Sir George Barnes seems to monopolise all the credit for Government. There is not one word of appreciation or recognition of what the public have done to arouse interest in the matter nor a word of praise for what public spirited individuals have done. A reader unacquainted with the facts might even suppose that it was the Government of India who had made the Australians take interest in the welfare of Fiji Indians. This is neither a grievance nor a complaint. We write only to draw attention to the amusing ways of the bureaucracy. An instance occurs in the Montagu Chelmsford Report. Paragraph 17 of that Report concludes with the following sentence: 'The Government with public opinion behind them abolished indentured labour.' This may even convey the idea that the Government had been always only too anxious to

abolish indentured labour, but could not do so because of an obstructive or callous public opinion.' So indentured labour was abolished as soon as the support of public opinion could be secured.

But the fact is it was the pressure of public opinion which made the Government abolish indentured labour. But we may be doing injustice to the framers of the Report. The sentence quoted may mean that public opinion had been pushing the Government from behind and goading it on.

Sir George's speech is perhaps in accurate in a few passages. For instance, he says that most of the State-aided schools are now open to the children of Indian emigrants in Fiji. This is not correct. Again, he speaks of Badri Maharaj as having been "elected" to the Fiji Council. He is not an elected member.

We are glad to read the following in Sir George's speech —

With regard to the cancellation of indentures my Hon. ble friend knows that the Planters in Fiji and I think in the other Crown Colonies also are so anxious to get more Indian labour for the sugar plantations that they offered to cancel all existing indentures if the Government of India were willing to accept the scheme of assisted emigration which was put forward at the London Conference. This scheme it must be freely acknowledged was an immense improvement on the old indentured system but the Government has never accepted it because they believed that it was not acceptable to public opinion in India and I imagine that the Hon. ble Pandit does not suggest that the scheme ought to be accepted in order to secure the cancellation of the outstanding indentures.

Rowlatt Committee's Report in the Viceroy's Council

Mr Bhabarde had proposed in the Imperial Legislative Council that the consideration and disposal of the Rowlatt Committee's report be kept in abeyance and that a thorough and searching enquiry be undertaken by a mixed committee of an equal number of official and non-official Indians into the working of the C. I. D. Only one other member besides himself voted for his resolution. Whatever the reasons, it is much to be regretted that the rejection of the resolution made all the other elected members appear by implication to support the view that it was of the greatest urgency to consider and dispose of that report without delay. Such an impression would no doubt be corrected by a reading of the

speeches of the members on the resolution. But how many would do it? At present and for six months after the conclusion of the war, Government have very effective weapons in their hands to deal with revolutionaries and suspects, when six months would pass after the conclusion of peace, there would still remain Regulation III of 1818 and other similar regulations to enable Government to confine suspects without bringing them to trial. So, if as soon as peace was within sight Government began to consider the report and, if thought proper, drafted a bill in accordance with its recommendations, the executive and the police would not be without effective weapons in their hands to maintain peace and order.

What the rulers of India ought to consider is that permanent legislation in accordance with the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations would spoil the effect produced by the reforms proposed by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. And, as we have shown, there is no immediate need for such legislation. So Government should wait. Besides, they would be better able to carry the country with them should they succeed in persuading the reformed councils to consent to such legislation. In our opinion such legislation is not only not needed but would be harmful.

It would be an advantage for the reformed councils to begin their work with the burden of a permanent repressive law weighing on the public mind. They should be allowed to begin their work under better auspices. Let it not be said that the new regime would be one of repression *cum* reform, and that the bureaucracy, who have already insistently demanded that they should have autocratic powers for maintaining peace and order, were enabled betimes to enact laws which struck at one of the main pillars of popular government, viz, personal liberty.

The Viceroy's Opening Speech

We wish to make a few remarks on a few points in the speech which the Viceroy delivered at the opening meeting of the autumn session of his Council. He said —

At the outset of my tenure of office I warned those who were insistent on political reform that the British temperament was averse from change. This expression of opinion was

may not have noticed them. In our last August number, we have shown that the expression "responsible government in India" does not necessarily exclude from the contents of its meaning "responsible government in India as a whole" (*Vide M R*, Aug., 1918, pp 201-2).

The Viceroy laid great stress on a sentence in para 239 of the *Report* "We have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go." That may be true. But he has shown that these principles follow necessarily from the Announcement, and that the Announcement forbids the crossing of that line. That is the only relevant consideration. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State may have many private principles which may not be binding on others. Those who consider the Announcement authoritative would expect the Viceroy to prove that the principles which have guided him and Mr Montagu in the *Report* were the lexicographical and logical outcome of the Announcement.

We will notice one more sentence in his speech. It runs thus: "Surely no one can say that this scheme does not involve a large increase in the influence of the representatives upon the actions of the Government of India." Yes, but the Viceroy forgets that the people have rightly ceased to be satisfied with mere influence, they want power. And power particularly in the governance of India as a whole, because it is the Government of India which is concerned with the most important and vital affairs of the State.

The Liberal Mr Montagu

The *Bombay Chronicle* quotes the following passage (from the *British Medical Journal*) from Mr Montagu's reply to the deputation which urged before him that the prospects of the Indian Medical Service should in future be made more "attractive" —

"Just as India cannot to-day or so far as anybody can see—I was going to say for ever—do without the services of those who help to govern her, so

India cannot command the services of those who help to govern her unless the Europeans who carry the burden of Empire in India can be supplied with expert medical aid.

What a great compliment to Indians! They will "for ever" require the services of rulers from England to govern them! And these rulers, again, will not agree to do us the favour of governing us, unless we get for them medical experts from England at high salaries, which Mr Montagu half-promised to increase still further!

The hypocrisies of the political vocabulary are both amusing and sickening. Where an honest plain man would say, "I like the salary and I like the power and the privileges, with the salaams thrown in," the political vocabulary supplies him with some ready-made phrases, upon which he eagerly seizes and says he goes abroad to bear the burden of Empire upon his back. Pity the overburdened poor fellow, but do not relieve him, O ye kind-hearted men of the Indian Moderate camp and Home Rule camp!

"A League of Free Nations"

On the 12th September last the Freedom of the City of Manchester was conferred upon Mr Lloyd George. Acknowledging the honour, the Premier made a speech, in the course of which he said "The British Empire was a League of free nations." Yes,—except India, which really makes the British Empire an empire instead of a crowned republic. The full title of King George V is "His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." An empire, we presume, is that over which an emperor reigns. But His Majesty George V is emperor only in India, therefore Britain's empire strictly speaking lies only in India. And India is not yet free. Therefore, it is proved that the British Empire is a League of free nations.

THE RENDEZVOUS

Blow as you will, O winter wind,
 Blow lustily across the world,
 Release the madness of your mind,
 Let winter's triumph be unfurled,
 No pang to my warm heart you bring—
 I have a rendezvous with spring !

I have a rendezvous with spring—
 My way is an old road of fears,
 Past surly watch dog muttering
 Of prowling winds, and the sharp spears
 Of conquering legions of the frost,
 Past gaunt old forests anguish tost
 I wander on amid a crowd
 Of muffled people shivering,
 I long to shout the words aloud
 ' I have a rendezvous with spring !'
 I long to cry let winds employ
 Their deadliest artillery
 My soul is citadelled with joy
 My heart is warm with memory
 This cold illusion I will fling
 Aside and meet the promised spring !"

Oh do you know a climbing hill
 That wears the dawn upon its crest ?
 There, when the blustering winds are still
 I'll find fulfilment of my quest
 Upon the slopes a sisterhood
 Of maples in dark robes arrayed
 Keep sanctuary for the brood
 Of summer pilgrims hither strayed,
 A spring from its unfathomed breast
 Pours silver, as from heaven's height,
 The midnight moon sends without rest
 Its fountain of untarnished light,
 A river washes at its feet,—
 'Tis there that spring and I will meet

'Tis there that spring and I will meet,
 It is, it is her chosen throne,
 And never think she finds it sweet
 To sit amid her wealth alone
 Beneath a fluttering hillside tree,
 She graciously awaits her king
 Why should the winter trouble me ?—
 I have a rendezvous with spring !

MAICE SETWELL

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MEMORY IMAGE AND ITS REVIVAL

By SIR J. C. BOSE

OF that mental revival of past experience which we call memory, we may notice two different types. One is the spontaneous and recurrent revival of some strong impression from which we cannot escape, in the second case the primary impression has faded away and it is only after an effort that we succeed in reviving the latent image.

The phenomenon of memory then is concerned with some after effect of an impression induced by a stimulus. An investigation of the after-effects of stimulus on very simple types of living tissue may throw some light on this obscure subject.

It should be borne in mind that excitation induced by stimulus may find different forms of expression according to the indicating apparatus. The same excitation may thus be exhibited by mechanical movement, electrical variation, or by sensory response.

As an instance of mechanical response to stimulus may be mentioned the sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets of certain sensitive plants like *Mimosa pudica* or *Biophytum sensitivum*. In these there is a cushion-like mass of tissue at the joint, the pulvinus, which serves as the motile organ. The stem in the stalk of the plant contains, as I have shewn elsewhere, a strand of tissue which conducts excitation in precisely the same manner as the nerve in the animal. Stimulus thus causes an excitatory impulse in the plant which, reaching the pulvinus, gives rise to an answering contraction, in consequence of which there is a sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets. On the cessation of stimulus there is a slow recovery, the leaf re-erecting itself to its normal outspread position. By means of a delicate apparatus a record may be taken of this response and recovery.

In the case of plants which possess no

motile organs, the excitatory reactions may still be detected by electrical response. I find that the tissue of a plant under excitation undergoes a sudden electric variation, the character and sign of which is exactly the same as that of an excited animal tissue. By means of suitable galvanometers the response of all plants and every organ of every plant may be recorded. The electric responses to stimulation are found to be similar to the mechanical responses given by motile organs.

In studying these records of mechanical or electrical responses, it is found that the effect of strong stimulus is more persistent than that of feeble stimulus. This is equally true of the psychological retention of an impression. Another noticeable fact as regards the subsidence of excitation or recovery, is that at first it is very rapid and then slows down. This is also characteristic of the rate of forgetting.

Another remarkable analogy is the effect of continued stimulation, the excitatory effect in the plant is found to increase at first with increasing duration but when too long continued, the effect undergoes a rapid diminution on account of fatigue. Similarly there is an actual danger in 'cram' of reducing the image to be remembered, to the dimness of an overexposed photograph.

MULTIPLE RESPONSE AND RECURRENT MEMORY

I have described how a single stimulus of moderate intensity, gives rise to a single response. Taking *Biophytum sensitivum* as our experimental plant, we may thus obtain a series of single responses to moderate stimulus. But if the impinging stimulus be very strong, then it induces multiple excitations as seen in repeated responses (Fig 1). Such records

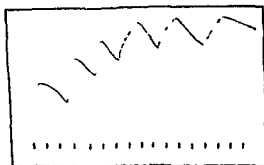


Fig 1—Multiple response in *Mimosa* under a single strong electrical stimulus

Vertical marks below indicate time interval of 1 minute (as this and in the following record)

I have not only obtained by the mechanical but also by the electrical mode of response. Moreover these echoing or multiple after effects of strong stimulus occur in an interesting form in multiple visual sensation when the retina has been excited by intense light. The recurrent after image is very distinct at the beginning, but becomes fainter after many repetitions. A time comes when it is difficult to tell whether the image is a real after sensation or merely an effect of "memory." There is, in fact, no hard and fast line between the two—one merges simply into the other. Often the recurrent memory image seems to disappear on account of weariness and the distractions of the day, but it may reappear in all its vividness as soon as night and solitude have brought the necessary freedom from disturbance. Since an intense excitation is liable to recur spontaneously, without the action of the will or even in spite of it, it follows that any single impression, when very intense, may become dominant and persist in automatic recurrence. Examples of this are only too familiar.

MEMORY REVIVAL

A more interesting form of memory is the revival of an impression the after-effect of which has faded out. Here we find that when no tangible effect of the impression remains it may still be recalled by an effort or impulse of the will.

It is clear that such a revival of impression can only take place by bringing about original condition of excitation, in

other words repeating the effect of the original stimulus in its complete absence.

As a concrete example we may take the visual impression of a bright cross against a dark background. Under primary stimulus it is clear that we have in the sensory field two areas under differential excitation. The one—the excited area—in the form of a cross, the other, outside this, remaining unexcited. The image of the cross is therefore due to the differential excitation of a definite region in the sensory field. It is therefore obvious that in order to revive the picture we have to reproduce, in the absence of primary stimulus, the same state of differential excitation as was originally induced.

Evidently a pattern has been impressed on some sensitive area which remains latent. The tablet can never again be rendered quite clean. The tissue, which was originally *isotropic*, must have been rendered *anisotropic*, by the differential action of stimulus imprinting the latent image.

I shall now proceed to show that such anisotropy is actually induced by the latent impression left by stimulus. Next I shall demonstrate different methods by which we can detect the areas of differential excitability, and finally I shall show how the latent memory image can be brought into excitatory prominence.

AFTER EFFECT OF STIMULUS ON EXCITABILITY AND CONDUCTIVITY

Working with different plant tissues I find that the excitability of a tissue is enhanced by moderate stimulation, enhanced excitability thus being the effect of moderate stimulation, a tissue which has previously been excited, is rendered more susceptible than one which has never been excited. In a *Mimosa* which has been kept free from stimulation, a series of sub-minimal stimuli were applied at regular intervals. The first stimulus produced no excitation, the second gave rise to a very feeble response, as an after-effect of these stimulations, however, the excitability of the tissue was enhanced and the subsequent responses became large.

Similarly, the conducting power of the plant nerve is enhanced by previous stimulation. A specimen of *Mimosa*, which has been kept screened from external stimulation has little development of conducting power, but by application of successive

stimuli, the tissue which was formerly in effective now begins to conduct excitation, and becomes increasingly effective under successive stimuli. This may be called the educative influence of stimulation.

It is thus clear that the area which has once been locally excited is rendered relatively more excitable than the neighbouring unexcited area. But such differences we cannot discover by even the closest scrutiny, they are latent.

Let us next see how we can discriminate these areas of latent impression—that is to say, of differential excitability. It is evident that the area of greater excitability will exhibit greater excitation under stimulation, and we have seen that greater excitation may be manifested in different ways, depending on the different organs of expression. Greater excitation may thus be evidenced first by greater contraction, secondly by more intense electrical token of excitation of galvanometric negativity, or thirdly by greater intensity of sensation.

DYNAMIC MANIFESTATION OF DIFFERENTIAL EXCITABILITY

As an example of the first let us take the pulvinus of *Mimosa*, the upper halves of which through the action of light and other stimuli of the environment have become anisotropic or differentially excitable. If we had not been previously aware of the peculiar characteristics of the pulvinus, its quiescent condition would have given us no clue to its latent excitabilities. But differences which were latent could be brought into dynamic prominence by the action of a testing blow. Let us apply a diffuse stimulus which will act directly on both halves of the pulvinus. The direction of the resulting excitatory movement will now depend on the greater contraction of the more excitable half. The spasmodic downward movement of the leaf thus demonstrates the greater degree of latent excitability of the lower half. Thus a diffuse stimulus reveals the internal condition by causing a definite movement. In the case mentioned the diffuse stimulus was applied externally on the motile organ. But a shock from within, or external stimulus, will both bring about equally the same result. The stimulus instead of being applied on the pulvinus may be applied on a distant point of the stem. The excitation will be transmitted as an

internal nervous impulse, and this blow from within will reveal the greater excitability of the lower half of the pulvinus, by the resulting fall of the leaf.

ELECTRIC DISCRIMINATION OF LATENT IMPRESSION

In the absence of any motile indication, as for example when the leaf is physically restrained from movement the latent differential excitability may still be made to exhibit itself by means of electrical response. Suitable electrical connections are made between the upper and lower halves of the pulvinus and an included galvanometer. The galvanometer needle will be found to remain quiescent under the normal condition of rest. But if an excitation be caused at some distant point on the stem the internal excitatory impulse will act diffusely on both halves of the organ. The latent differential excitability will now be made manifest by the sudden occurrence of an electrical current, which flows through the pulvinus from the more excited lower to the more excited upper half. This takes place, even when as stated before, the motile response of the leaf is physically restrained, and in organs which are not conspicuously motile at all. In other words, the part of the organ which is possessed of greater latent excitability will, under the test of diffuse stimulus, become galvanometrically negative. If this particular variation of electrical condition were visible, the more excited lower half of the organ would be seen to glow with light. From these demonstrations we see that latent impalpable differences of excitability may be awakened into greater prominence by the shock of diffused stimulus, whether internal or external, the sign of this greater excitability being either greater contraction or greater galvanometric negativity.

EXCITATION OF ANISOTROPIC STRUCTURE AND ELECTRIC DISCHARGE

The electrical organ of certain fishes, again, consist of a number of plates, each being unequally excitable on its two sides. In the *Torpedo* for example the anterior or nervous surface is more excitable than the posterior or non-nervous. There are numerous such plates, in series, and all these remain quiescent in a state of inactivity. But under sudden internal stimulation, induced at the will of the ani-

mal the differential excitability hitherto latent is manifested electrically, the more excitable face of each plate becoming galvanometrically negative. The pile like arrangement of these discs causes their individual variations to act additively and thus determine the intensity of the electrical discharge.

EXPERIMENTAL REVIVAL OF LATENT IMAGE

I may now describe an experiment which I have devised exemplifying the process of the rise of a latent impression into vividness under the action of diffuse stimulus. We may take a metallic surface a leaf in which different areas are impressed with latent variations of excitability in consequence of the previous action on them of stimulating or depressing agents. A A' A is the indifferent background represented as grey. Another portion B has its excitability exalted as an after effect of some stimulating agent. This is represented as white. In still a third portion C the excitability has been depressed this being represented as black. This latent impress of unequal excitability has for purposes of convenience been described by means of a scheme of light and shade. But in reality there is no outward sign of difference. An electric contact with a galvanometer is kept permanently made to the indifferent surface A. The second or the exploring contact is now moved along the plate and while it rests on any point, the plate is excited as a whole by vibration. The galvanometer under this arrangement will detect differential excitability. As long as the exploring wire moves over indifferent areas there is no effect detected in the galvanometer. But as soon as the exploring point rests

on the area B the latent enhancement of excitability there shows itself by a sudden responsive up movement of the galvanometer. When the explorer again passes over B and reaches the indifferent area A response disappears. But when it reaches C with its depressed excitability, there is another responsive movement, this time in a reversed or down direction. It is thus seen that the impress made by the action of stimulus, though it remains latent and invisible can be revived by the impact of a fresh excitatory impulse (Fig 2)

DEATH STRUGGLE AND MEMORY REVIVAL

To return to the case of revival of latent impressions, we have seen that the localised effect of a stimulus is to render the affected tissue more excitable, or a better conductor of excitation. Thus the pattern of excitation impressed by the primary stimulus remains as latent areas of greater excitability and a diffused stimulus of the effort of the will wakes up into sensory prominence the dormant memory and vivifies once more the impression that had faded.

Before concluding I may perhaps refer to a widespread belief that in the case of

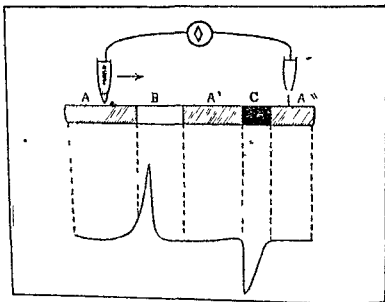


Fig 2—Revival of latent image

a sudden death-struggle, as for example, when drowning, the memory of the past comes in a flash. This may not be altogether a superstition. I have been told by an acquaintance of mine who was revived from drowning, that he had this experience. Assuming the correctness of this, certain experimental results which I have obtained may be pertinent to the subject. The experiment consisted in find-

ing whether the plant, near the point of death, gave any signal of the approaching crisis. I found that at this critical moment a sudden electrical spasm sweeps through every part of the organism. Such a strong and diffused stimulation—now involuntary—may be expected in a human subject to crowd into one brief flash a panoramic succession of all the memory images latent in the organism.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER XI.

BINALA'S STORY.

18.

WITH Amulya's departure my heart sank within me. On what perilous adventure had I sent this only son of his mother. O God, why need my expiation have such pomp and circumstance? Could I not be allowed to suffer alone without inviting all this multitude to share my punishment? Oh let not this innocent child fall victim to Your wrath.

I called him back—"Amulya!" My voice sounded so feebly, it failed to reach him. I went up to the door and called again: "Amulya!" He had gone.

"Who is there?"

"Rani Mother!"

"Go and tell Amulya Babu that I want him."

What exactly happened I could not make out,—the man, perhaps, was not familiar with Amulya's name,—but he returned almost at once followed by Sandip.

"The very moment you sent me away," he said as he came in, "I had a presentiment that you would call me back. The attraction of the same moon causes both ebb and flow. I was so sure of being sent for, that I was actually waiting out in the passage. As soon as I caught sight of your man, coming from your room, I said: 'Yes, yes, I am coming, I am coming at once!' before he could utter a word. That up-country lout was surprised, I can tell you! He stared at me, open-mouthed, as if he thought I knew magic.

"All the fights in the world, Queen Bee," Sandip rambled on, "are really fights between magical forces. Spell cast against spell,—noiseless weapons which reach even invisible targets. At last I have met in you my match. Your quiver is full, I know, you artful warrior Queen! You are the only one in the world who has been able to turn Sandip out and call Sandip back, at your sweet will. Well, your quarry is at your feet. What will you do with him now? Shall you give him the *coup de grace*, or would you keep him in your cage? Let me warn you beforehand, Queen, you will find the beast as difficult to kill outright as to keep in bondage. Anyway, why lose time in trying your magic weapons?"

Sandip must have felt the shadow of approaching defeat, which made him try to gain time by chattering away without waiting for a reply. I believe he knew that I had sent the messenger for Amulya, whose name the man must have mentioned. In spite of that he had deliberately played this trick. He was now trying to avoid giving me any opening to tell him that it was Amulya I wanted, not him. But his stratagem was futile, for I could see his weakness through it. I must not yield up a pin's point of the ground I had gained.

"Sandip Babu," I said, "I wonder how you can go on making these endless speeches, without a stop. Do you get them up by heart, beforehand?"

Sandip's face flushed instantly.

"I have heard," I continued, "that our professional reciters keep a book full of all kinds of ready-made discourses, which can

be fitted into any 'subject, as wanted
Have you also a book?"

Sandip ground out his reply through his teeth "God has given you women a plentiful supply of coquetry to start with, and on the top of that you have the tailor and the jeweller to help you, but do not think we men are so helpless."

"You had better go back and look up your book, Sandip Babu. You are getting your words all wrong! That's just the trouble with trying to repeat things by rote."

"You," shouted Sandip, losing all control over himself "You to insult me thus? What is there left of you that I do not know to the very bottom? What? He became speechless."

Sandip, the wielder of magic spells, is reduced to utter powerlessness, whenever his spell refuses to work. From a king he fell to the level of a boor. Oh, the joy of witnessing his weakness! The harsher he became in his rudeness, the more did this joy well up within me. His snaky coils, with which he used to snare me, are exhausted,—I am free. I am saved, saved. Be rude to me, insult me, for that shows you in your truth, but spare me your songs of praise, which were false.

At this point my husband came in. This time Sandip had not the elasticity to recover himself in a moment, as he used to do before. My husband looked at him for a while in surprise. Had this happened some days ago I should have felt ashamed. But to-day I was pleased,—let my husband think what he may. I wanted to have it out to the finish with my weakened adversary.

Finding us both silent and strained, my husband hesitated a little and then took a chair. "Sandip," he said, "I have been looking about for you, and was told you were here."

"I am here," said Sandip with some emphasis. "Queen Bec sent for me early this morning. And I, the humble worker of the hive, left all else to attend her summons."

"I am going to Calcutta to-morrow. You will come with me."

"And why, pray? Do you take me for one of your retinue?"

"Oh, very well, take it that you are going to Calcutta, and that I am your follower."

"I have no business there."

"All the more reason for going. You have too much business here."

"I don't propose to stir."

"Then I propose to shift you."

"Forcibly?"

"Forcibly."

"Very well, then, I will make a move. But the world is not divided between Calcutta and your estates. There are other places on the map."

"From the way you have been going on, one should hardly have thought that there was any other place in the world except my estates."

Sandip stood up. "It does happen at times," he said, "that a man's whole world is reduced to a single spot. I have realised my universe in this sitting room of yours, that is why I have been a fixture here."

"None but you, Queen Bee, will understand my words,—perhaps not even you. I salute you. With worship in my heart I leave you. My watchword has changed since you have come across my vision. It is no longer *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother), but Hail Beloved, Hail Enchantress. The mother protects, the mistress leads to destruction,—but sweet is that destruction. You have made the anklet-sounds of the dance of death tinkle in my heart. You have changed for me, your devotee, the picture I had of this Bengal of ours,—the soft breeze cooled land of pure water and sweet fruit." You have no pity, my beloved, who have come to me with your poison cup. I shall drain it, and then either die in agony, or live triumphing over death.

"The mother's day is past. O love, my love, you have made as naught for me the Right, the Truth, and heaven itself. All duties have become as shadows. All rules and restraints have snapped their bonds. O love, my love, I feel I could set fire to all the world outside this land on which you have set your dainty feet, and I could dance in mad revel over the ashes. These are mild men. These are good men. They would do good to all,—as if 'the all' were real! Never! There is no reality in the world save this one real love of mine. I do you reverence. My devotion to you has made me cruel, my worship of you

* Quotation from the National Song — *Bande Mataram*

has lighted the raging flame of destruction within me I am not righteous I have no beliefs I only believe in her whom, above all else in the world, I have been able to realise "

Wonderful! It was really wonderful Only a minute ago I had despised this man with all my heart But what I had thought to be mere ashes now glowed with living fire That the fire in him is true is beyond doubt Oh why has God made man such a mixed creature,—was it only to show His supernatural sleight of hand? Only a few minutes ago I had thought that Sandip, whom I had once taken to be a hero was only the hero of melodrama But that is not so, not so Even behind the trappings of the stage, a true hero may sometimes be lurking

There is much in Sandip that is coarse that is sensuous, that is false, that is overlaid with layer after layer of fleshly covering Yet,—yet it is best to confess that there is a great deal in him which we do not, can not, understand to its innermost depth,—much in ourselves, too A wonderful thing is man What great mysterious purpose he is working out only the Terrible One knows,—meanwhile we groan beneath the brunt of it Shiva is the Lord of Chaos He is all Joy He will destroy our bonds

I cannot but feel, again and again, that there are two persons in me One recoils from Sandip in his terrible aspect of Chaos—the other feels that very vision to be sweetly alluring The sinking ship drags down all who are swimming round it Sandip is just such a force of destruction,—his immense attraction gets hold of one before fear can come to the rescue,—and then, in the twinkling of an eye, one is drawn away, irresistibly, from all light, all good, all freedom of the sky, all air that can be breathed,—from lifelong accumulations, from everyday cares—right to the bottom of dissolution

From some realm of calamity has Sandip come as its messenger, and as he stalks the land muttering unholy incantations, to him flock all the boys and youths The mother, seated in the lotus-heart of the Country is wailing her heart out, for they have broken open her store room, there to hold their drunken revelry Her hoard of nectar they would pour out on the dust, her time honoured vessels they would smash into bits True, I feel with

her, but, at the same time, I cannot help being infected with their excitement

Truth itself has sent us this temptation to test our trustiness in upholding its commandments Intoxication masquerades in heavenly garb, and dances before the pilgrims saying 'Fools you are that pursue the fruitless path of renunciation Its way is long its time passing slow. So has the Wielder of the Thunderbolt sent me to you Behold, I the beautiful, the passionate, I will accept you,—in my embrace you will find fulfilment

After a pause Sandip addressed me again 'Goddess, the time has come for me to leave you It is well The work of your nearness has been done By lingering longer it would only become undone again, little by little All is lost, if in our greed we try to cheapen that which is the greatest thing on earth That which is infinite within the moment, only gets to be circumscribed if spread out in time We were about to spoil our infinite moment, when it was your uplifted thunderbolt which came to the rescue You intervened to save the purity of your own worship,—and in so doing you also saved your worshipper In my leave taking today your worship stands out the biggest thing

'Goddess, I, also, set you free to-day My earthen temple could hold you no longer,—every moment it was on the point of breaking apart Today I depart to worship your larger image in a larger temple I can gain you more truly only at a distance from yourself Here I had only your favour, there I shall be vouchsafed your boon "

My jewel casket was lying on the table I held it up aloft as I said "I charge you to convey these my jewels to the object of my worship,—to whom I have dedicated them through you "

My husband remained silent Sandip left the room

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I had just sat down to make some cakes for Amulya when the Senior Rani came upon the scene 'Oh dear, Junior Rani, has it come to this that you must make cakes for your own birthday?' she exclaimed

"Is there no one else for whom I could be making them?" I asked.

"But this is not the day when you should think of feasting others It is for us to

feast you I was just thinking of making something up, when I heard the staggering news which completely upset me. A gang of five or six hundred men, they say, raided one of our treasuries and made off with six thousand rupees. Our house will be looted next, they expect."

I felt greatly relieved. So it was our own money after all. I wanted to send for Amulya at once and tell him that he need only hand over those notes to my husband and leave the explanations to me.

"You are a wonderful creature," my sister-in-law broke out, at the change in my countenance. "Have you then really no such thing as fear?"

"I cannot believe it," I said. "Why should they loot our house?"

"Not believe it, indeed! Who could have believed that they would attack our treasury, either?"

I made no reply but bent over my cakes, putting in the coconut stuffing.

"Well I'm off," said the Senior Rani after a prolonged stare at me. "I must see brother Nikhil and get something done about sending off my money to Calcutta, before it's too late."

She was no sooner gone than I left the cakes to take care of themselves and rushed off to my dressing room, shutting myself inside. My husband's tunic with the keys in its pocket, was still hanging there,—so forgetful was he. I took the key of the iron safe off the ring and kept it by me, hidden in the folds of my dress.

Then there came a knocking at the door. "I am dressing," I called out. I could hear the Senior Rani saying. Only a minute ago I saw her making cakes and now she is busy dressing up. What next, I wonder! One of their *Baude Mataram* meetings is on, I suppose. I say, Robber Queen," she called out to me. "Are you taking stock of your loot?"

When they went away I hardly know what made me open the safe. Perhaps there was a lurking hope that it might all be a dream. What, if on pulling out the inside drawer, I should find the rolls of gold there, just as before? Alas, everything was as empty as the trust which had been betrayed.

I had to go through the farce of dressing. I had to do my hair up all over again, quite unnecessarily. When I came out my sister-in-law railed at me. "How many times are you going to dress to-day."

"My birthday!" I said.

"Oh, any pretext seems good enough," she went on. "Many vain people have I seen in my day, but you beat them all hollow."

I was about to summon a servant to send after Amulya, when one of the men came up with a little note, which he handed to me. It was from Amulya. "Sister," he wrote "You invited me this afternoon, but I thought I should not wait. Let me first execute your bidding and then come for my *prasad*. I may be a little late."

To whom could he be going to return that money, into what fresh entanglement was the poor boy rushing? O miserable woman, you can only send him off like an arrow, but not recall him if you miss your aim.

I should have declared at once that I was at the bottom of this robbery. But women live on the trust of their surroundings,—that is their whole world. If once it is out that that trust has been secretly betrayed, their place in their world is lost. They have then to stand upon the fragments of the thing they have broken, and its jagged edges keep on wounding at every turn. To sin is easy enough, but to make up for it is above all difficult for a woman.

It is some time since all easy approaches for communion with my husband have been closed to me. How then could I burst on him with this stupendous news? He was very late in coming for his meal today,—nearly two o'clock. He was absent-minded and hardly touched any food. I had lost even the right to press him to take a little more. I had to avert my face to wipe away my tears.

I wanted so badly to say to him "Do come into our room and rest awhile, you look so tired." I had just cleared my throat with a little cough, when a servant hurried in to say that the Police Inspector had brought Panchu up to the palace. My husband, with the shadow on his face deepened, left his meal unfinished and went out.

A little later the Senior Rani appeared. "Why did you not send me word when Brother Nikhil came in," she complained. "As he was late I thought I might as well finish my bath in the meantime. However did he manage to finish with his meal so soon?"

"Why, did you want him for anything?"

"What is this about both of you going off to Calcutta tomorrow? All I can say is, I am not going to be left here, alone. I should get startled out of my life at every sound, with all these dacoits about. Is it quite settled about your going tomorrow?"

"Yes," said I, though I only just now heard it, and though, moreover, I was not at all sure that before tomorrow our history would not take such a turn as to make it all one whether we went or stayed. After that, what our home, our life would be like, was utterly beyond my ken,—it seemed so misty, dream like!

In a very few hours now, my unseen fate would become visible. Was there no one who could keep on postponing the flight of these hours, from day to day and so make them long enough for me to set things right, so far as in me lay? The time during which the seed lies under ground is long—so long indeed that one forgets that there is any danger of its sprouting. But once its shoot shows up above the surface, it grows and grows so fast, there is no time to cover it up, neither with skirt, nor body, nor even life itself.

I will try to think of it no more, but sit quiet, passive and callous,—let the crash come when it may. By the day after tomorrow all will be over, anyhow,—publicity, laughter, bewailing, questions, explanations,—everything.

But I cannot forget the face of Amulya,—beautiful, radiant, with devotion. He did not wait, despairing, for the blow of fate to fall, but rushed into the thick of danger. Wretched woman that I am I do him reverence. He is my boy god. Under the pretext of his pifyfulness he took from me the weight of my burden. He would save me by taking the punishment meant for me on his own head. But how am I to bear this terrible mercy of my God?

Oh my child, my child, I do you reverence. Little brother mine, I do you reverence. Pure are you, beautiful—are you, I do you reverence. May you come to my arms, in the next birth, as my own child,—that is my prayer.

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Ramour became busy on every side. The police were continually in and out. The servants of the house were in a great flurry.

Khema, my maid, came up to me

57½—2

and said 'Oh, Rani Mother' for goodness sake put away my gold necklet and armlets in your iron safe.' To whom was I to explain that the Rani herself had been weaving all this network of trouble, and had got caught in it, too? I had to play the benign protector and take charge of Khema's ornaments and Thako's savings. The milk woman, in her turn, brought along and kept in my room a box in which were a Benares sari and some other of her valued possessions. "I got these at your wedding," she told me.

When, tomorrow my iron safe will be opened in the presence of these—Khema, Thako, the milk woman and all the rest—stop, let me not think of it! Let me rather try to think what it will be like when this 3rd day of *Magh* comes round again after a year has passed. Will all the wounds of my home life then be still as fresh as ever?

Amulya writes that he will come later in the evening. I cannot remain alone with my thoughts, doing nothing. So I sit down again to make cakes for him. I have finished making quite a quantity, but still I must go on. Who will eat them? I shall distribute them amongst the servants. I must do so this very night. To night is my limit. To-morrow will not be in my hands.

I went on untiringly, frying cake after cake. Every now and then it seemed to me that there was some noise in the direction of my rooms, upstairs. Could it be that my husband had missed the key of the safe, and the Senior Rani had assembled all the servants to help him to hunt for it? No, I must not pay heed to these sounds. Let me shut the door.

I rose to do so, when Thako came panting in. "Rani Mother, O Rani Mother!"

"Oh get away!" I snapped out, cutting her short. "Don't come bothering me."

"The Senior Rani mother wants you," she went on. "Her nephew has brought such a wonderful machine from Calcutta. It talks like a man. Do come and hear it!"

I did not know whether to laugh or to cry. So of all things a gramophone needs must come on the scene at such a time, repeating at every winding the nasal twang of its theatrical songs! What a fearsome thing results when a machine apes a man.

The shades of evening began to fall.

I knew that Amulya would not delay to announce himself—yet I could not wait. I summoned a servant and said 'Go and tell Amulya Babu to come straight in here. The man came back after a while to say that Amulya was not in—he had not come back since he had gone.

Gone! The last word struck my ears like a wail in the gathering darkness. Amulya gone! Had he then come like a streak of light from the setting sun only to be gone for ever? All kinds of possible and impossible dangers flitted through my mind. It was I who had sent him to his death. What if he was fearless that only showed his greatness of heart. But after this how was I to go on living?

I had no memento of Amulya save that pistol—his reverence offering. It seemed to me that this was a sign given by Providence. This guilt which had contaminated my life at its very root—my God in the form of a child had left with me the means of wiping it away and then vanished. Oh the loving gift—the saving grace that lay hid in within it.

I opened my box and took out the pistol lifting it reverently to my forehead. At that moment the gongs clanged out from the temple attached to our house. I prostrated myself in salutation.

In the evening I feasted the whole household with my cakes. You have imagined a wonderful birthday feast—and all by yourself too!—exclaimed my sister-in-law. But you must leave some thing for us to do. With this she turned on her gramophone and let loose the shrill treble of the Calcutta actresses all over the place. It seemed like a stable full of neighing fillies.

It got quite late before the feasting was over. I had a sudden longing to end my birthday celebration by taking the dust of my husband's feet. I went up to the bed room and found him fast asleep. He had had such a worrying trying day. I raised the edge of the mosquito curtain very gently and laid my head near his feet. My hair must have touched him for he moved his legs in his sleep and pushed my head away.

I then went out and sat in the west verandah. A silk-cotton tree which had shed all its leaves stood there in the distance like a skeleton. Behind it the crescent moon was setting. All of a sudden I had the feeling that the very stars in

the sky were afraid of me—that the whole of the night world was looking askance at me. Why? Because I was alone.

There is nothing so odd in creation as the man who is alone. Even he whose near ones have all died, one by one, is not alone—companionship comes for him from behind the screen of death. But he, whose kin are there, yet no longer near who has dropped out of all the varied companionship of a full home—the starry universe itself seems to bristle to look on him in his darkness.

Where I am I am not. I am far away from those who are around me. I live and move upon a world wide chasm of separation, unstable as the dew drop upon the lotus leaf.

Why do not men change wholly when they change? When I look into my heart I find everything that was there still there—only they are topsy turvy. Things that were well ordered have become jumbled up. The gems that were strung into a garland are now rolling in the dust. And so my heart is breaking.

I feel I want to die. Yet in my heart everything still lives—nor even in death can I see the end of it all. Rather, in death there seems to be ever so much more of repining. What is to be ended must be ended in this life—there is no other way out.

Oh forgive me just once only this time, Lord! All that you gave into my hands as the wealth of my life I have made into my burden. I can neither bear it longer, nor give it up. O Lord, sound once again those flute strains which you played for me long ago standing at the rosy edge of my morning sky—and let all my complexities become easy. Nothing save the music of your flute can make whole that which has been broken. Make pure that which has been sullied. Create my home anew with the sound of your flute. No other way can I see.

I threw myself prone on the ground and sobbed aloud. It was mercy that I beseeched,—some little mercy from some where, some shelter, some sign of forgiveness, some hope that might bring about the end. Lord, I vowed to myself I shall be here, waiting and waiting touching neither food nor drink so long as your blessing does not reach me.

I heard the sound of footsteps. Who says that the gods do not show them

selves to mortal men ? I did not raise my face to look up, lest the sight of it should break the spell. Come oh come, come and let your feet touch my head. Come, Lord and stand upon my throbbing heart, and at that moment let me die.

He came and sat near my head. Who ? My husband ! The seat of the god, who could not bear to witness my grief, moved under the weight of his presence. I felt that I should swoon. And then the pain at my heart burst its way out in an overwhelming flood of tears tearing through all my obstructing veins and nerves. I strained his feet to my bosom,—oh why could not their impress remain there for ever ?

He tenderly stroked my head. I received his blessing. Now I shall be able to take up the penalty of public humiliation which shall be mine tomorrow, and

offer it in all sincerity, at the feet of my God.

But what keeps crushing my heart is the thought that the festive pipes which played at my wedding nine years ago, will never play for me again in this life—the pipes which had first welcomed me into this house. Oh, what rigour of penance is there which can serve to bring me once more, red robed and sandal paste anointed to my place upon that same bridal seat ? How many years, how many ages, aeons, must pass before I can find my way back to that day of nine years ago ?

God can create new things, but has even He the power to create afresh that which has been destroyed ?

(To be concluded)

Translated by
SURENDRA NATH TAGORE

THE LAST REPUBLIC OF THE HINDUS

By KUNWAR SHIV NATH SINGH SENGAR BIKANER

MANY proofs have come to light of the existence, in the distant past, of the republican form of Government in India and the fact is now so well established that it is not in the least necessary to enumerate them here. There were many republics in India about the beginning of the Buddhist period—particularly in several of those tribal areas which surrounded the birth place of that great man—Siddhartha Gautama the Buddha (the Enlightened One). But to most of the readers of this article it will come as an agreeable discovery to learn that a republic existed in India till less than 150 years ago. This however has really been the case. It was the little republic of Lakhnesar and was founded in the thirteenth century of the Christian era by a heroic little band of Sengar Rajputs who had fled from the irresistible onslaught of the Mahomedans. It lasted for about 500 years. This land now forms a pargana of the Ballia district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh but the bulk of it—83 per cent according to the 1907 Gazetteer of the district—is still owned and held by the Sengars in the *bhaiyachara* (literally brotherhood) form of tenure.

Let us here reproduce a few lines from the Gazetteer of the district.

Amongst the earliest Rajput immigrants were the Sengars (P. 140). Their history is remarkable for at all times they were renowned for their strength and courage but on no occasion do they seem to have had a common Raja the republican nature of the institution being illustrated by the fact that the 537 *mahals* into which the pargana (Lakhnesar) is now divided are all held in *bhaiyachara* tenure. Nevertheless their union was so complete that the Sengars were the only clan who preserved their proprietary rights intact (P. 228). The democratic spirit was not so strong in the case of the clans in other parganas (P. 87).

Before proceeding further we shall show how and why our republics differed in one important respect from those of other countries.

The caste system of us Hindus is older than the age of the great Buddha. It only meant the classification of the population of the country into four interdependent divisions (*varnas*) according to qualities and actions.

Each division was an undetachable component part of one compact and entire whole with its duties clearly defined for the common good of the nation. The governance and protection of the country fell to the Kshatriya. In their own sphere of life they were the permanent representa-

tives of the remaining three *varnas* as they (the other) *varnas* were in theirs

Separate clans of Kshatriyas formed separate governments in their respective spheres of influence which, needless to say, changed with the times. In doing so the clansmen either elected one of themselves as their king or carried on the government conjointly in the name of the brotherhood. These latter were our republics. The same was doubtless the model of the tribal republics of 2500 years ago that we read of in Buddhistic literature. Such clan republics were a recognised form of government also in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta (322-298 B.C.) whose minister Chanakya *ahis* Kautilya or Vishnugupta in his now famous Arthaśāstra says कुरुक्षेत्रं वा नवद्विजाजम् that is to say Sovereignty may be the property of a clan. It is a mistake to call them oligarchies or give them any other name for the simple reason given above viz. the Kshatriyas were the representatives of the nation as a whole charged with the governance of the country.

At the time of the fall of the kingdom of Kanauj at the hand of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori in 1194 the Sengar Rajputs ruled over that part of the country on either bank of the Jumna which now forms the bulk of the Jalaun and Etawah districts of the Agra Province and is locally known after them by the name of Singarat (Singa Rashtra) or Singar Ghar. It had by then been their stronghold for about 150 years. The town of Karnavati (Kannar) situate on the south bank of the Jumna river near where Jagamanpur the capital of Raja Lokendra Shah Bahadur, the present head and premier chief of the clan now stands, was their metropolis and the mighty prince Vishoka Deva who was the son-in-law of the great Raja Jayachandra Rathor (Gahadwal) of Kanauj and had added much to his possessions either by conquest or by grants from the suzerain power of the Eastern Rajputs—the Prasis or the Prachyas' of the historians of Alexander the Great and the 'Parabias' or Hindustani Rajputs of recent day writers.

The more the Mahomedan power

increased the less powerful did this kingdom of the Sengars become. The Mahomedans made several of its cadet branches (now represented by the Rujas of Bhareh, Ruru and Hardoi, the Diwan of Sarawan, the Raos of Kakhautu Bhikra and Ramiyan, the Rawats of Kursi, and others) one by one independent of the House of Kanar which the Raja of Jagamanpur now represents and levied tribute from them.

Some liberty loving Sengar Rajputs, mostly from Phapund, which was also one of the cadet chiefships, would not stand the humiliation, and bidding adieu to their kith and kin as well as their own hearths and homes set out in search of a place in the Sun' where they and their children could live like free men. Two elderly brothers Hari Sah *ahis* Sur Sah and Bir Sah headed and led this little adventurous band of great souls.

'Where there is a will there is a way.' They travelled far to the east and in course of time reached the country between the Ghagra and the Ganges. Its rugged and secluded nature and its thick primeval forests at once appealed to the military instinct of the Rajputs. In this veritable fastness of nature they planted their colonies here and there and the land stood them in good stead throughout the Mahomedan period.

Sur Sah and his people were more fortunate than the rest of the party. They struck upon the decaying Bhar principality of Lakhnesar on the Sarju in the very heart of the forest, conquered it, and founded in its stead the little republic of Lakhnesar which is the subject of this article. Here one thing deserves special notice. The Gautama Kshatriyas of whom the great Buddha was one, claim down to the present day, to be a younger branch of the Sengar clan. The foundation of a republic by that great man's kinsfolk so near his birthplace and near where republics had also existed in the past is remarkable and may have had some special significance about it. It is possible that a yearning for the old home of their forefathers or an invitation from their Gautama brethren of the Gorakhpur country on the other side of the Ghagra was also at the back of the adventurous undertaking which was so successful.

At any rate Lakhnesar was not the first republic of the Sengars who now

represent the 'Singhoh' mentioned by that Greek author and ambassador Megasthenes as being one of the peoples "which are free, have no kings and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities". These Singhohs cannot but have been the Sengars of Bindhu (Riwah) and Kalmar, which according to the traditions of the clan, were among its strongholds in the remote past.

The Sengars' code of government was very simple. They taxed the agricultural and the mercantile communities for the use of their land. Priests, village workmen and menials rendered service in lieu of lands held by them. The Sengars in return took upon themselves all responsibility for the government and defence of the country. Justice was cheap, instantaneous and easy to obtain and was in most cases administered by village or caste panchayats, the Sengar elders only interfering in big or complicated cases.

Ordinarily all the routine work of government was attended to by elderly Sengars but in time of war each and every male member of the brotherhood capable of bearing arms deemed it his duty to render military service in the defence of the country. There was no age limit. None but Sengars were liable to a call to arms. They always kept themselves militarily prepared and every third year in the month of Baisakh (Vaisakha) all able-bodied Sengars, duly armed and accounted, met in thousands for a general inspection by the elders of the clan of the combined armed strength of the brotherhood. The meeting place was generally the town of Rasra to which they had removed the capital and which has ever since been the headquarters of the clan in this part of the country. (*Vide Imperial Gazetteer*). While there, they indulged in diverse sorts of manly sports and soldierly performances. Spectators from the neighbouring tribal areas also flocked to Rasra in large numbers to witness this triennial military *Vrihat Sammelana* of the Sengars and returned to their homes vividly impressed with the unity and strength of the clan.

When they went to Rasra for the *Sammelana* they had not to report themselves at the door of any particular person there, because they were all brothers and therefore all equal but encamped themselves round the shrine of Nath Baba,

a deified hero of the Sengar clan whose original name was Amar Singh and who is still worshipped by them.

In spite of having on more than one occasion had to pay tribute to its contemporary Mahomedan kings the Republic enjoyed complete internal independence throughout the Musalman period, with the end of which the days of its misfortune began. But, as we shall see the Sengars were a hard nut to crack and only yielded after they had shed and drawn much blood, and, sacrificed and taken many lives in which their heroines also participated.

In Akbar's time Lakhnesar paid a light annual tribute of about Rs. 3,163, but unlike other tribal areas of the country furnished no military contingent, — *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*.

The administrative arrangements of Akbar's time appear to have remained unchanged till 1722 and for the intervening period the history of the district is a complete blank. As in former times the Rajputs of this district appear to have been left to themselves (*Gazetteer of Ballia District 1907*).

In 1722 Saadat Ali Khan became the governor of Oudh. He was the first Nawab Vazir of Oudh. He and his successors did much to destroy the power of the Rajputs of this part of the country, but with varying success. The latter were never completely subjugated and Muhammad Ali Khan the last representative but one of the Oudh government, about 1754, had to be recalled because of his inability to deal with the Rajput population.

From 1761 to 1781 Raja Balwant Singh of Benares held this part of the country as a feudatory, first of Oudh and then of the East India Company. He also adopted the policy of destroying the power of the Rajputs. On several occasions they offered resistance to Balwant Singh but in only one case were their efforts successful. This exception to the general rule was provided by the Sengar republicans of Lakhnesar, who not only treated his demands with contempt but adopted an attitude of open hostility and attacked and pillaged his treasures.

The Raja incensed at the spirit they displayed conducted a large force into the heart of their fastness, and attacked their capital Rasra. In vain did they ask him to reconsider his decision and save them the great sin of staining their hands with Brahman blood. He was determined and ordered attack after attack.

In spite of the inequality of the fight, the Sengars fought like lions and smashed all the attacks. They knew that their very existence as free men was at stake and were therefore very desperate. Their ladies also stood heroically by them and many of them burnt themselves alive with their fallen husbands. Hundreds of *sati* monuments sacred to the memory of these heroines surround the large tank near the shrine of Amar Nathji (Nath Baba) at Rasra down to the present day.

The bloody conflict lasted for full two days. It can easily be imagined what a tremendous loss of life that duration of a pitched battle against overwhelming odds in those days of hand to hand fight with cold steel meant. The Sengars, however, stood firm and when bravery failed Balwant Singh, he had recourse to treachery and had the cowardice to have the town set on fire so that many helpless and innocent lives were lost and the Sengars had to withdraw, but they wavered not in the least in their vow to fight to the last man, because it was, after all an unconquerable will to remain free and not the walls that counted and fought.

"The issue of this famous fight was gratifying to the brave clan and has been the subject of exaltation among their descendants down to the present time. The Raja was obliged to agree to a compromise and permitted the Sengars to retain their estates on the payment of a small revenue. The fruit of their bravery is conspicuously seen now that the country is under the British for the amount of land revenue annually paid by the Sengars settled in accordance with the original arrangement made by them with the Raja Balwant Singh is now only nine annas or thirteen pence half penny per acre the lowest sum paid in the whole of the Benares province excepting the hill people in the Mirzapore district. (Sherring's 'Hindu Castes and Tribes' 1872 Edn.)

The annual payment fixed was Rs 20,501, and the Sengars were guaranteed the right to manage it in their own fashion. They had their own revenue collector, and the distribution of the demand was effected by themselves without any interference on the part of the Government." (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt, 1907) The amount then fixed has remained unchanged unto this day and works out to 'a rate which does not now exceed eight annas per bigha of cultivation' (*Ibid*).

The Sengars maintained the internal independence of Lakhnesar almost unimpaired down to the early years of British rule, which began in 1781 and "when Mr (appointed Resident in 1787) as

sumed control of Benares the Sengars were considered the most independent and troublesome of all the subjects of the Company" (*Ibid*). Dr Wilton Oldham in his statistical memoirs of the Ghazipur District puts it thus: "Before the establishment of the British authority the Sengars of Lakhnesar had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for their courage, independence and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first years of our administration."

In 1788 the British Government abolished certain market and other dues which the Sengars used to realize in their chief town Rasra and they were prepared 'to resist the order by force till a compromise was suggested by the merchants' . . . whereby the ground rents (which had not been interfered with by the Government and are still realized) were raised by one half. (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt, 1907) That the merchants came to their rescue at such a critical juncture proves beyond doubt that the rule of the Sengars had been popular and that the inhabitants in general were, on the whole, sympathetic with and well inclined to the brave clan under whose protection they had for centuries lived in peace and plenty and had known practically no outside interference with their internal affairs.

In 1793 Mr Duncan made a tour of Lakhnesar. The Sengars were not much used to such tours and saw in it the thin end of the wedge. They, therefore, attacked his body guard. He was, however, a master breaker of men to harness and knew how to deal with them. The offence was condoned and the fiscal arrangement entered into with Balwant Singh was permitted to continue, the entire pargana being settled with their Chaudhris or head men "as the undivided estate of the whole clan." And undivided it had always been in spite of the governing clan numbering thousands, because it was founded as a State and not as an Estate.

Somehow or other, in 1796, Lakhnesar fell into arrears and in 1798 the Collector of Benares had to proceed against the Sengars with a military force. In 1801 the first detailed settlement of Lakhnesar was made at Rs 40,738. The enhanced revenue was, however, never paid, with the result that the pargana was sold to the Raja of Benares. He made several attempts

to gain possession by means of "a semi-military force" and to accomplish what his famous grand father had failed in, but with no better result. In 1802 the sale had to be cancelled and old Lakhnesar was once more restored to the Sengars. A settlement was carried out again and the original demand of Rs 20,501 was maintained with the deduction of Rs 1,653 on account of nankar and the salary of a separate revenue establishment.

In 1841 Lakhnesar's privilege of maintaining its own Tahsildar and Sarishtadar as distinct from the Government revenue establishment of the district was withdrawn, the duties being performed by the Government Tahsildar and Qanungo of Rasra.

In this way the Sengar Rajputs who had founded the little republic of Lakhnesar and administered and protected it for centuries became ordinary Zamindars. They still hold about 83 per cent of the pargana of Lakhnesar.

Lakhnesar's struggle for existence was tragic and protracted.

The Sengars of Lakhnesar have nothing to be ashamed of in the way in which their brave ancestors acquitted themselves. They acted their part well, and, as Pope has said,

Honour and shame from no condition rise
At well your part there all the honour lies

So all honour to those really great souls

THE HOUSING QUESTION IN AN INDIAN CITY

THROUGHOUT India the drift to the city is a marked feature in our economic and social life though its extent and significance differ in the different provinces. This has brought about a change in the mentality of the population in our villages. Certain attitudes of mind have been developed in our villages unknown before, while in the cities the type of mentality that is now being developed is new, and this is tending to replace the old habits and traditions associated with our ancient civic life and institutions. In too many cases the process has been that of the substitution of cultures, not to speak of the social dislocation, and unsettlement, with its attendant evils of unrest, poverty and stress, associated with all transitional stages.

In schemes of economic reconstruction we ought not to satisfy ourselves merely with the task of rehabilitating the disintegrated agriculture of our villages. We have to cleanse and beautify our sordid cities, rebuild them and their institutions so that they may contribute to the healthy and noble living of the population instead of regarding them as 'inevitable' products of 'industrialism' and human nature.

At present the conditions of life of our factory labourers are far from healthy and

natural. The Indian mill hand is primarily a cultivator who returns to his home in his native village as soon as he has been able to lay by sufficient money after his own expenses and his regular remittances to his family who seldom accompanies him to his *chawl* or *busti* near the factory. The labourer in a jute mill in Bengal who usually comes from Saran Champaran, Baha or other districts in the United Provinces or Bihar goes back in the hot weather or harvest season. Local labourers are few comprising less than one third of the hands. In the city of Howrah, which has a population of 179,000 and which doubled itself during the last 40 years, more than two thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district. The Bengali speaking population comprised only 47 p.c. of the population while the Hindi and Oriya speaking people constituted 47 p.c. and 3 p.c. respectively. When the labourers come from distant countries they leave their families behind. Thus in Howrah there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Between 1871-1911 the increase of females has been 75 p.c. while that of males has been as great as 150 p.c.

Some of the mill towns have shown a phenomenal increase of population. Thus, in Bengal, in the last decade, Bhadreswar has increased twice, Tittagarh thrice and

Kharagpur 5 times in population. The dangers of over crowding and insanitation have been very serious and the more so because the increase of population has been so sudden. Pukka or kuccha cooly lines have been built by the managers of the mills but they do not save the situation. When the hours of labour are 5 A.M. to 8 P.M. with changes at 7.30 A.M., 10 A.M., 12.30 P.M., 3 and 8 P.M. each shift working 10 hours a day, the labourers have to live close to a mill and overcrowding cannot be prevented. There is also an enormous amount of contract labour about the housing of which the employer does not trouble himself at all. A cooly contractor is paid so much a bale for bringing raw jute from a jetty to the mill or manufactured jute from the mill to the jetty or the railway station. All these make it absolutely essential for labour to live close to the factory and if there is no congestion in the mill lines there is congestion in the private *bustis*. It is these latter especially which are centres of poverty, prostitution and disease. A Sarder gets some land from

tion or light. Filth is uncollected or dumped in the yards. The rents are sometimes as high as Re 1.8 as or Re 2 per week for a dark room and another small half room, and there is one privy for 60 persons with a rent of 1½ p per week per head. In ward V Howrah, the number of persons per acre is 90. Sankari bazar, Dacca, which strikes us as one of the most congested quarters in a city in Bengal has a density of 61.6 which compares favourably with Howrah.

In Bombay town 70 p.c. of the population lives in one room tenements. There are over 166,000 of these tenements and the average number of persons per room is 4.17. The labouring classes, almost without exception, live in tenements of a single room in large *chawls*, which sometimes provide a common washing place on each floor and sometimes a *nahani* or *mori* in each room. Persons living in five or six room tenements average 1.43 and 1.4 persons per room. The following table shows the number of tenements per inhabited house in some of the mill areas in Bombay.

	Total number of occupied tenements of each class	Percentage of each class of tenements to total tenements	Total number of occupants	Percentage borne by population in each class of tenements to total population	Average number of occupants per room
<i>Byculla</i>					
1 Room	1,998	99.23	70,970	94.24	4.44
2 Rooms	347	2.09	11,760	2.34	2.64
3 Rooms	118	.71	6,8	.87	1.86
4 Rooms	70	.48	8,2	1.16	2.44
5 Rooms	23	.13	232	.31	1.86
6 Rooms and over	55	.33	813	1.08	2.47
<i>Tadwadi</i>					
1 Room	4,807	94.81	26,186	92.16	5.45
2 Rooms	129	2.54	673	2.37	2.61
3 Rooms	39	.7	23	.07	2.33
4 Rooms	33	.69	198	.70	1.41
5 Rooms	15	.30	129	.43	1.72
6 Rooms and over	45	.89	952	3.33	3.53
<i>In Mandri Circle No 6</i>					
1 Room	327	7.67	4,927	93.14	15.07
2 Rooms	61	14.40	198	3.47	1.62
3 Rooms	19	4.61	97	1.64	1.70
4 Rooms	7	1.66	25	.47	.89
5 Rooms	2	.47	13	.22	1.30
6 Rooms and over	5	1.19	90	.37	1.00

The greatest density is 638 per acre in second Nagpada, while in 115th of the total area of the Island are huddled together nearly 25th of the population at 391 per acre.

the mill rent free to build huts on, he brings workers to live in the huts and collects their rents and would sometimes exorbitant rates. The huts are dark and gloomy, without ventila-

Life is squalid, dirty, unclean and unnatural when, for example, as many as 15 persons live in each room of the one room tenements. No less than 76 per cent of the population, i.e., no less than 7,43,250

souls reside in single room tenements. Real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare, even homes in flats are comparatively uncommon, for the great bulk of the people 'home' means a single room. Hence the importance of recognising the room rather than the house as the unit when applying municipal by laws which prescribe the amount of open space to be provided outside dwelling places.*

As regards drainage and ventilation the following remarks are quoted from the Secretary to the Bombay Development Committee of 1918—"It is not uncommon to find a continuous area of buildings each occupying practically the whole site on which it stands. Each building may be surrounded almost entirely by a dark narrow gully which in the absence of any possibility of installing a proper drainage system, is an open drain containing the waste water used for domestic purposes, and defiled also with urine, with excreta overflowing from the privy baskets and with all kinds of refuse thrown out of windows. Except for some small dirty chawks, these gullies may constitute the only access of light and air to the rooms in the buildings. Most of the rooms have obviously no proper supply of light and air, and many of them are dark hovels which no breath of fresh air ever reaches. Often such small windows as look out on the narrow passage cannot be opened at all because of the foulness of the gullies and because of the fear that rubbish and filth thrown out of the windows will enter the rooms. But lack of light and air is by no means the only fault of such dwellings. There is also the very imperfect drainage which results from the crowded nature of the sites, and the dampness of soil due to this insufficient drainage, and other causes. Dwelling rooms are too small, and too low. Yards and compounds are not decently paved. Proper arrangements for disposal of refuse are absent."

Inadequate municipal regulations with regard to dwellings, town planlessness, a laissez faire policy pursued with regard to the location of factories and working men's quarters, as well as house tax laws have all contributed to this overcrowding involving disease and discomfort, nervous

tension, vice, callousness and many more evils.

There is, in the same way, an enormous amount of overcrowding in the poorer quarters in Calcutta. Over the whole municipal area there is an average population of 2.5 persons per room, and this congestion is more or less over the whole of the city, the least congested ward being Park Street with 1.3 persons per room, and the most congested being Jorabagan with 4.4 persons per room.* The facts as to the absence of family life in Calcutta will soon be fully dealt with, and the investigation of the conditions prevailing makes it clear that the majority of the working-classes are housed in overcrowded busters.

The city of New York presents us with one of the world's overcrowded conditions. But in Bombay the overcrowding beats the New York record hollow. We have not got any data relating to the number of families in Calcutta occupying rooms in the buster, and the sizes of those rooms, but we have sufficiently clear impressions to conclude that the congestion and overcrowding are not less. In New York more than one and a half persons to a room is held to be overcrowding, and about 45 per cent of families live in an overcrowded condition. In Byculla and Tadmudi the average number of occupants in a single room is, 4.44 and 5.45 respectively, and in none of the tenements there is less than 1.5 persons living in one room. In Mandvi, as we have already seen, there are on an average 15.07 persons living in a single room. The unmitigated and incalculable evils of this fearful congestion are apparent.

Under such overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy, and an outbreak of plague, cholera or small pox will drive away all those who can escape. Grog shops are many and they are situated quite near the lines to encourage drink, while brothels also spring up and satisfy the coarse appetites of operatives whose nerves are shattered by long hours of work and the dehumanised and de-socialised life under de-vitalised conditions and who therefore have frequent recourse to drink and debauchery for relaxation. Apart from these we have already pointed out

* J. P. Orr—Social Reform and Slum Reform Part II p. 17

* Vide Madan and Shroshree's Report on City and Suburban Main Road Projects, Calcutta 1913

the general character of the mill population in India there has not as yet been created a class of factory labourers who train themselves in mill work and who depend upon it for livelihood. It is true that some labourers remain long enough on the lines and chawls and bring their family to live with them but the vast mass of the factory population is shifting in constant and irregular in their employment and characterised by a striking disparity between the proportions of the sexes.

In the mill areas in Bombay the disparity in the sex proportions is shown below—

The number of females to 1 000 males

Byculla	580 55
Tadwadi	566 84
Mandvi	423 94

In Howrah we have already seen that there are only 562 females to 1 000 males. Thus intemperance and prostitution become easy and natural.

The social conditions in our mill towns represent only a more squalid and degrading phase of life of our important cities. We have already described the unnatural life of our labourers in the Bombay chawls and the Howrah busters.

In Calcutta and Bombay the problem of housing accommodation has become extremely serious. The increase of rents has been phenomenal and this has tended to break up the joint family. Where families still live under the same roof they often divide the house into separate portions. In Northern Calcutta, the portion of the residence of the Bengalee population the system of actually dividing dwelling houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. Thus a big dwelling is divided into a number of mean little houses with totally inadequate open spaces and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Ordinarily however, much of Northern Calcutta contains only from 9 per cent to 12 per cent of total open space which is an appalling figure, and the buildings are generally twice the heights of London, Birmingham, and Liverpool slums. This fact of the much greater height of Calcutta slums magnifies the insanitary conditions. London and English city slums of which we have heard so much, and which are steadily being cleared away at great ex-

pense, are commonly but two stories in height, and all are provided with an incomparably better street system than we find anywhere throughout Calcutta, excepting only in the small Park Street area. Nor is any European slum allowed to be over crowded to an extent even approaching the condition now existing in Calcutta. Calcutta, inside the area enclosed by Circular Road and the River Hooghly, contains no less than twenty two blocks of residential property each having no street system and served internally only by tortuous lanes, passages, and fragmentary lengths of narrow streets. The average size of each block is 100 acres. The total area is about 2 200 acres, and can perhaps best be comprehended in the form of 22 squares of closely built up streetless property, each square measuring about 2 100 feet by 2 100 feet or 700 yards by 700 yards, and they cover over 3 square miles. If we include areas outside Circular Road, then we get a total of 2 500 acres of streetless property.

Conditions like these can be found elsewhere only in Bombay, and in Cairo and Constantinople (both dry cities) and Peking Canton, Mukden, and other Chinese cities. On a very much smaller scale they occur in Delhi and other Indian cities.

Some of the greatest Western slums appear to have been in Glasgow, many years ago. Their total area of about 90 acres is still spoken of with awe in British municipal circles—in Calcutta a single one of our 22 blocks would beat the Glasgow record hollow, both in area and intensity.

The effects of these conditions on the health and mortality of the people are alarming. Tuberculosis, which is the most indicating disease of slum conditions is fast spreading in Calcutta despite the favourable conditions of tropical sunlight and heat.

Number of deaths from Tuberculosis per 10 000		
1880		434
1890	"	743
1901		1 064
1904		1 608
1911	"	2 000

The death rates, general and tuberculosis, of several important cities are given below for comparison.

* Vide Richards—Report on the Town planning of Calcutta.

	General Death Rate per 1 000 (1911 12).	Tuberculosis per 1 000
London	15	1 35
Birmingham	14 1	1 28
Liverpool	17 7	1 49
Manchester	16 2	1 53
Bombay	35 6	62
	Respiratory diseases (including phthisis 10 94)	
Calcutta	27 2 (Corrected 35)	2 3

There has recently been great exaltation that in Calcutta the death rates are going down and down, but it must be remembered that these are crude and unconnected, and, as Dr Crake points out in his Report, "cannot be compared with those of other towns." Still births are not calculated in Calcutta, as in Bombay and the West, and there is a large number of deaths of persons who leave Calcutta to die in villages that is also not reckoned. Thus the Calcutta death rate cannot be lower than that of Bombay if calculated in the ordinary way. In all countries the male death rate exceeds the female death rate. In Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain, the female death rate is only about 88 per cent that of the male. This is due to the fact that the females are less exposed to the trials and dangers of life. In the province of Bengal as well the female death rate is 31 per mille against 34 amongst males. But in Calcutta the ratios are inverted.

The following table shows the death rate by sex and age in Calcutta and the province.

Age Period. Years	Calcutta Rate per mille, (1916)		Provincial Rates. (1909)	
	Females	Males.	Females	Males.
1 to 5	42 2	43 6	37	42
5 to 10	10 1	10 9	14	17
10 to 15	11 2	7 3	10	11
15 to 20	18 1	7 6	20	17
20 to 30	18 1	8 5	21	19
30 to 40	20 0	11 9	22	22
40 to 50	20 3	18 9	24	27
50 to 60	26 2	30 3	35	41
60 and over	121 7	96 4	58	77

At 15-20 years the female death rate in Calcutta is more than double the male death rate, while in Bengal Presidency the difference is not so sharp (20 and 17).

From the age of 10 in all age periods the death rate amongst females in the city is much higher than amongst males, while in the presidency the male death rate is generally higher as in other countries of

the world. When we remember this and compare the Calcutta rates with those recorded in England where at all ages from 5 56 years, the death rate amongst females is distinctly lower than amongst males, one realised the truth of Prof Patrick Geddes' indictment of Calcutta as a matriacial city.*

The causes of this inversion of the normal ratios of mortality amongst males and females are obvious. In the city, the effect of the insanitary housing arrangement must tell more upon the health of the females than upon the males and especially so, because the purdah system is much more rigid and exacting than in the villages and not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions but actually leads to the construction of ill lighted and ill ventilated buildings in order to secure privacy to the *zenana*. Apart from the dangers due to the strain of repealed child bearing and prolonged lactation in tender age and of ignorant midwifery, the ill ventilated and insanitary houses with the courtyards in the middle, latrines and drains in the vicinity of the water tank and kitchen for exclusive use of women, and the social conventions prohibiting exercises in the pure air outside the precincts of the congested slums and dwellings bear responsibility for the greater mortality amongst females. As a result of a complex variety of causes more economic than social, such as premature motherhood, ignorant midwifery, poverty, insanitary dwellings, want of pure air and healthy exercises, maternal deaths in Calcutta amount to 1 in every 40 as compared with the average rate of from 1 to 2 per 1,000 in England.

The effect of constant exposure to insanitary surroundings, or, in other words, the result of adhering to the *purdah* system in the slums of a large city is also shown by the heavy incidence of tuberculosis amongst girls and young women. Bombay is not so much responsible on this account as Calcutta.

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH RATE PER 100

	Calcutta	Bombay
Females only	3 3	102
Males	1 7	41
Average	2 3	62
	Respiratory diseases including Phthisis 10.94	

* Vide Report of the Municipal Administration of Calcutta 1915 16 Vol 1, page 54

In Calcutta at 10-15 years of age the incidence was 6 times as great, at 15 to 20 years, it was 4 times as great, and at 20-30 years, 3 times as great as amongst males.

Another effect of the insanitary, ill lighted dwelling has been that the incidence of blindness among males is lower, but among females is far higher, than in the province of which Calcutta is the capital, and that the loss of sight is less frequent among men than among women, whereas the reverse is the case in Bengal. The figures are given below —

NUMBER PER 1000

	Male	Female
Calcutta	63	92
Bengal	78	63
England	100	107.3
United States	100	80.1
Calcutta	100	146
Bengal	100	80

One explanation is that males suffering from cataract have recourse to the surgeon

more freely than women. But the effects of the conditions of ill lighted dwellings must also be emphasised. The occupation of women lies mainly indoors, and the main proportion have to spend the greater part of day and night in small dark rooms filled with the acrid smoke of cow dung fires, at which they cook their food. The cumulative effect of life under such conditions is apparent from the returns of blindness by age, for two thirds of the blind women are over 50 years of age. The homesteads in the village are ventilated as the bamboo walls and roofs allow of a more thorough passage of air, the Bengali woman in the village consequently suffers less than her sister who lives in the slums and the insanitary dwellings of the metropolis.

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VERNACULARS FOR THE M A DEGREE

By SIR RADHADRANATH TAGORE

[The following letter was written by Sir Radhadrath Tagore to a correspondent and is published with the latter's permission Ed. M. R.]

Dear—,

It is needless to say that it has given me great delight to learn of Sir Ashutosh's proposal for introducing Indian vernaculars in the university for the M. A. But at the same time I must frankly admit the misgivings I feel owing to my natural distrust of the spirit of teaching that dominates our university education. Vernacular literature, at least in Bengal, has flourished in spite of its being ignored by the higher branches of our educational organisation. It earned no prospect of reward for its votaries from the Government, nor, in its first stages, any acknowledgment even from our own people. This neglect has been a blessing in disguise, for thus our language and literature have had the opportunity of natural growth, unhampered by worldly temptation or imposition of outside authority. Our literary language is still in a fluid stage,

it is continually trying to adapt itself to new accessions of thought and emotion and to the constant progress in our national life. Necessarily the changes in our life and ideas are more rapid than they are in the countries whose influences are contributing to build the modern epoch of our renaissance. And, therefore, our language, the principal instrument for shaping and storing our ideals, should be allowed to remain much more plastic than it need be in the future when standards have already been formed which can afford a surer basis for our progress.

But I have found that the direct influence which the Calcutta University wields over our language is not strengthening and vitalising, but pedantic and narrow. It tries to perpetuate the anachronism of preserving the Pundit-made Bengali swathed in grammar wrappings borrowed from a dead language. It is every day becoming a more formidable obstacle in the way of our boys' acquiring that mastery of their mother tongue which is of

life and literature. The artificial language of a learned mediocrity, inert and formal, ponderous and didactic, devoid of the least breath of creative vitality is forced upon our boys at the most receptive period of their life. I know this, because I have to connive myself, at a kind of intellectual infanticide when my own students try to drown the natural spontaneity of their expression under some stagnant formalism. It is the old man of the sea keeping his fatal hold upon the youth of our country. And this makes me apprehensive lest the stamping of death's seal upon our living language should be performed on a magnified scale by our university as its final act of tyranny at the last hour of its direct authority.

In the modern European universities the medium of instruction being the vernacular, the students in receiving, recording and communicating their lessons perpetually come into intimate touch with it, making its acquaintance where it is not slavishly domineered over by one particular sect of academicians. The personalities of various authors, the individualities of their styles, the revelation of the living power of their language are constantly and closely brought to their minds—and therefore all that they need for their final degrees is a knowledge of the history and morphology of their mother tongues. But our students have not the same opportunity, excepting in their private studies and according to their private tastes. And therefore their minds are more liable to come under the influence of some inflexible standard of language manufactured by pedagogues and not given birth to by the genius of artists. I assert once again that those who, from their position of author

ity, have the power and the wish to help our language in the unfolding of its possibilities, must know that in its present stage freedom of movement is of more vital necessity than fixedness of forms.

Being an outsider I feel reluctant to make any suggestions, knowing that they may prove unpractical. But as that will not cause an additional injury to my reputation, I make bold to offer you at least one suggestion. The candidates for the M. A. degree in the vernaculars should not be compelled to attend classes, because in the first place, that would be an insuperable obstacle to a great number of students, including ladies who have entered the married state, secondly, the facility of studying Bengali under the most favorable conditions cannot be limited to one particular institution and the research work which should comprehend different dialects and folk literature can best be carried out outside the class, and lastly, if such freedom be given to the students the danger of imposing upon their minds the dead uniformity of some artificial standard will be obviated. For the same reason, the university should not make any attempt, by prescribing definite text books, to impose or even authoritatively suggest any particular line of thought to the students, leaving each to take up the study of any prescribed subject,—grammar, philology, or what ever it may be along the line best suited to his individual temperament, judging of the result according to the quantity of conscientious work done and the quality of the thought processes employed.

Yours Sincerely
RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE RISE IN THE PRICES OF COTTON PIECE GOODS

THE four years of war have witnessed a phenomenal rise in the prices of most commodities. In few cases however has the rise been more marked than in the case of cotton and its manufactures, and in no case has the rise of prices caused so much hardship to the poorer classes of the population as the rise in the prices of

cotton goods. It is true that all the Provinces have not suffered equally from the rise, those parts of the country which are near to the great centres of the Indian cotton industry, and those where the handloom industry still flourishes, have suffered less than those parts which in normal times depend upon imported piece

goods. It is an indisputable fact however that all parts of the country have suffered in greater or less degree and that even in those parts which have been least affected the rise has been considerable and the distress acute.

The object which I have set before me in writing this paper is to make an enquiry into the causes of the rise in the price of cotton piece goods with the help of statistical data and to discuss the suitability of different measures of relief. The conclusions at which I have arrived are not novel. They are such as have long been apparent to men with knowledge of the business and to students who have taken an interest in the subject. All I can claim for this paper is that I have tried to place all the relevant facts and figures together and to arrange them in a systematic way and thus to test how far the general conclusions formed on the subject are capable of being supported by statistical evidence.

THE EXTENT OF THE RISE

The following table gives the index numbers of wholesale prices of cotton piece goods in Calcutta and Bombay during the period of our enquiry taking July 1914 as the base.

Index numbers of wholesale prices of Cotton Piece Goods

	Calcutta.	Bombay
I July 1914	100	100
II August 1915	94	94
III August 1916	139	120
IV August 1917	225	182
V December 1917	262	241

It will be seen from the above table that between July 1914 and December 1917 prices of piece goods rose by about 160 p.c. There was a temporary fall immediately after the outbreak of the War and in August 1915 i.e. one year after the outbreak of the War the index numbers show a fall of 6 p.c. Since then prices have risen without a break and in the latter part the rise has been more abrupt than in the former. I have not got figures for any date later than December 1917. But if such figures were available they would probably show that in the present year the rise has been still more abrupt.

THE CAUSE OF THE RISE

The main cause to which our attention is directed is the shortage in the supply. England is our chief source of the supply of cotton piece goods. Owing to the rise in

the price of raw cotton all over the world and in wages in England there has been a serious increase in the cost of manufacture of cotton goods. Besides these the heavy demand for the Army has absorbed in increasing quantities of the produce of English Mills and the rise of ocean freights has made it difficult and expensive to transport to India what goods are available in England. All these causes have induced the manufacturers of Lancashire to produce much smaller quantities for the Indian market. Against this reduction in the supply from England we have to set the increase in the imports from other countries (particularly Japan) which has taken place in recent years as well as the increase in the production of Indian Mills. It is therefore necessary to estimate as accurately as possible the actual shortage in the quantity of piece goods available for consumption in the country. The following table compiled from figures taken from the Review of the Trade of India enables us to make this estimate (Quantities are given in Millions of yards).

	Quinquennial average for (1909-10) (1913-14)	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
Imports	2 617	2 419	2 118	1 892	1 523
Home Production	1 106	1 135	1 442	1 577	1 650*
Exports	30	67	114	245	1 2
Total available for consumption in India	3 633	3 487	3 446	3 224	3 001
Shortage as of		146	187	410	662
with Qq average			or 5%	or 11%	or 18%

The comparisons in the above table are made with the pre war quinquennial average. This is done in order to eliminate the error due to variations in annual figures. The year 1914-15 is useless for purposes of comparison. The two succeeding years show a shortage of 5 p.c. and 11 p.c. respectively. I have not got exact figures for the Indian production in 1917-18. But taking 1650 millions as the probable output of Indian Mills in that year we have a shortage of 18 p.c. in 1917-18.

It is also seen from the above table that in the five years preceding the war we were dependent for 73 p.c. of the total consumption of Mill woven goods on foreign imports. In 1916-17 this percentage had come down to 59 and in 1917-18 (relying

* Figure for twelve months calculated from that of ten months published some months ago by the cotton committee.

on our probable estimate of Indian output) to about 50. Almost the whole of the imported goods comes from England. According to the 'Review of the Trade of India' England's share in the total imports in the pre war quinquennium was 97 p.c. In 1916-17 her share was 93 p.c. Of the total imports in 1916-17, again Japan supplied 4.5 p.c. and America, Holland and Italy together 2.5 p.c.

By far the greatest portion of the trade lost by England has gone to the Indian Mills. In the pre war quinquennium the share of the Indian output in the total consumption was 27 p.c. in 1916-17 it was 41 p.c. and in 1917-18 (probably) about 50 p.c. This apparent increase however does not mean an equal increase in the quantity supplied by the Indian Mills for the percentage is calculated on a much smaller base.

During the three financial years ended in March 1917 the Indian Mills raised their production of piece goods from 1106 million yards to 1577 million yards thus showing an increase of about 43 per cent over the original amount. But no less than 33 per cent of the increase was exported, thus leaving only two thirds of the increased output for home consumption. The quantity exported in 1916-17 was nearly three times the average for the five years preceding the war. This is very anomalous. In the presence of a great rise in home prices it was to be expected that the large quantity of Indian piece goods which in normal times is exported to foreign countries would be drawn into the home market. Instead of that we find an actual increase in exports in two successive years, and this in spite of the rise of ocean freights and the exchange difficulties caused by a favourable balance of trade.

There would have been some reason for the increase in the exports if the prices of piece goods in foreign countries had risen higher than they have in India. As it is, the export prices show a progressive fall during this period. The following are the declared prices for exported piece goods during the four years (1913-14) to (1916-17) —

1913-14	3a	10p	per yard
1914-15	3a	9p	per yard
1915-16	3a	6p	per yard
1916-17	3a	4p	per yard

The above figures show a fall of 13 p.c. till 1916-17. In 1917-18, however, exports

fell to 70 p.c. of the preceding year, and this fall in quantity was accompanied by a rise in the export price to 4a 8p per yard.

I have so far considered the amount of the shortage from our main source of supply England and also how far this shortage has been made up by increased supplies from other sources. I have shown that the actual reduction in the quantity supplied by England has not been made up to any great extent by the increased supply from these sources, and that in 1917-18 there was on the whole a shortage of about 18 p.c. of the pre war quinquennium. I shall now consider how far this shortage in quantity justifies the rise in the price. But for this purpose annual averages are not a safe guide. When the period taken into consideration is only four years twelve months seem to be too long to be taken as the unit of comparison. Besides in a rapidly changing market where prices and quantities between the beginning and the end of a year may show a rise or fall of 50 to 100 per cent, the annual figure does not indicate clearly the rise or fall which has occurred in the course of the year or when a particular sharp alteration has commenced. For these reasons I shall take one month as the unit for comparison. I shall try to show how imports have fallen from month to month, and how far there is a correspondence between this fall in imports with the rise in prices which has accompanied it, bearing in mind all the while that owing to increased supplies from other sources, the actual shortage is something less than the fall in the imports.

The figures for monthly imports of piece goods published in the *Gazette of India* show large fluctuations. But as we proceed from August 1914 onward we find that these fluctuations take place round a steadily decreasing mean. It is not safe to take the figures of any particular month and compare it with the price for the corresponding month. I have therefore, in the case of quantities taken the quarterly averages instead of actual monthly figures. In the case of prices, however, no such precaution seems to be necessary, for they are fixed with reference to long periods, and show throughout a steady fall or rise.

I shall take the average quantity of imports for the three months May to July 1914 as the base, and compare with it the

quantities at different subsequent points. The following table gives a fair idea of the reduction in import

Index numbers of quantities of imports

I	Quarterly average for May July	1914	100
II	Do	Sept. Nov. 1915	74
III	Do	Sept. Nov. 1916	73
IV	Do	Sept. Nov. 1917	70
V	Do	January March, 1918	52

In the prices table given in a previous paragraph July 1914 is taken as the base and comparisons are made with August of the three successive years and December of 1918. Columns 2, 3, 4, 5 of the prices table is taken to correspond with the same columns of the Quantities table. In other words the prices at each successive point of time are supposed to represent quantities which were imported in the next three months. The reason for this course is obvious. As sales are made for future delivery the goods that are sold in say, the Calcutta market to-day are those which have been contracted for in Lancashire within the last week and which will not arrive at Calcutta till about two months hence. Thus the wholesale price in Calcutta in August is not the price of the goods which are imported in August, but which will be imported perhaps in October.

* I now proceed to make the comparison. In the course of a little over one year after the war the index number of quantities drops to 74 and continues in the neighbourhood of that figure during the two successive years. Prices however, do not show any sudden rise. On the contrary the index number of prices at Calcutta shows a fall of about 6 points in the first year of the war. After that prices are not constant (as in the case of quantities) but show a steady rise. The slowness of the rise is explained partly by the fact that there has been excessive imports in the year preceding the outbreak of war and partly by the fact that prices are determined by the course of supply extending over long periods. In August 1916 the index number of prices stood at 139 and the index number of quantities in the next quarter at 73. At this point there appears to be a fair correspondence

between the supply and the rise in price, and by this time the price movement had probably overtaken the movement in the supply.

At the end of the next year, however, while the index number for quantity is still at 70, the price index at Calcutta has risen to 225, i.e. a rise of 86 points over the corresponding month of the previous year. Four months after, in December 1917, there is a rise of about 40 points in the price index, but to match it there is a fall of about 20 points in the quantity. Taking the index number of prices in December 1917 and that of quantities in the next three months, we find that a reduction of about 50 p.c. in quantity is responsible for a rise of about 160 p.c. in the price. This is apparently the measure of the elasticity of our demand for imported cotton piece goods. But I can not think that it is the true measure. It is difficult to believe that a reduction of 50 p.c. in the import should induce buyers to pay more than two and a half times the price which they were paying in normal times. Demand would have to be very inelastic before consumers would submit to this squeezing. It is probable that the quantities imported from month to month have not been freely placed on the market, and that the market price is the demand price for quantities very much smaller than those imported.

The probable conclusion that the rise in wholesale prices is not justified by the shortage in the supply receives support from the fact that the rise in market prices has been far in excess of the rise in the import prices. If the rise in market prices were entirely due to shortage, we should expect to find a nearly equal rise in the import prices. This has, however, not been the case. The following table compiled from figures published in the *Gazette of India* shows the rise in import prices.

Index numbers of declared values per unit of imported piece goods

I	Quarterly average for May July,	1914	100
II	Do	Sept. Nov., 1915	103
III	Do	Sept. Nov., 1916	128
IV	Do	Sept. Nov., 1917	180
V	Do	Jan. March, 1918	209

Comparing the above table with the table for whole sale prices at Calcutta we find that by August 1916 the market price rises to the same extent as the import

* I have taken the wholesale prices in Calcutta for comparison, because the Calcutta market more than the Bombay market depends on imported piece

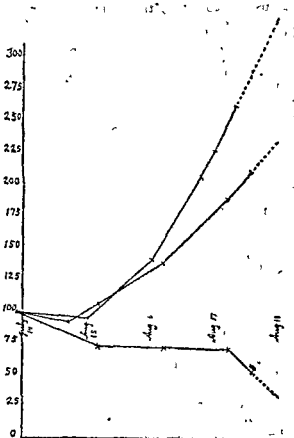
price. After that point, however, there begins a clear divergence between the rise in the two prices. It is exactly at this point, moreover, that the market price begins to show an abrupt rise, although the quantities of imports remain constant for one year more. In August 1917 the market price rises to 225 while the import price in the next quarter rises only to 186. In December 1917 the index number of market prices rises to 262 while the index number of import prices in the next quarter rises only to 209. It must be noticed that this difference is not a difference in the two prices, but a difference between the rise in one case and the other. It therefore shows that the whole of the rise in market prices is not due to increased cost of supply. I think it probable, therefore, that out of a rise of about 160 p. c. recorded in December last year, something like 50 p. c. is due to causes other than the rise in expenses of production and transport, and the main cause is probably speculation.

The graphs at the top of the next column show the reduction in quantity and the rise in prices and declared values.

REMEDIES.

In considering the various means which may be devised to meet the present situation, I wish to give the first place to the scheme adopted by the Government. It is proposed to empower the Government "to require the mills to manufacture certain kinds of cloth, for which they will be paid at rates fixed so as to allow a reasonable margin of profit. The cloth so produced will be retailed to the public at strictly controlled prices, either through the agency of Government shops or of licensed vendors." Local administrations will probably be required to make estimates from time to time of the quantities which they will require, and orders will accordingly be distributed among the Mills. It is considered "undesirable, even if possible, to assume control over imported cloth."

It has not appeared so far whether in respect of the standard cloths Government will exercise any control over the demand. Local administrations will make estimates of the quantities required for their provinces. But this requirement will depend on the prices at which the cloths are available. If the prices are low, the re-



quirement will be great, if the prices are high, it will be small. The object which Government have in view is to keep prices down at a level justified by the price of raw cotton and other expenses of manufacture, including of course the manufacturer's profit. It is certain that these prices will be considerably lower than those at present ruling for the same varieties of goods. The question is, whether in the absence of any control over demand Government will be able to sell at these prices, in other words, whether government will be able to sell any amount of the standard cloth which the public will be ready to purchase at the fixed price. At first sight it may appear that it should not be very difficult. At present about 50 per cent of the total consumption of cotton piece goods in the country is supplied by Indian Mills. Besides this considerable quantities are exported. If the whole or the greater part of the producing capacity of these Mills is requisitioned by the Government, it may

be possible to satisfy the demand so far as the coarser varieties are concerned at a low price. But it must be remembered that the 50 p c is calculated on a very much reduced absolute consumption. This reduction has been made under the stress of high prices and if this stress is removed to any considerable extent the quantity demanded will move in the direction of the normal consumption. Moreover as I shall try to show later on the prices of the unstandardised varieties will probably rise as a result of Government's action. If so, the demand on the standard varieties will increase, for a considerable part of the demand will be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. When all these considerations are taken into account it seems incredible that Government with only the Indian production to fall back upon will be able to sell unlimited quantities at a low price.

Now let us suppose that control of price is accompanied by control of demand in other words, let us suppose that a system of 'rationing' is adopted. This means that the standard cloth will be supplied only to the poorer classes and to each individual in proportion to the requirements of his family. This method has some great disadvantages. It will be necessary to keep a register of individuals to whom the cloth may be supplied, the size of their families, and of the quantities supplied to each from time to time. Moreover in a country like India where the bulk of the people are ignorant and slow to defend their rights the system will prove an engine of oppression in the hands of officers who are appointed to assess the requirements of each family and of unscrupulous dealers. Let us suppose, however, that this system is adopted, and safeguards are provided to minimise its defects as far as possible. In this case there will be no fear of the supply running short. The poor people will get their cloth cheaper. But unless the supply can be increased they will not get enough. The advantage of government control will come to them in the shape of more surplus money on their hands, but not in the shape of more cloth.

I shall now consider briefly what effect is likely to be produced on the prices of the finer varieties of cloth by the course proposed to be taken by Government. I have shown that if the supply of the standard

cloth is to bring any relief to the poorer classes, it will have to be in such quantities as will engage the entire producing capacity of the Indian Mills. Consequently there will be a further shortage in the supply of the finer varieties of cloth. As the price of coarse standard cloth falls, the price of the finer cloths will rise. If it were possible for Government to undertake to supply unlimited quantities of standard cloth, a considerable part of the demand would ultimately be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. This is, however, not possible, and there is the likelihood of a marked cleavage between the prices of finer cloth and those of coarser. The greater part of the cloth which is imported from England belongs to the former category rather than the latter. It is clear, therefore, that speculation in imported cloth will go on unchecked, and will probably increase, for it is the prospect of a rise which is the main cause of speculation. In view of this fact it is a pity that Government should at the outset deny itself the power to control the prices of imported piece goods.

The policy of controlling prices is efficacious as a remedy for speculation. It cannot (in the absence of a system of distribution according to needs) cope with a real shortage. It can merely keep down prices to the level at which the quantity available can be disposed of in the open market. But that is the limit. If there is a shortage in the supply, the Government fixed price will have to be raised. That being so, if the war should continue for some years more, and if the present tendencies should continue to act, the policy adopted by the Government towards Indian products (even if it should be extended to control over imported goods) will fail to check distress. So long as the war continues we may expect this tendency to continue at a progressive rate from year to year and even from month to month. It is not unlikely therefore that in the near future we shall have to consider seriously the problem of increasing our output. The Indian cotton industry with its present supply of machinery and labour is not capable of unlimited expansion, and something will have to be done in order to make the country more and more self dependent in respect of its production of cotton goods.

One way of solving the problem which has recently found much favour in Bengal

is to fall back on the old economy, to encourage the cultivator to grow cotton on his land and work it up to finished cloth in his home. I do not think that the introduction of the "Charka" (spinning wheel) is so closely bound up with the problem of growing cotton on one's own land that the two things must needs be taken up together, and when the real difficulty is about manufacturing raw cotton, it is unwise to obscure the problem by introducing the question of growing cotton. True, in Bengal in olden times the two things went together. But it need not be the case at the present day; when any quantity of raw cotton can be had from distant parts of the country at a price. Of course, if the price of raw cotton has gone up so high that it is more profitable to grow on one's own land than to buy it, then it is surely advisable to choose the former course. But in that case it would also be profitable to grow cotton for the market in preference to other crops. I think the question of extending the cultivation of cotton should be decided merely by reference to its relative value and that handloom weaving can be carried on even in those parts where climatic conditions do not allow cotton to be grown locally.

Handloom weaving again has to be considered by comparing it with Mill weaving, and here the advantage undoubtedly lies with the latter. The former may be a useful makeshift to tide over the present emergency, but as a feature of normal industry it is doomed. When after the war normal conditions are once more es-

tablished the Mill industry will be in a far better position to withstand foreign competition than any extensive handloom industry which may be built up during this period of distress. It is not a wise policy to lay hold of anything which comes in our way to cope with the present difficulty, but to lay our plans carefully, and build an organisation which will not collapse at the first touch of foreign competition. Every industrial country which is not seriously affected by the war is employing its present advantage to build a firm industrial organisation which should be a tower of strength in the struggle of the future, and it will be a poor record for India to show that in this long war she was content with a few patches on her old industrial structure.

To me it seems clear that as a solution of the present cotton problem and as a preparation for the future industrial struggle the least we can do is to extend the Mill industry. It is true that at the present time it is difficult to obtain machinery from abroad, and the training of labour will also take time. But if the problem is handled earnestly, it may not be impossible to find a solution. Things which before the war appeared to be impossible have been made possible because governments and peoples have had to do them. And if the question of clothing the people is tackled with any thing like the same determination and courage, the difficulty may not be insuperable.

BIJOY KUMAR SEN, M. A.

THE SEARCH FOR GOD

BY MAHARSHI DVAENDRANATH TAGORE.

"He is not perceived by the eyes, nor through speech, nor any of our organs, nor by austerities, nor any deeds

Only the mind, purified by wisdom in meditation, finds Him who is without parts"

GOD is not perceived by the eyes, but we see the manifestation of His spirit of wisdom in the spirit of man.

He is not heard by the organs of hearing, yet we are able to hear His commands.

He is beyond all our senses, yet we

can experience the truth and grace of His nature and quench our thirst with His immortal love.

Thus it is true that our senses cannot apprehend Him, yet the relation of our spirit to Him is deep and intimate. By purifying the mind with wisdom in meditation we can perceive Him directly in our soul.

When we feel that He is watching over us in love, and that His eyes of love are

gazing into ours, then we know inwardly that we are one with Him. As His nature is one of love, so ours is also.

If we look on Him with indifference then we cannot understand His love. But if we seek Him with the longing of pure love, then a new image of beauty will rise before our minds.

Love cannot fulfil its own nature unless there is some one to love. The love, with which God loves us is the same as that which draws our own souls to Him. He gives us the fullness of His love, and the meaning of our own life is fulfilled if we are able to give Him one drop of our love in return.

Like the tender love of a mother for her child, so the love of God refreshes the whole world and the heart of every man. He sees in each one of us a separate individual to love and satisfies the hunger for love in each individual heart. If the world had contained but one individual then that one person would have been the sole possessor of the kingdom of His love. And so wonderful is His love that, even among the countless souls of men, He still regards each one as the complete owner of His love's kingdom.

An earthly king cannot recognise, even by sight, the different subjects of his realm. But the Father of the world takes into His embrace of love every son of this boundless universe and makes each one His very own.

We come into this world understanding nothing. At one time we were unconscious, like clods of earth, enveloped in darkness. But as we saw the light, love came and caught us in its embrace. What attraction was there in us, at that time, that any one should care for us? Yet, long before we were born, God had sent love into the heart of the mother and that love shielded us from all danger. God gave us milk from our mother's breast and love from our mother's heart. We did not ask for His love; it came of itself and possessed us. Long before we loved Him, He was our Father and our Mother and our all. Now that we have come to know and love

Him, He is the same Lover and will remain eternally the same.

Our part is to feel, ever more clearly, the breadth of God's love, and to give, ever more freely, our own love in return. With His love He has initiated us into the sacred service of the world through suffering and pain. Even now, we are becoming ready to dwell with Him in the eternal fullness of His love.

God has prepared His answer to our prayers even before we have uttered them. He has dispensed for us all the things we desire even before we have consciously desired them. The width of His love is incomparably greater than this narrow world. Here, in this life, the things from which we expect most benefit disappoint us. Even those who most care for us give us cruel suffering. Only by resting upon the unchanging love of God can we get beyond the hardness and the cruelty of the world. Weak selfish men, each intent upon his own interest, not considering the needs of others,—such a world as this cannot bring us deliverance.

But in the deep realisation of God's presence there is peace. He has satisfied the longing for love in our hearts by the gift of His own love. We may receive in the world all kinds of blows which give us pain, but in His presence there is peace. We know from experience that we have to return again and again from those to whom we go for the satisfaction of our earthly love to the one life long Companion. In dependence on Him we are free.

He is our Supreme Friend, the God who is worthy of our worship, the Fulfilment of all our desires.

O God, fill our hearts to the full with Thine eternal love, so that we may ever gaze upon Thy face and be united with Thy sovereign will. Chasten us a thousand times if we transgress against Thee, only forsake us not. Oh dearest Friend, without Thee life is meaningless and void.

(Translated with abridgment, from the Bengali)

THE LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF SHIVAJI

AFTER his marvellous success in the invasion of the Karnatak (described by me in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, October, 1918), Shivaji left the Madras plains (about November, 1677) and entered the Mysore plateau, conquering its eastern and central parts.*

From Sera in the heart of the Mysore kingdom (December, 1677), he marched to Kopal, 125 miles north, the fort of which he took, then turned 35 miles westwards to Gadag, and 2½ miles south of the latter to Lakshmishwar in the Dharwar district, (capturing the forts at both these places.) The desai of Mulgund, half way from Gadag to Lakshmishwar, had evacuated his fort in terror, and it was occupied by the Marathas. Bankapur, 20 miles S. W. of Lakshmishwar, was besieged unsuccessfully, about the middle of January, 1678. From this place Shivaji retraced his steps northwards, and arrived near Sampgaon in the Belgaum district. At Belvadi, a small village 12 miles S. E. of Sampgaon and 30 miles S. E. of Belgaum, Mal Bai, the widowed lady proprietor, plundered some transport bullocks of Shiva's army when, passing by. Her fort was at once besieged, but she defended it most heroically for 27 days, after which it was carried by assault and she herself was captured.†

* His route is thus given in Sabhasad, 91 : Kolhar—Ballapur—Kopal—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai chastised—Sampgaon district—Balvada desai invaded, captured, and "taught a lesson"—Panhala. Chitnis, 142 : Srirangapatna—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai fled—Gadag—Balvada desai Mal Bai besieged for 27 days, captured and released *Shivadigvijay*, 347-357 : Savitri Bai of Belvadi besieged—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Gauda* desai fled—Balvada desai loots transport, is besieged and captured. I cannot find *Khangauda* in the maps, but only *Mulgund* and *Navalgund*, (the last being 20 M. N. W. of Gadag.)

† T. S. 35 thus describes her fate: "A woman named Savitri was the *patni* (mistress) of Balvadi. From the shelter of her fort she fought Shiva for one month. On her provisions and munitions running short, she made a sortie, demolished all the siege trenches, and dispersed and slew many of the besiegers. For one day she kept the field heroically, but at last fled vanquished, was captured and

This long check by a woman, before an obscure mud fort, greatly lowered Shivaji's prestige. As the English merchants of Rajapur write on 28 Feb., 1678 : "He is at present besieging a fort where, by relation of their own people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace, than ever he did from all power of the Mughal or the Deccans (=Bijapuris), and he who hath conquered so many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Desai!"

Soon afterwards Shivaji had another ~~and very great disappointment~~, the greatest in his life, which we describe in the words of the Rajapur factors in their letter dated 3rd April. "Jamshid Khab, since the death of his master the Nawab [Bahlol Khan, on 23 Dec., 1677] found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up [the fort of Bijapur and the person of Sikandar Adil Shah] for 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Masaud having intelligence of this, feigns a sickness, at last death, and causes a *handol* publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue [of his troops] about 4000 sent to Jamshid, pretending that, since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the Fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi in alive, [21st Feb., 1678]; Shivaji upon his march hearing this news returns, and is expected at Panhala in a short time." [F.R. Strat, Vol. 107].

In an age when almost every man had his price, Shivaji cannot be blamed for trying to make gains by bribery. The fort of Bijnapur was for sale, and he only made a bid for it, and took his chance with other competitors for the position of keeper of the puppet Adil Shah, even as Shahji had been the keeper of a puppet Nizam Shah, Masaud and Bahlol were no more disinterested, but certainly less efficient than he

greatly dishonoured. Sakhuji Garkhad was the doer of this evil deed. Shivaji on hearing of his act, put out both his eyes and thus gave him his deserts. He was imprisoned in the village of Masauli."

would have been as Regent of Bijapur

The news of the transfer of the Adil Shahi capital to Siddi Masaud (21st February) reached Shivaji on his way from Belvadi through Turgal to Bijapur and he swerved aside to the west and returned to his own stronghold of Panhala at the end of March or in the first week of April, 1678

II

At this stage we may conveniently inquire into what happened in Maharashtra during Shivaji's absence in the Karnatak. In November 1676, an army was sent under Shambhaji to annex some Portuguese territory near Goa. He demanded 60 villages from the Portuguese on the ground that they belonged to the fort of Phonda, which was now in Shivaji's possession, but on meeting with a refusal, he made a rash assault on the Portuguese forces, who beat him off. Then the Marathas left the district for Daman, hoping to find less opposition there. But no permanent gain resulted from this campaign.

During Shivaji's absence (November 1676—March, 1678) the army left by him at home under Moro Trimbak in the Desh and Annaji Datto in the Konkan, naturally confined itself to the defence of the realm, without venturing to make any aggression. In November, 1677, however, Dattaji taking advantage of the crushing repulse of Dilir and Bahlol by the Golkonda troops (September) roved the inland parts of Kanara and looted Hubli. Early in January 1678, Moro Panth "plundered Trimbak, Nasik and other considerable places in the Mughal territory." Dilir Khan hastened there with the remnant of his broken army, (middle of February)

III

Shivaji's return home (March 1678), revived Maratha activity. The districts that he retained in Central and Eastern Mysore as the result of his Karnatak expedition, had to be connected with his old dominions by the conquest of the southern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur which consisted of the Kopal region north of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district, as well as parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts intervening between Kopal and Panhala. This country was held by two Afghans, Husain Khan Mian of Sampgaon (Belgaum) and his brother

Qasim Khan of Kopal. They were fellow clansmen of Bahlol Khan, and it seems probable that on the death of that chief and the ruin of his family, the defence of these tracts, formerly included in his jagir, was entrusted to them.

Husain Khan was as high and powerful a noble as Bahlol Khan, a brave general renowned for his martial spirit, and commanding 5000 Pathan archers, lancers, musketeers and artillery men. The fort of Kopal was secured by Moro Pant from Qasim Khan for a price. Husain Khan is said by Chitnis (p 142) to have disputed Shivaji's passage by the Kopal Gadag route and to have been repulsed. Some time afterwards he was defeated and captured by Hambir Rao near Sampgaon, but dismissed by Shivaji with honour.

Kopal (105 miles due south of Bijapur and a slightly greater distance south-east of Belgaum) is the gate of the south," and its possession enabled the Maratha dominion to be extended to the bank of the Tungabhadra river and even across it into the Bellary and Chittaldurg districts. Many of the local chieftains who had long defied the Bijapur government and withheld taxes in this ill-subdued border country, were now chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience, among them being the poligars of Kanakgiri (25 miles N. E. of Kopal), Harpan halli (40 miles S. of Kopal), Raydurg Chittaldurg, Vidyanagar (? old Vyaynagar) and Bundikot (? Gudicota, 45 miles E. of Harpan halli). This country was now formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardin Narayan Hanuante as viceroy.

In the meantime, a few days after Shivaji's return to Panhala, his troops attacked Mungi pattan, on the Godavari, 30 miles south of Aurangabad (M 1 160). It was probably next month that they made a second attempt to get possession of Shivner. They invested the village (of Junnar) at its foot and at night tried to scale the fort. Three hundred Marathas climbed the fort walls at night by means of nooses and rope ladders. But Abdul Aziz Khan was an expert *qiladar*. Though he had sent away his sons and followers to reinforce the saujdar Labiya Khan in the village he personally with a few men slew all the infantry of Shivaji who had entered the fort. Next morning he hunted out the few who had concealed themselves

in the hill [side] below the fort and among rocks and holes, and released them with presents, sending a message to Shivaji to the effect, 'So long as I am *qiladar*, you will never take this fort.' " (*Dil* 157)

IV

A rupture now took place between Shiva and Qutb Shah, and the diplomatic system so patiently built up by Madanna Pandit fell to the ground. Qutb Shah's indignation had been rising as he found himself made a mere cat's paw of Shiva in the Karnatak adventure. He had borne all the expenses of the expedition and supplied artillery and an auxiliary force for it. But not one of the conquered forts was given to him, not one pie of his contribution repaid out of the fabulous booty carried away by Shiva from that land of gold. And now the Maratha plot to capture Bijapur by treachery destroyed the last trace of patience in the Golkonda king, especially as he had been playing for some years past the flattering role of a chivalrous friend and protector of the boy Adil Shah. So, Abul Hassan arranged for a peace between the new Bijapur regent, Siddi Masaud, and his rivals (especially Sharza Khan), helped him with money to pacify the unpaid mutinous soldiery, and bound him to wage war against Shiva and 'confine him to the Konkan.' The Adil Shahi nobles prepared to open the campaign in October next, with about 25,000 cavalry and numerous infantry. But Dhir Khan spoiled the whole plan.

Dhir Khan had exacted heavy and humiliating concessions from Siddi Masaud when he made peace with him at Kulbarga (Nov., 1677). The odium of that treaty fell on the new regent, and all the disorders in the State and all the sufferings of the people were laid at his door. Distracted by domestic factions, daily insulted and threatened by the Afghan soldiers and hopeless of preventing 'Shiva's boundless violence and encroachments' with the resources of the ruined, divided and bankrupt State, Siddi Masaud wanted to come to terms with Shivaji, but Dhir Khan forbade it, assuring him that the imperial army was ready to help him in fighting the Marathas. Masaud was, however, too bewildered by the disturbances in all parts of the country to listen to this advice. He wrote to Shiva, 'We are neighbours. We eat the

same salt. You are as deeply concerned in [the welfare of] this State as I am. The enemy [i.e., Mughals] are day and night trying to ruin it. We two ought to unite and expel the foreigner."

At the news of these negotiations, Dhir Khan grew angry and set himself to conquer Bijapur. Only respect for treaties had kept him from doing so before, but Masaud's breach of faith absolved him from the obligation to spare the Adil Shah. And he now received a most unexpected accession of strength. Shivaji's eldest son Shrambhuj was the curse of his old age. This youth of nineteen was violent, capricious, unsteady, thoughtless and notoriously depraved in his morals. For his outrage on a married Brahman woman he had been confined in Panhala fort, but escaped with his wife Yessu Bai and a few comrades to join Dhir Khan. Shivaji sent a force in pursuit, but it was too late. Dhir Khan, on getting Shrambhuj's letter, had detached from his camp at Bahadurgarh 4,000 men under Ikhlās Khan (the commander of his Vanguard) and Ghairat Khan (his nephew) to advance and escort the fugitive. They met him 8 miles south of Supa, and Dhir himself joined them at Karkumb, 12 miles further north-east. Dhir Khan was thrown into a transport of joy at the desertion of Shivaji's heir to his side. He felt as happy as if he had conquered the whole Deccan! (*B S* 415.)

He beat his drums in joy and sent a report to the Emperor. Shrambhuj was created a 7 hazari and a Rajah and presented with an elephant" (*Dil* 159). This happened in November, 1678. The Khan with his valuable new ally, halted at Akhuj (50 miles south of Bahadurgarh) for some time to prepare for the invasion of Bijapur.

V

In this danger Siddi Masaud immediately asked for help from Shiva as agreed upon. The Rajah sent six to seven thousand well-armed cavalry to guard Bijapur. Masaud could not fully trust his ally, he asked the Maratha contingent to halt beside the stream of the village Itangihal (5 m N.W. of the city), but they came nearer, encamped at Khanapur and Khasrapur, and demanded that one of the gates and towers of the fort should be entrusted to them. Masaud wisely declined. Then they moved to Zuhrapur

and encamped on the plain just outside the walls thus increasing Masaud's suspicion. Soon the allies began to quarrel openly. The Marathas were detected in trying to smuggle arms and men into the fort, by concealing the arms in sacks of grain and disguising themselves as drivers of the pack oxen! Then Shiva threw off the mask. He began to plunder and devastate Adil Shah's territory again. His men looted the suburbs of Bijapur—Daulatpura (=Khawaspura) Khusrapur and Zuhrapura and carried off the rich *banias* for ransom. Near the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Kharwas Khan, they slew Ali Raza and wounded Siddi Yaqut. But when they reached the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah west of the city a shot from the fort guns killed the Maratha commander and the men fled away. Masaud now made peace with Dhir Khan.

A Mughal force was invited to Bijapur royally welcomed and sent off with a Bijapur army under Venkatadri Murari (the confidant of the Regent) and other officers against the Marathas. They reached Tikota (13 Miles W. of Bijapur) when spies brought the report that Shiva himself had arrived at Selgur (55 Miles W. of Bijapur and the same distance east of Panhala) with 7 to 8 thousand men and wanted to make a night attack on the Mughal or the Bijapur army whichever would advance first. But a new quarrel between Masaud and Sharza Khan paralysed the power of Bijapur.

VI

Dhir Khan next marched to the fort of Bhupalgarh (20 miles N W. of Jath and 45 miles S W. of Pandharpur) situated among the Majra hills which Shivaji had built as a store house of his property and the refuge of the families of his subjects in the neighbourhood during his wars with the Mughals. By great labour the imperialists dragged some guns to the top of a neighbouring height during the night and next morning began to batter the walls and towers. The assault was launched about 9 a.m. and the Mughals fought with vigour till noon when the fort was captured after heavy slaughter on both sides. Vast quantities of grain and other property and large numbers of people were captured by the victors. Seven survivors of the garrison were de-

of one hand and then set free the

other captives were evidently sold into slavery.

Before this Shivaji had sent 16,000 horse to relieve the fort. They arrived too late but hovered on the four sides of the Mughals. Suddenly they learnt that Iraj Khan and Bajaji Rao [Nimbalkar] were bringing provisions from Pandara to the besieging army, and then they immediately set off rapidly to intercept the convoy. But Dhir Khan detached Ikhlas Khan with 1500 cavalry to the aid of Iraj Khan. Twelve miles from Bhupalgarh he overtook the Marathas. Ikhlas Khan's small force was enveloped and he took refuge in a walled village and repelled the Maratha assault with his back to the wall doing great havoc among the enemy with his artillery, and slaying nearly one thousand of Shiva's men. Then large reinforcements arrived from Dhir Khan at whose approach the Marathas fled. Dhir then returned to Bhupalgarh, burnt everything that he could not carry off, dismantled its fortifications and returned to Dhulkhed [B.S. 418-419, Dil 160. Chitnis 176 differs].

The fugitive Marathas however, scored a success. Near Karkamb (30 miles south of Pandara) they fell in with Iraj Khan, looted all his grain and the property of his troops and forced him to flee with a few men into a small fort hard by, where he was afterwards relieved by his kinsman Mir Muhammad Khan, the *qiladar* of Pandara (Dil 161).

The fall of Bhupalgarh took place about March, 1679. Then followed a period of puzzling intrigue and counter-intrigue between the Mughal viceroy and the Bijapur nobility, and also quarrels between Masaud and Sharza Khan, Masaud and Dhir, and Masaud and his favourite Venkatadri.

VII

On 16th August, Dhir crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed 40 m. due north of Bijapur, and opened a new campaign against Masaud. That helpless regent begged aid from Shivaji, sending to him an envoy named Hindu Rao charged with this piteous appeal. The condition of this royalty is not hidden from you. There is no army, money or ally for defending the fort and no provision at all. The enemy is strong and ever bent on war. You are a hereditary servant elevated by this

court. And, therefore, you will feel for this house more than others can. We cannot defend the kingdom and its forts without your aid. Be true to your salt, turn towards us. Command what you consider proper and it shall be done by us." (B. S. 427.)

Shiva undertook the defence of Bijapur, ordered 10,000 of his cavalry to reinforce Masaud, sent from his forts 2000 ox loads of provisions to the city and bade his subjects send grain and other necessities to Bijapur for sale, so that the citizens and soldiers there might not suffer scarcity. His envoy Visaji Nilkanth reached Masaud with a cheering message, "You hold the fort. I shall go out and punish Dhir Khan as he deserves." Visaji reported to the regent that 5000 Maratha troopers had reached Anapur (20 m. S. E. of Miraj) and 5000 others Bhupalgarh, waiting for his call to come when needed (B. S. 427.)

The Mughals took Mangalvide (Sept.) and came nearer to Bijapur. Masaud conciliated Sabaji Ghatge and sent him with the army of Turgal to Indi (28 m. N. of Bijapur). This detachment had a skirmish with Shambhaji who was out foraging, about fifteen men were slain on each side, Sabaji was wounded but captured 50 horses, 50 oxen, and 4 camels from the enemy. Shivaji's envoy now reached Bijapur with Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] at the head of 2500 horse. They were welcomed by Masaud and stationed in the Nauraspura suburb. Bajaji [Nimbalkar], now in Mughal service, laid siege to the fort of Akhij, but a Bijapur general named Bahadur marched up from Sangula (32 m. S.) and drove him away.

But on 15th September, Dhir Khan left his camp at Dhulkhed and came very close to Bijapur, reaching Baratgi, 6 m. N. E. of the city, on 7th October. Here he halted and held palavers with Masaud's envoys. On 30th October Shivaji arrived at Selgur, midway between Panhala and Bijapur, with 10,000 cavalry. His first detachment left Nauraspur next day to welcome him there. Shiva wanted to visit Adil Shah, Masaud permitted him to come with an escort of 500 men only. But the Peshwa More Trimbak dissuaded Shivaji from falling into the power of Masaud by entering the fort.

So, on 4th November, 1679, the Maratha king divided his army into two bodies

he himself with 8 or 9 thousand troopers started by the road of Muslah and Almala, and Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] with 10,000 cavalry by way of Man and Sangula, to raid the Mughal dominions and recall Dhir from the environs of Bijapur. But Dhir Khan, to whom the capture of Bijapur seemed easy, paid no heed to the Maratha plunder and devastation of those provinces, which were a familiar annual evil, and hoped for the highest rewards from the expected conquest of the Adil Shahi capital. So, he pressed his attack on it, without retreating.

But his siege of Bijapur was a failure. After vainly trying to make peace with Masaud, he left the environs of the city on 14th November and marched westwards, intending to invade the Miraj Panhala region and create a diversion there, which would quickly recall Shiva home. The scheme seemed promising, as Shambhaji bragged of his ability to capture forts quickly with his Maratha followers and thus make the progress of the imperialists easy, while the petty chiefs (Nayak wars) of Miraj had been already won over by a Mughal agent.

But his first work was to ravage the Bijapuri territory with insane cruelty. By way of Bahmanah, Maknapur, and Jalgeri, he reached Tikota (13 m. W. of Bijapur), a rich and populous village, where the wealthy men of the neighbourhood had taken refuge with their families. "The Mughals were utterly unexpected. When Ikhlas Khan with [Dhir's] Vanguard arrived there and began to plunder it, the wives of the Hindus and Muslims with their children jumped into the wells near their houses and committed suicide. The village was utterly sacked. Nearly 3000 men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner [for being sold into slavery]. Leaving Tikota on 18th November, by way of Honvad and Telsing, ravaging the country and carrying off the people as slaves, the imperialists reached Athni (43 m. W. of Bijapur). Here, according to the English factory records, a breach took place between the Mughal general and his Maratha ally Athni, "a considerable mart," was burnt down and Dhir proposed to sell the inhabitants who were all Hindus. Shambhaji objected to it, but was overruled, and began to grow sick of his associates. On 31st November,

Dilr left Athur for Anjapur 12 miles westwards but learnt on the way that Shambhuji had fled away to Bijapur.

Since his coming over to the Mughals in November 1678 Shambhuji had been constantly approached by Shivaji's agents with all sorts of persuasions and promises to return to his father. Even Mahadji Nimalkar his brother-in-law though now a Mughal servant censured him for his act of desertion (Shambhuji reported the matter to Dilr who put Mahadji in confinement for some days *Dil* 160). But by this time Shambhuji had made up his mind to leave the Mughals. In the night of 20th November he slipped out of the camp with his wife Yessu Bai disguised in male attire and only 10 troopers for escort rode hard to Bijapur in the course of the day and was warmly received by Masaud. Dilr promptly returned towards Bijapur on learning of Shambhuji's flight on the 21st, and sent an agent Khwajah Abdur Razaq to that city to bribe the regent to capture the Maratha prince (23th). In the night of the 30th Shambhuji, getting scent of the matter issued in secret from Bijapur met a body of cavalry sent by his father to escort him and galloped away to Panhala which he reached about the 2nd of December.

VIII

We shall now trace the history of Shivaji's movements from 4th November 1679 when he marched out to raid the Mughal dominions in order to create a diversion for the relief of Bijapur. The campaign was not an unbroken success for him. As the Bombay Council wrote on 1 Jan 1680:

He hath both lost and gained. Near Bijapur he was attacked (middle of November) and utterly routed by Dilr Khan who captured from him 2000 horses besides prisoners. The defeated Rajah fled to Pattagarh (Vishramgarh) with only 300 cavalry, having lost the greater part of his army and summoned Moro Trimbak and Annaji Datto to a council of war there.

The Peshwa had himself just suffered a reverse in advancing towards Surat, he had been defeated and driven back by Ramdas Khan a Pathan general with the loss of 2000 men killed and 100 horses captured.

As Dilr Khan was advancing westwards from Bijapur (middle of November) and seemed intent on laying siege to Panhala, and the presence of Shambhuji in the enemy's camp threatened a civil war in the Maratha State, Shivaji tried to convert Panhala into an impregnable refuge by removing to it the guns of many of his other forts besides 40 pieces brought from the French. As early as 24th November he had sent Somaji the brother of Annaji Datto to remove about 30 pieces of artillery from the forts of Ankola, Karwar, Someshwar, and Phonda, and drag them to Panhala by the strength of men and buffaloes.

A grand attempt was made to retrieve the two disasters of the middle of November. Towards the end of that month a fresh army of 12,000 men was assembled near Rajapur in S. Konkan. They looted and burnt that town (26th) and set out (28th) for Burhanpur, but on the way they turned aside to the right towards Malkapur. Shivaji had been greatly relieved by the return of his prodigal son Shambhuji to Panhala (2nd December). At the head of 20,000 horse he set out and overtook his army. The Maratha flood swept into West Khandesh plundering Dharangaon Chopra, (4th-6th Dec.), and other rich trade centres and then turning sharply to the south entered Balaghat, and reached Jalna a populous town only 40 miles due east of Aurangabad.

Here the godly saint, Sayyid Jan Muhammad had his hermitage in a garden in the suburbs. As Shiroji always spared the holy men and holy places of all religions most of the wealthy men of Jalna had taken refuge in this hermitage with their money and jewels. The raiders finding very little booty in the town and learning of the concealment of wealth in the saint's abode, entered it and robbed the refugees wounding many of them. The holy man appealed to them to desist but they only abused and threatened him for his pains (*K. K.* ii 271 *Dil* 163 *T. S.* § 58). Then the man of God who had marvellous efficacy of prayer, cursed Shivaji, and popular

* According to Sabhasad 93 Aurangzeb wrote to Dilr to arrest Shambhuji and send him a prisoner to Delhi but the Mughal general to keep his word to his guest informed the Maratha prince of the letter and counselled at his flight. Unlikely story. *B. S.* 430 says that Aurangzeb summoned Shambhuji to court.

† Patta 20 m. S. of Nasik and 20 m. E. of Thal.

belief ascribed the Rajah's death five months afterwards to his curses

Retribution visited the Maratha army very much sooner. Jalna, both town and suburb, was thoroughly plundered and devastated for four days. Then as the Marathas, loaded with booty consisting of "countless gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, elephants and camels", were retreating, an enterprising Mughal officer, Ranmast Khan*, attacked their rear guard, (near Sanganner according to Duff, 1 289) Shidhoji Nimbalkar with 5000 men opposed him for some days, but was at last slain with many of his men. In the meantime, the Mughals had received very heavy reinforcements from Aurangabad, (20,000 men), and they now threatened to envelop and cut off the entire Maratha army. Under the guidance of Bahirji, his chief spy, Shivaji, after three days and nights of anxious and ceaseless marching, escaped from the ring of his enemies by an obscure path † But he had to sacrifice much of his booty, besides losing 4000 cavalry killed and Hambir Rao, his commander in chief, wounded. This happened towards the end of December, and Shivaji retired to Panhala to meet his recovered son.

The credit of this victory over the Marathas must be given to the troops immediately under Prince Muazzam, the viceroy of Aurangabad, who had returned to the Deccan "with a vast army" (V A 169) in November, 1678. Dhir Khan was too far away in the south near Bijapur, and too closely engaged with the enemy there to have taken part in the fighting near Jalna ‡

* Ranmast Khan brother of Khizr Khan Panu received a robe of honour from the Emperor on 18 September 1682 and was created Bahadur Khan in August next (V A 222 235). T S speaks of him as thanahdar of Qadard of Jalna at this time. We afterwards meet him as thanahdar of Akur (Dil).

† According to Sabh 93 Shivaji wanted to retreat by the Jagduri route. The nearest approach to this name that I can find in the environs of Sanganner is Jakbori 3 m S E (Ind II Sheet 38).

‡ Sabhasad mentions no Maratha military enterprise between Shivaji's battle with Ranmast Khan and his death. BS contradicts the theory that the Marathas at all opposed Dhir Khan during these four months. The English records are silent. But Chitani (176-177) says that Shivaji on his return from Jalna expelled Dhir Khan from Bijapur territory, recovered Bhupalsgarh and Bahadur Banda, and sent Moro Pant with 20,000 men to invade Baglana and capture 27 forts from the Mughals there. All these

IX

The recent rebellion of Shambhaji had revealed the serious danger that threatened the newly founded Maratha kingdom. The character of his eldest son filled Shivaji with the gloomiest anticipations of the future. A profligate, capricious and cruel youth, devoid of every spark of honour, patriotism or religious fervour, could not be left sole master of Maharashtra. And yet, the only alternative to Shambhaji was Raja Ram, a boy of ten, whose accession would have meant a long regency. But there was such mutual jealousy and discord among the old ministers of the State, especially between Moro Trimbak, the premier, and Annaji Datto, the viceroy of the West, that a council of regency would have broken up in civil war and the ruin of the State as surely as the Poona council of ministers did a century later. A division of the kingdom between the two princes was then contemplated, but the idea was very wisely given up.

Shivaji tried hard to conciliate and reason with Shambhaji. He appealed to all the nobler instincts of the prince as well as to his self interest, read him many a lecture, showed him his treasury, revenue returns, list of forts and muster rolls, and urged him to be worthy of such a rich heritage and to be true to all the high hopes which his own reign had raised in the Hindu world. But a born judge of character like Shivaji must have soon perceived that his sermons were falling on deaf ears, and hence his last days were clouded by despair.

The evil was aggravated by intrigues within his harem. At the age of 47 he had

exploits in January or February 1680 appear to me improbable, as Shivaji was preoccupied with domestic troubles.

* According to Sabh 72 Shivaji married six wives besides the mother of Shambhaji. Mr Rajwade (Vol IV Intro 53) infers from the *Life of Ramdas* that Shivaji had three wives and two concubines. On 27 May 1674 Mr Henry Oxenden wrote from Raigarh. The Rajah was and is still so busy about his coronation and marriage with two other [blank in the MS. record] women that it was yesterday before we had audience. Under 8th June 1674 he writes. The Rajah was married to a fourth (F.R. Surat Vol 88). From a letter of Narayan Shenvi to the Deputy Governor of Bombay, dated 4 April 1674 we learn I arrived at Raigarh on 24th March. An order [awe] from varo Pasdit that I should remain in a house until the time of mourning was over for the death of Raja Shivaji's wife which I did resting there five days (Ibid). So, one wife of Shivaji died in March 1674.

made the mistake of marrying three young women though he had a wife and two sons living. His old wife, Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, felt herself neglected by her husband and tried all kinds of charms and love-philtres to win back his affection from her more youthful rivals. Shivaji's harem was, therefore, a scene of veiled warfare,—the queens plotting against one another through their maids, doctors and magicians, and the poor husband trying to find some quiet by sleeping outside (Dig 458). The question of succession which was constantly discussed during the earlier months of 1680 intensified this conflict of wives. After December, 1679 Shivaji's health seems to have declined (Chit 180), and he seems to have had a premonition of the approach of death (Sabh 101). This fact made the choice of an heir a live issue and the plots and counterplots in the harem and cabinet thickened in consequence.

X

On 24th March, 1680, the Raja was seized with fever and dysentery. The illness continued for twelve days. Gradually all hopes of recovery faded away and then after giving solemn charges and wise counsels to his nobles and officers, and consoling the weeping assemblage with assurances of the spirit's immortality in spite of the perishableness of the body, the maker of the Maratha nation performed the last rites of his religion and then

fell into a trance, which imperceptibly passed into death. It was the noon of Sunday, 5th April, 1680, the full moon of the month of Chaitra.

He had not yet completed 53 years of age. The Muslim world ascribed his premature death to the curse of the saint Sayyid Jan Muhammad of Jalna. In Maharashtra there were ugly whispers of his wife Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, having administered poison to him to prevent his giving the throne to Shambhaji. The earliest mention of this charge is in the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, one extant MS of which is at least as old as 1780. It is repeated in the *Shivaji Digvijaya*, p. 462. Both these works are based on an earlier Marathi history now lost.

The oldest Marathi *bakhar*, that of Sabhasad, is silent on the point, and with good reason. A servant of Raja Ram, in a book written by order of that king and for his eyes, could not possibly have mentioned his mother's murder of her husband even if it had been true. Chitnis tells us that Shambhaji on his accession put Sayra Bai to death on the charge of having poisoned Shivaji, but it was in all probability a false pretext for wreaking vengeance on his step-mother for her late attempt to crown her son. Readers of Macaulay's account of the death of Charles II will remember how at that very time in Europe hardly a sovereign died without the event being ascribed to poison.

JADUNATH SARKAR

TAXILA A MEETING-GROUND OF NATIONS.

West is West, and East is East
Let once for a while at least
The twin forsooths meet

FOR nearly ten centuries, ending with the fifth after Christ, Taxila is said to have been a meeting-ground of nations,—of the West and of the East,—of the Persians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, and the Kushans.

The prompt publication of a *Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall has been a welcome addition to the literature on the subject. It is an illustrated hand-book,

dealing with Topography, History, Art and an account of excavations, commenced near Sarai kala, twenty miles north west of Rawalpindi.

The Persian touch, if any, was perhaps an indirect one. The Macedonian contact, though direct, was extremely transitory. But the other nations actually enjoyed a longer direct connection. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this ancient locality. Information is, however, still "singularly meagre" in spite of the accounts of Greek and Chinese writers.

The name Taxila is of course of foreign

origin It is a foreign corruption of the Indian name Takshasila, a capital and a University town, famous for the Arts and Sciences of the age Its origin is lost in oblivion It is generally admitted that it had an earlier existence than many cities of the ancient world Its remains are situated in a well watered valley, protected by a girdle of hills, in the districts of Rawalpindi and Hazara Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other, stand the sites of three distinct cities, now known as the Bhir mound, Sirkap, and Sirsukh, of which the first has been found to be the most ancient of all Sirkap and Sirsukh, though situated in India, were founded by foreign invaders,—the one by the Bactrian Greeks, and the other by the Kushans

The belief that Taxila was once included in the Indian possessions of the Achaemenid Empire of Persia, founded by Cyrus (558-529 B C), before the advent of the Buddha, rests chiefly on the testimony of Herodotus, corroborated by an inscription in Aramaic characters (p 75), discovered amidst the ruins of the second city, Sirkap The real import of this ancient record is, however, still shrouded in mystery According to one authority, it refers to 'the erection of a Palace of cedar and ivory,' according to another to 'a private compact and the penalty to be paid for breaking it' (p 76) From the mention of 'a new Indian satrapy' in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and on his tomb at Naksh-e Rostam, historians suggest that Taxila was probably 'included in the Achaemenid Empire of Persia' (p 8)

The Macedonian connection stands upon evidence of a different character, more direct and undeniable Taxila was under an Indian Prince named Ambhi, who was at war with his neighbour, Porus He readily sided with Alexander the Great in his expedition against the common enemy In consequence of this compact, the Macedonian hero encamped at Taxila for a few days Whatever political relationship might have thus been temporarily patched up, it was promptly swept away by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, at the time of the expulsion of Seleucus Nicator from all his Indian possessions as far as the Hindu Kush

Chandragupta, his son Bindusara, and

his grandson Asoka, managed to maintain their occupation of Taxila, inspite of local insurrections to assert independence As Crown Prince, Asoka and his son acted as Viceroy of this frontier province The fall of their Empire offered an opportunity to the Bactrian Greeks (described by Sir John by the appropriate name of Eurasians) to regain their lost possession of Taxila They held it for a time during which some of them adopted the faith and culture of India All other foreigners, who occupied Taxila in later times, were pure Asiatics in origin

Thus, there could be no direct influx of European influence through the gates of Taxila Any influence, which could be directly exerted by the Eurasian Greeks, belonged to a period subsequent to the fall of the Maurya Empire It was confined to the area then actually under their occupation The epithet "Hellenistic" is usually applied to such influence, and Sir John Marshall has not accordingly discarded this epithet He has, however, admitted the existence of an Early Indian Art before the influx of any foreign influence, and has referred his readers to his contributions to the forthcoming Cambridge History of India on the subject

There is no real evidence, as Sir John has readily admitted, to support the assumption that Persian influence found its way into Indian art at the time "when the Persian Empire extended over the north west" (pp 23 24) "A more reasonable view," according to him; "is that the fusion of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great" and that the hybrid art, there evolved, was introduced into India, either as a direct result of the peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia, or as a result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans, all of whom must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with Graeco-Persian culture" (p 24)

A further reasonable view, as a corollary to this, appears to be inevitable It is, that "the colonisation by Alexander the Great," and the consequent "fusion" of art in the Bactrian colony, must have required a reasonable time, so that the influence of the fused art could not have been introduced into India. It

might have been more probably and more effectively introduced by subsequent invasions than by peaceful intercourse during the Earlier Maurya age

Foreign influence upon Indian art is a complex problem, which can hardly be solved conclusively with our present state of knowledge. The real sources of knowledge, literary and monumental, have not yet been adequately tapped. An intelligent combination of the two, and a correct appreciation of their varying relations, have been deemed necessary to discover the foundation for a scientific study. Some writers have, however, started a startling proposition that 'Roman art and Roman culture extended their influence as far as Northern India' (p 31). Here Sir John has, with commendable promptness, cleared the ground by pointing out that this opinion is 'based on a fundamental error as to the genesis of Roman Imperial art, and the relation in which it stood to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia' (p 32).

The observations of Sir John that (i) the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria, and that (ii) the real crucible of fusion was Western Asia, should be reconciled to imply that the first fusion had taken place in Western Asia, and the second in Bactria, before the influence of the double hybrid actually penetrated into India. The epithet Greek or Hellenistic, applied to this ultimate product, must, therefore, be understood in an extraordinary sense for want of a better name.

Says Sir John,

'In spite of its wide diffusion, Hellenistic art never took the real hold upon India that it took for example upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were radically dissimilar. To the Greek man was beauty man's intellect were everything and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the keynote of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal by the infinite rather than the finite. Where Greek thought was ethical his was spiritual where Greek was rational, his was emotional' (p 33).

This well grounded observation at once takes away from Hellenistic art all questionable claims which relate to its having modified the fundamentals of Indian art undoubtedly played an important part, but much misconception

seems to linger as to its exact nature and extent. According to Sir John,

'It promoted the development of the early National School of Indian art. This signal service is said to have been rendered in two different ways—(i) by clearing the path of technical difficulties, and (ii) by strengthening the growth with new and enervating ideals' (p 32).

According to this view, art was to the Indian

'a thing apart—a sensuous concrete expression of the beautiful which appealed intimately to his sub-conscious æsthetic sense, but in which neither intellectuality nor mysticism had any share. For the rest he found in the formative arts a valuable medium in which to narrate, in simple and universal language, the legends and history of his faith and this was mainly why, for the sake of its lucidity and dramatic power he welcomed and absorbed the lessons of Hellenistic art, not because he sympathised with its ideals or saw in it the means of giving utterance to his own' (pp 33-34).

This view contradicts the indiscriminate common opinion that "foreign influence underlies the whole fabric of Indian art". It also contradicts the other opinion that "foreign influence was almost a negligible factor". It strikes a middle course, and adopts a "golden mean". In this, it gives credit to Indian art for an extraordinary feat, inasmuch as the lessons of Hellenistic art are said to have been 'welcomed and absorbed' although the ideals of Greek art 'failed to awaken any response in the Indian mind'.

This view, the latest on the subject, deserves a careful consideration. It has to be tested by the testimony of the relics, which lie buried in India. No better site than Taxila, the meeting ground of nations, could be selected for the purpose, and no better person than Sir John Marshall could be found to direct and conduct the investigation. A classical scholar of special attainments Sir John came out to India with well earned experience in Archaeology by reason of practical work in Crete under the guidance of distinguished authorities on the subject. His Indian experience has added fresh laurels to his cap. Archaeological exploration at Taxila could not, therefore, have been commenced under better auspices.

The work is still in progress. We have yet to hear the last word on the subject. Meanwhile we are grateful to Sir John for the prompt publication of all up-to-date information. So far as it goes, and it goes far enough for all practical purposes, no relic of undoubted pre-Maurya period

has yet been brought to light. This has obliged Sir John to declare in all candidness that "the history of Indian art at present opens for us in the Maurya age" (p 24)

According to the Chronology, pieced together and published in Chapter II (pp 20-22), this age lasted for little over three quarters of a century between 317 and 232 B.C., ending with the reign of Asoka, well known for extraordinary building activity.

Materials to illustrate the state of Indian art of this period are as yet few and far between, although the building activity clearly suggests an undeniable advancement. Sir John ascribes it to foreign agency, and holds that "the indigenous art had not yet emerged from the primitive stage." According to him, "The rudimentary character of the Indian art of this period is well exemplified by the current indigenous coins, known commonly as 'punch marked' which are singularly crude and ugly, neither their form, which is unsymmetrical, nor the symbols, which are stamped almost indiscriminately upon their surface, having any pretensions to artistic merit" (p 24).

This opinion seems to be based upon the assumption that the indigenous coins correctly represented the artistic capacity of the age. The crudeness of coins might, however, be due to neglect. The necessity of minted coin had not yet arisen in India to deserve any attention of the Sovereign or to call for an organised system of manufacture. The shroffs used to impress the "punch marks," to serve the immediate purpose of regulating the current value. The very name, 'Coin,' was unknown. Even now, in our own day, uncoined copper bits (*dhehuas*) are in use in many parts of India. No one will seriously contend that they are relevant specimens of the Indian artistic capacity of our age. Crudeness of coins and highest artistic capacities remained a normal condition of Indian culture in almost all periods of history. The coins of Shahjahan carried no reflection of the Taj. In Greece the case was different, and the Greek Numismatic ideal was carried to the entire Hellenistic world.

Of those who held Taxila in turn in the historic period, the Mauryas alone were Indians. Their city still lies buried in the Bhir mound. Here the digging operations were very limited, being carried out

'mainly for the purpose of satisfying' Sir John "as to whether any remains existed" in the compound of his Bangalow, "before a small garden was planted out."

Some examples of foreign art are said to have been unearthed in the old cities lying buried at Sirkap and Sirsukh. When it is remembered that these two cities were not Indian except in the sense that they were founded on Indian soil, the discovery of examples of pure foreign art in them would not be a matter of surprise. But the examples, though foreign, are not completely foreign in every respect. They cannot also be looked upon as examples of Indian art in a true sense of the term. They may be rather looked upon as examples which reveal an influence of Indian upon the local foreign art of the age. Indianisation of foreigners is more in evidence than Hellenisation of Indians. There are records of traditional actual conversions of some of the Eurasian Greeks to the faiths of India, as in the cases of King Menander (Mihinda) and ambassador Heliodorus. But corresponding cases of conversion of Indians are not yet in evidence. Could the result have been different only in the case of art? Here too there might have been an influence of Indian art upon the Hellenistic, and the final result a complete Indianisation. One may reasonably hope to discover its first stage at Gandhara, the second in Taxila, the third at Mathura, and the last everywhere.

Sir John Marshall's painstaking work at Taxila may be rightly looked upon as the inauguration of a new era in Indian Archaeological investigation, — an era of method in spade work, of discrimination in conservation, of scientific solicitude in observation and classification, and of decidedly superior skill in illustrating the monumental records of the past. Let us hope that it will also be the inauguration of an era of mutual co-operation, of the European and Indian scholars, of the official seekers of truth, with Sir John Marshall as "guide, friend, and philosopher."

Many remains of palaces, private dwellings, religious and sepulchral edifices, together with sculptures, inscriptions, coins, and jewelleries, have already been unearthed. An inscribed silver scroll, deciphered and interpreted with skill and knowledge of which any Indologist may well be proud, has — that the ashes

of the Buddha were enshrined by a man of Balkh, on the fifteenth day of the month of Ashadha, in the year 136 of Aze, in a chapel at the *Dharmarajika* stupa, in the district of Tanuva at Takshasila (p 52). This shows the influence of Buddhism upon the foreigners of the age. Each relic, when minutely examined, may disclose the same evidence, that of Indianisation rather than Hellenisation, indicating vitality of the Indian culture of the time, not only in the domain of religion, but also in that of art, which, in India was, from its start, a hand maid of religion.

Sir John has offered an explanation of this. He says

The Greeks with their very elastic pantheon readily identified Indian gods with their own deities and just as in Italy they identified Minerva with Athena or Bacchus with Dionysus so in India they identified the sun god Surya with Apollo or Kama the god of love with their own Eros and they had no hesitation therefore, in paying the devotion to Siva or to Parvati to Visnu or to Lakshmi (p 26).

This explanation brings us very nearly to the fringe of a rational solution of the complex problem of foreign influence on Indian art. It may help us to cast off many confused notions of the past, and discover the real nature and extent of foreign influence, by encouraging a deeper study of the effect it produced in India. Frequent intercourse with foreign countries could not but have introduced into ancient India much that was not indigenous to the land. But as the indigenous art-ideals continu-

ed to remain unchanged, the final result in every case was a decided ultimate Indianisation. As in Greece, so in India nay, in every country, independence of art lies in its *perfection*, not in its *origin*. Brunn suggested an analogy to establish the independent character of Greek art in spite of foreign influence. "The Greeks," he said, "borrowed the alphabet from the Phœnicians, yet they wrote with it, not Phœnician, but their own tongue. Even so, they borrowed from their predecessors the alphabet of art, yet always, in art as in literature, spoke their own language." In India the language of art has always been Indian, and its alphabet may also be found in most cases to have been pre-eminently indigenous. It was for this reason that no hybrids were produced in India, as in Western Asia and Bactria. Here the result of foreign contact appears to have been an increased activity, a further development of the indigenous art, a development which cannot be said to have been achieved by any indiscriminate absorption of foreign lessons by way of blind imitation or reckless borrowing, but by gradual Indianisation, by bringing such examples and such lessons on a line with familiar Indian ideals. For this the casual adoption of a new form of decoration or capital, did not Hellenise Indian architecture, but supplied it with fresh devices to translate Indian thought into artistic forms.

A K MAITRA

INDIAN PORTRAITS

ONE of the fascinating contents of Indian painting is portraiture. The history, long as it is, has necessarily an unwritten beginning, but there are sources which make it possible to study its chief characteristics and gradual development even from a very early time.

Visual art as a medium of expression of form and colour excites human emotions. Thus for its emotional value the art of painting played a significant part in the religious ages and was largely utilised for ethical purposes. But it could

not always be content to live within a religious atmosphere. The purely representative aspect of pictorial art naturally led to the imitation of forms of familiarity. It was undoubtedly at this stage of art that the idea of portraiture was seriously considered. This would be quite consistent with human instincts. The mind, either of the primitive or of the most cultured, is and has ever been fascinated by the idea of a portrait.

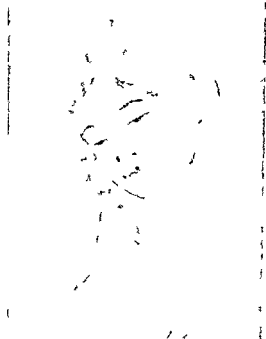
Nothing definite can be said about the nature of very early portraits for want of



A princess (Ajanta)

substantial records. But literary references and later records make it clear that they conveyed at least such distinct informations about individual persons as were necessary for their identification. The art of portraiture was very popular and evidently considered to be a part of general culture. The early portraits cannot be said to have been faultless representations or speaking likenesses. This want of dexterous realism need not necessarily lead us to undervalue them as works of art. They expressed the sense of form perhaps more truly than any of the modern portraits which try to capture fleeting expressions rather than delineate character. The early portraits attempted to establish the identity of individuals partly by rendering their features and partly by other associations significant or essential for their identification—a motif which was maintained even upto a very late period. Thus none of these portraits could be valued as mere graphic semblances of sitters but as expressions of forms, recollections of appearance and delineations of character suggesting something which the artists had to say—a psychological essential for a true portrait.

With this starting point, the correct estimation of the value of the early Indian portraits becomes easy. In literature



A princess (Ajanta)

they are described as *Chitra Phalikas*. Literally a *phalika* means a board. What these *phalikas* were made of, cannot be precisely determined but judging from the extant remains of painting of different periods and of different places, it may be said that they were probably painted on a prepared medium applied over slabs of terra cotta, stone or pieces of wood. Cloth could also have been used to paint on, but perhaps a painting on cloth would not be a *phalika* from the literal point of view. The *chitra sala* served the purpose of a picture gallery. Even princes we are told, learnt the art of painting and very often painted portraits of their beloved ones. Ladies also appear to have been very keen about painting. It is probable that they too learnt it as an accomplishment. The classic name *Chitra Lekha*, literally meaning one who looks like a picture, has an indirect bearing upon the tradition of portraiture.

Literary references show, that most of the early portraits were drawn from memory. This however need not give rise to an-



Shahyaban Durbar

painters of Akbar used to draw portraits from life. It is needless to suggest that portraits were not finished before the sitters but perhaps only sketches of the face were drawn from which several finished versions were prepared. This accounts for the usually large number of exactly similar copies of the same portrait. These copies may or may not be the work of the same artist. It cannot be laid down as a rule that copies prepared by different artists were always inferior to the originals. In most cases they bore the mark of inferiority but in some cases even if they were copies of a later period they are practically indistinguishable from the original. The typical poses and the stiff treatment of the drapery make it probable that they were not drawn from life.

The practice of drawing from life must have been in vogue long before the time of Akbar, as otherwise it would not have been possible to get such fine results in some of the early Moghal portraits. There could not be any doubt that most of the best and remarkable Moghal portraits were drawn from life. The characteristic excellence which pervades them could be attained only by a tradition of long standing. But in spite of this tradition imaginary portraits are not entirely wanting in this school. Such an example is shown in the supposed likeness of Alexander. The name of Alexander had a great fascination for the Moghals who idealised him as a famous hero. It is difficult to say what the origin of this portrait was. It is not improbable that the artist had seen some Iudo Scythian coin or sculpture from which he got an idea of the head dress.* As regards authenticity the portrait may be safely said to have none but it is an interesting example of an idealised and imaginary portrait. It was perhaps a portrait of Alexander similar to the one that William Moorcroft got from the large collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and about which he wrote

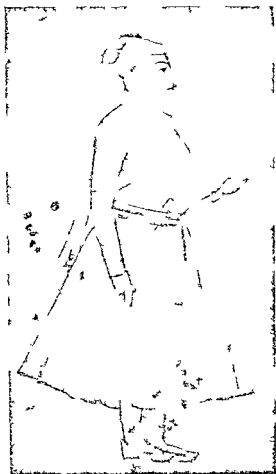
It represents him (Alexander) with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders. He wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by the chance.

Moorcroft's description tallies with the drawing reproduced here. It is noteworthy that the astute traveller did not throw any doubt on the authenticity of the likeness.

Another interesting reference to idealised portraits of the Moghal school is found in Fodds's Rajasthan.

The tyrant (Aurangzeb) had commanded pictures drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Seway and Doorga. Seva was drawn seated on a couch, Doorga in his ordinary position on horseback, 'toasting bhautes, or barley cakes with the point of his lance on a fire of maize-stalks. Aurangzeb at the first glance exclaimed, 'I may entrap that

* Similar to the Persian Bodi-eattwa painted on a wooden panel from Dandan Uliq-Pileh, Steiner at Khotan.



Joshj Nagarat.

fellow (mean og Sewaj) but th s dog s born to be my bane

Apparently these portraits could not have been drawn from life as it is inconceivable that the artists of the Moghal emperor could have access to his mortal enemies. But Aurangzebe seems to have been satisfied with them perhaps because they helped him in visualising his foes whom he could not see but felt their presence with discomfort and alarm.

The pose in Moghal portraits was more or less stiff and conventional. Equestrian portraits were also common. The face was generally drawn in profile, the three-quarter face was also freely drawn but the full face was seldom rendered and was a failure in most cases. Group portraits occurred in darbar and hunting scenes and other assemblies of the like. One chief characteristic element in all these portraits



Nar Japan

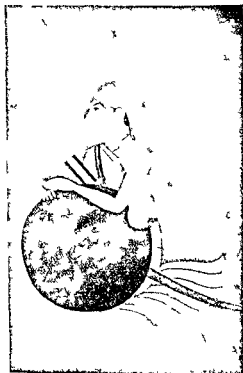
was that the artists very often attempted to contribute some peculiarities to the likenesses suggestive of the character, disposition, rank and sometimes the life history of the individuals represented. Thus we very often find Akbar holding a grand darbar, the zealous Aurangzebe no matter where he is reading the Quran, the satirical Mullah Do Iaza on a rickety horse, the love-distracted Sarmad wandering about unclad, the saintly Meera Bai holding a *chamar* or a lady playing on a *sitar* or gathering flowers in an exquisite garden. The background was never emphasised but very discreetly rendered to harmonise with the general effect of the portrait. A flat colour scheme with a few touches of gold to break the monotony of space was the most common motif of the background of single portraits. The background in portraits of ladies very often showed a decorative treatment in the form of a blossoming tree or a bed of flowers.

The Moghal school possesses portraits of ladies some of which are supposed to be

those of royal ladies. These although full of tenderness and great charm form the subject of a serious controversy. It is doubted whether they could be actual portraits of those whom they are supposed to represent. With reference to the portraits of Moghal court ladies Manucci a Venetian traveller who was in India during the latter part of the seventeenth century has noted "I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses for it is impossible to see them thanks to their

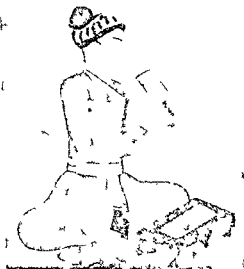


Raja Bhupatpal



A Rajput War or

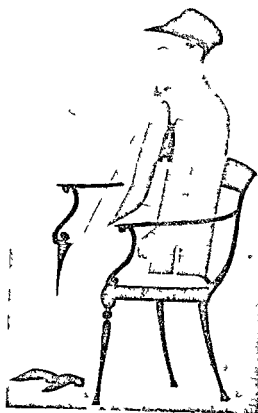
being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits they should not be accepted being only likenesses of concubines and dancing girls etc. which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy. There is no doubt some force in this remark but Manucci's assertion can not be said to be either definitely conclusive or uncontrovertible. It is true that conditions in India with regard to women were such as to make the possibility of obtaining their actual likenesses very meagre,



A Rajput



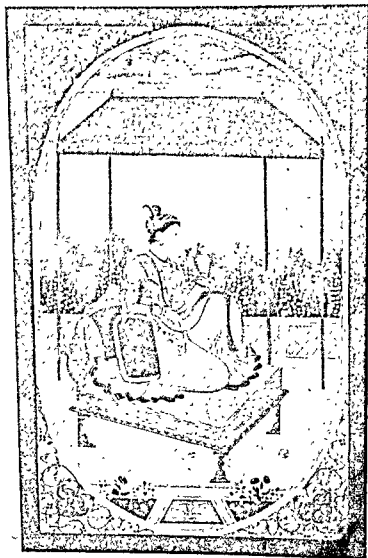
A Prince



Henry Lawrence

but it was not an impossibility. Woman has indeed been a hidden beauty in India but her delineation, in art, has never been wanting. Likenesses of noble ladies of the Moghal period are not so numerous as those of men. This is suggestive of the fact that these, whether actual or imaginary, likenesses were accorded some kind of privacy. It is true that portraits of ladies were more or less idealistic but they do not appear either unnatural or lack in the delineation of character. Manucci's warning may sound reasonable but it clearly shows that even during his time portraits of ladies were found and some of these at least were said to be those of royal ladies. This proves that the act of inscribing portraits of ladies as likenesses of royal princesses is not a purely modern invention. The ladies inside the zenana were undoubtedly placed beyond the gaze of artists but it does not seem utterly impossible that they might have made some concession to artists for the sake of portraits. There is a very popular belief that artists were

allowed to see the reflections of ladies on the surface of the water in a well through the door of an underground apartment which enabled the artists to draw portraits. The idea is more or less fascinating but hardly deserving of serious consideration but there must be some essential truth at the root of this tradition. Be that as it may we cannot get over the fact that likenesses of ladies were produced. Whether they were of royal ladies or those of concubines of princes is a matter for careful study. Even if they are portraits of concubines it does not become quite clear how they could be portrayed for the concubines of royal princes would perhaps be as much in the zenana as the royal and other noble ladies. Then there are certain paintings which show a Moghal emperor for instance Jahangir with a lady wearing a royal crown. Such a portrait would apparently be not that of a concubine. A portrait like this must have been meant to be kept in the possession of



Raja Sansar Chand

emperor, and it does not appear at all plausible that artists could have taken the liberty of associating royal princes with dancing girls or concubines in their work. Besides the majority of the likenesses of ladies of the Moghal school are those of women who had a political career, such as Jodh Bai, Nur Jehan, Mumtaz Mahal, Zeb-un-Nissa, Chand Bibi and a few others. In their case at least, and particularly of

the Rajput princesses, it could be supposed that they suffered themselves to be painted. This need not necessarily suggest that artists had a free access to them. We know that Moghal ladies were fairly cultured. Some of them were poets. Princes learnt painting; could not princesses also learn it? Eunuchs had free access both to the zenana and outside, any of whom could have had some training in drawing. Artists could work from sketches made inside the zenana.* These are perhaps idle conjectures and they will remain so to historians and antiquarians, but they certainly have the merit of suggesting that more or less reliable portraits of royal ladies could be had even in case male artists had no direct access to them. It is difficult to say whether any internal evidence will ever be forthcoming to establish the authenticity of these portraits; but it must be said that the want of it should not underrate their value both as objects of historical interest and works of art. In the absence of other authentic portraits these ought to be accepted as genuine ones, more particularly when the doubt on their reliability is thrown by a foreigner whose know-

ledge of the country was essentially superficial and who, judging from the pictures he procured, was not competent to pass judgment on things of art. "Concubines" and "dancing girls" are very unfortunate expressions used by Manucci. They make the case of the portraits

* The Lahore Museum has an interesting portrait, said to be that of Nur Jehan, which has the unmistakable look of an amateur's work.

vulgar, undeserving of notice. But no one with the least artistic sensibility will admit that there is any vulgarity in any of the portraits believed to be those of royal Moghal ladies. None have the deliberate sensual delineation invariably found in the Delhi ivory miniatures of so-called Moghal princesses, which are most likely fancy pictures, but any of them can very well be the likeness of a prince's concubine.

In a matter like this when there is a dispute between art and history about an object of purely artistic merit the judgment passed on an aesthetic basis should be absolute. A portrait is essentially a picture—a work of visual art. Its value as a likeness is not real; this value lasts for a limited number of years. As soon as a likeness outlives those who have a personal interest in the individual portrayed it loses its value as a likeness but fully retains its value as a work of art. For instance, looking at a portrait of Akbar to-day, no one with any real artistic sensibility would seriously question whether Akbar had exactly the same features as shown in his likeness; but everyone is at liberty to criticise it as a work of art. So in an old portrait its interest as a likeness is almost nil. This is readily understood when we are face to face with a portrait which is neither inscribed nor are there any means of identifying it, and we cannot but appraise its value as a work of art. The portraits of ladies said to be those of the royal Moghal household have a similar significance. They are works of art first, portraits afterwards. The doubt about their authenticity should not minimise their importance and value both as records of the past and as works of art.

The Delhi ivory miniatures which have some bearing on the Moghal school have an uncertain history. They are undoubtedly of European origin and may have been introduced even as early as the time of Jehangir, if not earlier. European paintings found their way to Akbar's court and biblical and other paintings—particularly love scenes—belonging to the time of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan are in existence in which the influence of European paintings is distinctly visible. These pictures and some others, which appear to be copies of or adaptations from European paintings, do not show any deviation from the general tradition of the Moghal school. The ivory miniatures are

of a later period than these and do not show any influence of the old tradition. The inception of this school may have been derived from attempts to copy Moghal portraits on ivory, introducing some of the elements of European paintings, which eventually led to the production of a hybrid art having none of the good qualities of the Moghal school. Too much modelling is shown in most of these miniatures, and yet they are hopelessly wanting in the delineation of character. A deliberate attempt to make them look pretty and sensually beautiful render the miniatures vulgar and almost vicious. The Lucknow portraits are descended from the hybrid school of Delhi and are just as bad as the latter.

Portraits are quite common in the Rajput school and they bear a strong contrast against the Moghal school. This school has a peculiar history. It existed long before the birth of the Moghal school, and perhaps it was this school that interested Akbar, and eventually contributed largely towards the development of the Moghal school. The connection between the two schools has been very intimate and yet it appears that the individuality of the two was maintained even up to a very late period. Whatever influence the two schools had over each other, it was superficial. For instance, the inscribed portrait of Joshi Ji Nagarai by Bulaki, dated 1671, has not the characteristic features of the pure Rajput school, whereas the portrait of a man with a black shield belonging to late 18th century is distinctly Rajput. The portrait of Nur Jehan, on the other hand, shows the influence of both the schools. Portraits of this type are not so numerous as other subjective paintings of this kind which form a separate group. The earlier portraits of the Rajput school are severely conventional. The profile is the principal motif and the drapery—especially the head dress—is drawn with great care. Finished portraits are in local colours but a large number of likenesses are met with in black outlines on a thick coating of white—a motif peculiar to the Rajput school*. In many cases the face and head dress only are finished in local colours the rest remaining white with black outlines. Couplets or verses in praise of the persons represented as well

* Unfinished Punjab hill portraits show a similar treatment but the white is very thinly applied.

as the name of the artist are sometimes given on finished portraits. Group portraits in the Rajput school are not so common as in the Moghal school. Music parties or darbar scenes are the usual types of group portraits but they are seldom inscribed.

The art of portraiture was very extensively practised by the painters in the Punjab hill states. The history of the Punjab school is obscure but it is certainly of pre-Moghal existence. Actual pre-Moghal records are however wanting but later records unmistakably prove the existence of a tradition of long standing. The influence of the Moghal school over the Punjab school was if any very slight. The earliest available portraits of the Punjab school show the Moghal dress which was apparently adopted during the period but the rest of the treatment was distinctly different from the Moghal school. In technique the Punjab school owes nothing to the Moghal school on the other hand it looks very probable that the Moghal school owed much to the latter.

A large number of both inscribed and uninscribed likenesses come from Basohli, Chamba, Guler, Mandi, Kangra, Nurpur and other places. Each of these places had a school of its own having distinct characteristics. There is as much of difference between two works of two different places in the Punjab hills as there is between a Moghal and a Rajput painting. For instance the Basohli portrait of Bhanpat Pal* is quite different in technique and feeling from the Kangra portrait of Sansar Chand†. The portrait of a pundit belonging to the Basohli school has a fine delineation of character.

Another unidentified likeness of a prince—probably of Chamba—shows traces of the Rajput tradition. The Punjab school comprising the different hill schools has left very extensive records of great variety and, leaving out Ajanta, it is perhaps the most significant of all the schools of Indian painting.

The Sikh school is the unworthy descendant of the great Punjab school. Its life is as short as the ephemeral supremacy of the Sikhs. Portraiture being its chief pre-occupation it produced a large number of likenesses, a few of which are good, the rest being of mediocre quality. Ivory miniatures of this school are very poor. The school has hardly contributed anything which will endure and live as an integral part of Indian art.

The Sikh school shows the vitiation of the remnant of the indigenous tradition of Indian portraiture. Besides containing the portraits of Sikh chiefs and nobles the school has a few queer studies of Europeans chiefly military officers who were in the Punjab during and after Ranjit Singh's time. Whatever interest they might have as likenesses either actual or imaginary they have no artistic value. The comic portrait of Sir Henry Lawrence* serves as an example showing the poverty of works of this type.

Here we have the last glimpse of the indigenous Indian tradition of portraiture and the beginning of the pseudo-European ideal which has been so very fruitful in uprooting the national tradition and grafting a perverted idea about art and has proved so far by its existence to be capable only of denationalizing and demoralising the Indian mind.

* A very brave and powerful ruler of Basohli, reigned about 1598. He was kept a prisoner in Delhi for nearly eight years.

† Ruler of Kangra, died in 1824.

* An exactly similar version and many other portraits of this type are in the Lahore museum.

• SANARENDRANATH GUPTA

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF ANCIENT INDIAN TRADE WITH THE PERSIAN GULF

THESE interested in the nature and extent of Indian trade in ancient days with the cities of Lower Mesopotamia and Western Persia will be glad to learn

that further evidence has been found corroborating the inferences already made.

When in Paris in 1913 I looked through

the antiquarian collections in the Louvre Museum on the chance of finding articles made from the Indian conch (the *Sankha Turbinella pum*, Linn). Greatly to my satisfaction I found quite a number, some of very high interest. The principal of these was a fine libation vessel numbered ^{AD} 16, made from a fine sankha shell over 6 inches in length. One side of the shell had been sawn off longitudinally together with the whole of the central axis or columella, thereby transforming it into a spouted vessel admirably adapted for use in pouring out libations. No carving is present, but the exterior surface is smooth and was doubtless polished when in use. This object is one of those brought back by the Mission Dieulafoy from the ruins of Susa and is attributed to the Achaemenid period (4th and 5th centuries B.C.). In the same case is a wedge-shaped ornament also made from the Indian conch. A small perforation exists towards the wider end such as would be made were this to be used as a pendant hung from the neck or elsewhere. The surface is polished and it has evidently been cut longitudinally from the inflated mouth whorl of the conch. In yet another case containing objects brought from the same region by the Mission J. De Morgan is a sankha bangle labelled A 7532. It measures about $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in largest diameter and is nearly 1 inch in width. The pattern is a simple one, the surface having been rubbed down from each margin to form an obtuse angled ridge running down the middle of the exterior surface of the bangle. Probably this belongs to a much older period than the libation cup, as this expedition worked generally in older strata than the Dieulafoys. Finally in Room VI amongst the objects contained in the collection brought back by the Mission de Sarzec from the ruins of Tello, the ancient Lagash, in lower Mesopotamia,

is a fragment of a plain wedge-pendant similar to that mentioned above, together with a series of other shell plaques elaborately engraved. In shape they are truncate wedges. The entire surface of the finest piece is occupied with a representation of a lion seizing a bull. All have a perforation at one side and measure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length.

As I have not opportunity to complete the investigation of these exceedingly interesting objects I have brought them to the notice of Dr. L. Germain of the Paris Natural History Museum, who has already published reports upon the shells brought back by one of the French Susa Expeditions to Persia. He has taken up the suggestion with enthusiasm and I am sure that the results of his detailed study of the objects will prove of great value in further elucidating the trade connection of India with the Assyrian and Persian Empires.

I must not omit to say that the geographical range of the Indian Conch, *Turbinella pum* is restricted wholly to India. Its distribution at the present day is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Kutch, while to the east it is not found beyond the Andaman Islands. Kathiawar, Travancore, the Gulf of Mannar, Palk Bay, the North of Ceylon, the Coromandal coast to some distance north of Madras, and the Andaman Islands are the only places where it exists. (For details, see 'The Sacred Chank of India' Madras Government Press 1914.) The shell is never found in the Persian Gulf or anywhere west of India. Hence the presumptive inference is conclusive that if found in Assyrian city sites, it must have reached there through the activity of trade agencies.

JAMES HORNALL,

[F.L.S., Government Marine Biologist]

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., LL.B.

MAN is a warring animal. Hobbes said, and naturally as with individuals there is an innate tendency for the subjugation of one by another in the

struggle for existence so with nations the prospects of material well being and the desire for dominance over the rest appear to have brought on this tendency for war

It is nothing out of the way to expect bearing in mind the conditions that prevail among the civilised nations of modern times when advanced notions of brotherhood and solidarity had been preached far and wide that in the bygone millenniums amidst the variety and multitude of the nations in Ancient India warfare was an affair of not infrequent occurrence. The very hymn of the *Purusha sukta* which has been utilised as explaining the origin of the four *Varnasramas* makes provision for a warrior caste and to die in righteous battle was the highest merit of a valourous Kshatriya.¹

The conception of war being an engine to destroy the heathen or barbarian which was a feature of the ancient Greeks and Romans is seen to operate in India also. The *Mahabharata*² says War was invented by Indra for destroying the Dasyus and bows weapons and armour created for the same end. Hence merit is acquired by the destruction of the Dasyus. Who were the Dasyus? They were as is clear to us from the *Rig Veda Samhita* the non Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of India who appear in contrast to the Aryas and who were alien to them in colour language religion and social institutions. But this eagerness of the Aryas for the extirpation of the non Aryan races extended to their fellow Aryas also. There are many a hymn³ in the *Rig Veda* which indicate the wrath of the Aryan bard not only against the Dasyus but against the Aryan opponents of his own tribe.

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF WARFARE

Warfare *युद्ध* has been defined as the affair that two parties who have inimical relations with each other undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests.⁴ It is that by which the enemy is opposed and subjugated.⁵ This definition contains in it some of the characteristic conditions of warfare in ancient India. It presupposes the existence of two parties inimical to each other. And it would appear that war was mostly an affair between state and state and not between the individuals. It is next an affair between

two parties who had been for some time hostile in their relations to each other. In this is probably implied the fact that warfare was resorted to only after acts of long continued hostility and the impossibility of coming to terms had necessitated the declaration of war. In fact the works of literature declare definitely that war should be resorted to only if all other expedients of bringing about peace have failed.⁶ War was not entered into precipitately but only after due deliberation of the past events and the conduct of the belligerent states which must have necessitated the breaking up of peaceful relations. The hostile relations between the belligerent communities must have been long standing. The next condition assumed in the definition is the use of arms. Here we are led⁷ to the distinction between *वद्व* or ordinary quarrel and *युद्ध*. The use of weapons arms and implements is a necessary condition of war. Lastly war implies a series of acts of hostility and not merely a condition. Probably the condition or attitude of warfare is denoted by the term *युद्ध*.⁸

CLASSIFICATION OF WARFARE

Warfare is classified according to the weapons by which it is conducted into *Dauvika*, *Asura*, *Manushya*⁹ and into *Prakasa Kuta* and *Tushni*¹⁰ according to the methods of fighting resorted to.

Dauvika is the variety in which charms and spells are used. This is chiefly spoken of in connection with the fights between the *Devas* and *Asuras*. This need not therefore engage our attention.

The *Asura* form is one in which mechanical instruments are used. Wherever engines of oppression causing sweeping destruction are used there is probably the *Asura* variety of warfare.

The *Manushya* kind is that in which weapons and hands are made use of. It is this variety of warfare with which we are most concerned.

Open warfare is conducted by threats assaults and creation of confusion in the enemy ranks at the right time and at the right place. This is the only kind of

1 *Bg Manusmriti* Chap VII vr 8 59

2 *Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva* Sec 29 vr 30

3 *Rig Veda* VI 33 3 Bg

4 *Sukran* II 11 438 & 439

5 *Do* IV 1 468 & 9

6 *Mahabharata Santi Parva Rajadharma 69*

7 *Sukran* II IV 101

8 *Do* IV 440 1

9 *Kautilya Arthashastra* VII 6

warfare properly so called. In the ordinary circumstances fighting was to be open, no underhand dealing or unfair play being allowed.

Treachery in warfare consists in keeping up good relations with the enemy while attacking at the same time. This method of fighting implies the use of guile and underhand methods. This kind of fighting is not recommended under ordinary conditions and is permitted in case of the weak against the strong and even here only in the last instance was it to be resorted to.

Silent warfare implies the attempt to win over the army and officers of the enemy by diplomatic means. This like the previous one is not approved of as being the right method to be pursued. But this form implies so much of diplomacy and skill if successfully carried out.

REQUISITES OF SUCCESS IN WAR

Some of the great requisites¹⁰ of successful fighting mentioned are heroic spirit and enthusiasm, superiority in strength, organised troops and weapons and forts and skilful diplomacy. Kautilya¹¹ lays these down in the above order and in the ascending order of merit. He says 'An arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a person, but the skilful diplomacy of a wise man kills even those yet unborn. Great importance is attached to the proper choice of officers, soldiers, places and methods of fighting in all the books of literature dealing with politics.

CHIVALRY AND HEROISM IN WAR

Chivalry was a virtue and the Kshatriyas are praised for their valorous fighting in the battlefield. It was in fact enjoined on all of the fighting caste to engage in righteous war and meet a noble end. A Kshatriya was never to cease from battle¹² and his death in bed was a sin¹³. A king who is defied by foes must not shrink from battle for it is the duty of all Kshatriyas to fight. He who valorously fights is sure to attain to heaven. A Kshatriya would in fact be lacking in the performance of his religious duty and he would not acquire religious merit if he

did not engage in battle¹⁴. There is nothing more productive of good to the Kshatriya than to be engaged in righteous warfare even though it might lead to the destruction of one's own race, so says the Bhagavat Gita¹⁵. There are we note only two classes of people who reach heaven—the austere missionary and the man who is killed in the front of the fight¹⁶. And for the warrior was reserved a place much higher than those places which Brahmans attain by performing sacrifices and which lie giving up his life for the right cause reaches immediately after death¹⁷.

THE IDEAL IN WARFARE

Once a warrior had entered the battle field he was by no means to retreat or desist from fighting. Death rather than disgrace was his motto and being in it (battle) the best way was to fight it through as Lowell said. Not to turn from battle is one of the best means for a king to secure happiness and he who fights with utmost energy and does not retreat goes to heaven¹⁸. The steps of those who when their ranks are broken do not turn back but fight on are like so many sacrifices¹⁹. The rascal who flies from a fight reaches hell²⁰. He who flies in terror from a field incurs the sin of killing a Brahman and the gods forsake such a vile coward²¹. We read in the Mahabharata²² 'Let us swear to conquer and never to desert one another. Let only such men come who would never turn back from battle or cause their comrades to be slain. The consequences of fleeing away from battle are loss of wealth, infamy and reproach. Those that flee are wretches among men. We should fight regardless of life or death and with this determination attain a place in heaven. He who deserted his comrades in the field or retreated after sustaining defeat was in fact allowed no place in society or family²³ life. We are told that so many

14. Santi Parva, Rajadharma, Sc 60

15. Bhagavat Gita, Bg ch. 2

16. Sukra t. IV 7 632

17. Kautilya Arthashastra V 3

18. Sukraniti IV 7 616-17

19. Agni Purana, 322, 376

20. Sukra t. IV 7 630

21. Agni Purana, op. cit.

22. Mahabharata, Santi, Rajadharma 100

23. Sukra t. IV 7 614-15

10 (11) Kautilya Arthashastra V 6

12. Bauddhayaana I 10 18 13. Manu VII 59

13. Sukra t. IV 7 608

times the soldiers put themselves to death to avoid disgrace. As regards the king of the Maharashtra country Yuan Chwang²⁴ says 'Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace.'

RESORT TO WAR ONLY AFTER ALL OTHER EXPEDIENTS HAVE BEEN TRIED AND FAILED

Winning victories in wars was glorious for the Kshatriya and to flee away from the field of battle was worse than death. Yet it has been repeatedly proclaimed that kings should resort to war only in the last instance. Only when there was no other remedy was war to be undertaken.²⁵ The king should win victories as far as possible without battles and victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly by the wise.²⁶ Let the other expedients of *यत्न दान* and *भद्र* be tried in turn and their failure alone may justify the employment of the last.²⁷ If the enemy could not be stopped by the first three let the king bring them to subjection using force alone says the Manusmriti.²⁸ The ancient Indian statesmen knew that war entailed unnecessary waste of energy and resources and that considered from the material standpoint it did not produce good results in proportion to the magnitude of the loss it involved. "The results of war are uncertain."²⁹

Consequently it would appear, unnecessary and aggressive wars were not common in ancient India, and 'only in the cause that was righteous sweet (may) be the smell of powder.' The king was to abstain from all fruitless acts of hostility and he should never destroy his army by recklessly undertaking wars.³⁰ Wars

were not in general to be waged for mere assertion of material force and for territorial aggrandisement. 'Avoid war for acquisition of territory'³¹ appears to have been the principle followed by Yudhishtira.³² "Not too ambitious surely of conquest were the ancients seeing that in a small part of the earth there were numerous monarchs such as Bhagadatta, Dantavakra, Kratha, Karna, Kaurava, Sisupala, Salva, Jarasandha, and Sindhuraja. King Yudhishtira was easily content since he endured quite near at hand the kingdom of the Kimpurushas, when the conquest of Dhananjaya had made the earth to shake." Generally speaking, kings in ancient India did not engage in war unless they were forced to it and wars were undertaken not on unforeseen and on small causes but only after great deliberation and on sufficient grounds. So at least declare the works on Polity—Arthasastras and Dharmasastras alike.

CAUSES OF WAR

What then were the grounds on which wars were begun in ancient India? In general, war was the result of injuries done by states to one another, and one should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed as the Sukramiti holds.³³ Mutual rivalry among the Aryas and non Aryas formed the cause of the wars in the Vedic age. Acquisition of territory and desire for conquest formed other grounds for the opening of hostilities. A desire for self preservation, the disturbance in the balances of power, and the thirst for realising the Imperial ideal appear as other causes of war especially in later ages. Many of the wars of the later times appear to have been due to lust of territory. Kautilya holds the view that 'the conqueror well versed in politics who acquires territory from enemies gains superiority.'³⁴ Other miscellaneous causes found to operate before the outbreak of war are the stealing of women, of cattle, etc. Lastly the spirit of dharma was carried to such an extent as to permit a king to wage war with an other who being addicted to pleasure,

24 Yuan Chwang (Deal) Bl. IV

25 Jayavalkya दण्डकमविद्या मणि I 346, Sukra
csl IV 7 503

26 Manusmriti VII 198

27 & 28 Do

29 Mahabharata Santi Rajadharma 62 10

30 Sukramiti V 12 * Mahabharata Santi Raja,

3

31 Mahabharata Santi Rajadh 69

32 Harsha Charita VII

33 Sukramiti IV 7 496 f

34 Arthasastra of Kautilya, VII 10 & 12

plunders the people's goods and causes disaffection among his subjects "This was made a fit ground of intervention"

Thus the ideal of warfare in ancient India was not to engage in wars unless all other means of bringing about peace are forbidden, but when once on reasonable grounds war was begun, victory was to be achieved at all costs and death rather than disgrace was the motto of the heroic warrior who fought in the field

KUTA YUDDHA AND PRAKASA YUDDHA

The ideal was not by any means easy of realisation. The main object of the conqueror in engaging himself in war was to overcome the enemy and sometimes one had to 'place even disgrace in front and honour at the back and accomplish one's desired object for it is folly to lose one's object' "Such was the importance attached to victory in war that we even read the enemy has to be subdued in war whether fought according to the rules of morality or not" "We find that instances were not altogether wanting of wars waged on other than reasonable grounds and where treachery and guile were now and then employed. The works of literature, specially the Arthashastras make mention of a variety of warfare which was not fair and open—कूटयुद्ध"

The Dharmasastras are never for the use of any guile or underhand methods in warfare. Kuta yuddha being dishonorable and unmoral does not find a place in them. The Arthashastras subordinate considerations of morality to those of expediency and practical gain. But even the latter class of works do not permit Kuta yuddha in all cases and this procedure was certainly not fair and commendable. Kuta yuddha is mentioned as being a provision for the weak against the powerful. The Sukraniti³³ says 'There is no warfare which extirpates the powerful enemy like the Kuta yuddha and one need follow *niti* or moral rules only so long as one is powerful enough to overcome others'. The Agni Purana permits secret and underhand harassing only by the weak against the strong³⁴. Kamandaka³⁵ who

follows Kautilya also approves of Kuta yuddha only by the weak king against his powerful opponent

Thus if Kuta yuddha was resorted to it was not probably between states of equal strength and resources but it was a way for the weak against the strong for states which could find no other outside help and have by some means or other to maintain their existence in the midst of states strong and powerful. Even here, we read the small states were to seek the protection of stronger ones for fighting against their mighty foes³⁶. A weak king was as far as possible not to persuade himself into battle. He should make treaties and avoid wars enter into a treaty at least for the time being, waiting for an opportunity when he may reinforce himself and meet his foe in war. If no outside aid is forthcoming, or if in seeking the help of others there be suspicion of evil the weak king has somehow to engage himself in the war³⁷ and in that case it would appear Kuta yuddha was justifiable

We find again that the employment of guile is advised only against those that use it³⁸. In the Pratinyayagaudharayana of Bhasa³⁹ we find that the minister of Udayana has recourse to guile to let his sovereign free. It was impossible to openly face king Pradyota in war hence ruse had to be pitted against the ruse already employed by Pradyota's people. Udayana was captured by Pradyota's men with a guile corresponding to the Trojan horse trick. Yaugandharayana the minister of Kausambi dressed as a Buddhist monk goes to Ujjain and fills the palace of Avanti with spies and secret agents and contrives a plan of escape for his sovereign. But the inevitable happens between Udayana and Vasavadatta the princess of Avanti. The two fall in love and Yaugandharayana contrives somehow to set free the couple on an elephant by secret devices

HOW FAR ARE THE ARTHASASTRAS MACHIAVELLIAN?

It is because the Arthashastras subordinate considerations of morality to expediency and practical gain that the authors

33. Sukraniti II 7 493 f

34. 3rd & 38. Sukraniti II 7 732-3 706 725

35. Agni Purana, 240 16.

36. Arthashastra of Kautilya, I, 3.

बद्धमित्रः प्रकाशयुद्धं कृतवान्

विषयः प्रकाशयुद्धं

41. Arthashastra of Kautilya, II, 15

42. Manusmriti II 176

43. Sukraniti I 130

44. Triv. Sans. Series

of these works have been styled Indian Machiavellis.⁴⁵ The ideal of the Italian theorist as will be clear from his own statement was 'Although it is detestable in everything to use fraud nevertheless in the conduct of war it is admirable and praiseworthy and he is commended who overcomes the foe by stratagem equally with him who overcomes him by force'. This is by no means identical with that of the Indian writers mentioned above, for they would on no account give equal place to the $\frac{3}{4}$ variety of warfare with the $\frac{1}{4}$ type. Even in the Arthashastras Kṛta yuddha occupies only a secondary and less honourable place. The Arthashastras naturally give more prominent attention to the acquisition of material welfare as the Dharmashastras do to the spiritual and moral laws of welfare. But this can only lead one to the conclusion even applying the foreign epithet that the Arthashastras are more Machiavellian than the Dharmashastras. It would not altogether warrant the opinion held that the Arthashastrīkaras Kautilya and Sukra for instance, are Indian Machiavellis. Let us not bring in comparisons from outside and thrust them in cases where they may not suitably apply.

On the other hand the point that has to be noted in this connection is that these secular writers disclose to us how far the theory proclaimed in the sacred works of literature corresponded to the practice that obtained in their respective ages.

45 See for example article on Fifth of Warfare in Ancient India (Ind. Rev. War Book). The same idea is intended to be conveyed in note 2 to p. 230 of Sukra's translation on the Sukra-ni.

Mr K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar in his book on Ancient Indian Literature indicates the points of agreement between Kautilya and Machiavelli. But the prominent difference between the two is that unlike Machiavelli Kautilya is a confirmed believer in the permanence of the moral order of the Universe.¹

There was no good proclaiming that a weak state should in its fight with a powerful neighbour follow exactly the same rules as were expected to be followed by the latter and that even he that is wicked should be subdued only by fair means.⁴⁶ We are reminded of the sad lot of Belgium in this connection. It was impossible for the weak, if left alone, under ordinary circumstances to overcome the more powerful.

GENERAL HUMANITY IN WARFARE

Wars in ancient India were generally fought according to the rules of Dharmayuddha. The works of literature proclaim that a king should never desire to subjugate countries by unrighteous means even if he might be made, as a result, the sovereign of the world.⁴⁷ The warrior was not to transgress his primeval law when he strikes his foe in battle.⁴⁸ A Kshatriya who destroys righteousness and transgresses all wholesome barriers does not deserve to be reckoned as such and society should drive him out.⁴⁹ The incidents of warfare in Ancient India were not so inhumane as in other countries of the world at the time as is clear from the accounts of foreign travellers. Megasthenes⁵⁰ bears testimony to the fact that the laws of war were humane and that wholesale destruction and devastation was forbidden. And we read in the Māhābhārata

'They must win who strong in virtue
fight for virtue's stainless laws,
Doubly armed the stalwart warrior
who is armed in righteous cause.'

46 Mahābhārata Santi Rajadh. Sec. 95.

47 Do. Sec. 96. 210

48 Manusmṛiti XII. 117-118

49 Sukra-ni. IV. 7. 614-15

50 Mc. Cr. ed. Megasthenes and Arrian Frag. 1

(Concluded)

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Self Determination

is the theme of a very thoughtful article appearing in Arta for September. After analysing liberty and democracy as it

meant in ancient Greece and as it means in modern States the writer gives us the following luminous exposition as to what he understands by the term self determination

The principle of self-determination really means this that within every living human creature, man, woman and child, and equally within every distinct human collectivity growing or grown, half developed or adult, there is a self, a being, which has the right to grow in its own way, to find itself, to make its life a full and a satisfied instrument and image of its being. This is the first principle which must contain and overtop all others, the rest is a question of conditions, means, expedients, accommodations, opportunities, capacities, limitations, none of which must be allowed to abrogate the sovereignty of the first essential principle.

There is the ideal which sets order first and liberty either nowhere or in an inferior category because it is willing to accept any coercion of liberty which will maintain the mechanical stability of order and there is the ideal which on the contrary sets liberty first and regards law either as a hostile compression or a temporarily necessary evil or at best a means of securing liberty by guarding against any violent and aggressive interference with it as between man and man. This use of law as a means of liberty may be advocated only in a minimum reducible to the just quantity necessary for its purpose, the individualistic idea of the matter, or raised to a maximum as in the socialistic idea that the largest sum of regulation will total up to or at least lead up to or secure the largest sum of freedom. We have continually too the most curious mixing up of the two ideas, as in the old time claim of the capitalist to prevent the freedom of labour to organise so that the liberty of contract might be preserved, or in the singular sophistical contention of the Indian defenders of orthodox caste rigidity on its economical side that coercion of a man to follow his ancestral profession in disregard not only of his inclinations, but of his natural tendencies and aptitudes is a securing to the individual of his natural right, his freedom to follow his hereditary nature. We see a similar confusion of ideas in the claim of European statesmen to train Asiatic or African peoples to liberty, which means in fact to teach them in the beginning liberty, in the school of subjection and afterwards to compel them at each stage in the progress of a mechanical self-government to satisfy the tests and notions imposed on them by an alien being and consciousness instead of developing freely a type and law of their own. The right idea of self-determination makes a clean sweep of these confusions. It makes it clear that liberty should proceed by the development of the law of one's own being determined from within, evolving out of oneself and not determined from outside by the idea and will of another.

But it is from the self-determination of the free individual within the free collectivity in which he lives that we have to start, because so only can we be sure of a healthy growth of freedom and because too the unity to be arrived at is that of individuals growing freely towards perfection and not of human machines working in regulated unison or of souls suppressed, mutilated and cut into one or more fixed geometrical patterns. The moment we sincerely accept this idea, we have to travel altogether away from the old notion of the right of property of man in man which still lurks in the human mind where it does not possess it. The truth of this notion is all over our past, the right of property of the father over the child, of the man over the woman, of the ruler or the ruling class or power over the ruled of the State over the individual. The child was in the ancient patriarchal idea the

live property of the father, he was his creation, his production, his own reproduction of himself, the father, rather than God or the universal Life or in place of God, stood as the author of the child's being, and the creator has every right over his creation, the producer over his manufacture. He had the right to make of him what he willed, and not what the being of the child really was within, to train and shape and cut him according to the parental ideas and rear him according to his own nature's deepest needs, to bid him to the paternal career or the career chosen by the parent and not that to which his nature and capacity and inclination pointed to fix for him all the critical turning points of his life even after he had reached maturity. In education the child was regarded not as a soul meant to grow, but as brute psychological stuff to be shaped into a fixed mould by the teacher. We have travelled to another conception of the child as a soul with a being, a nature and capacities of his own who must be helped to find them, to find himself, to grow into their maturity, into a fullness of physical and vital energy and the utmost breadth, depth, and height of his emotional, his intellectual and his spiritual being. So too the subjection of woman, the property of the man over the woman, was once an axiom of social life and has only in recent times been effectively challenged. So strong was or had become the instinct of this domination in the male animal man, that even religion and philosophy have had to sanction it, very much in that formula in which Milton expresses the height of masculine egotism, 'He for God only, she for God in him'—and not actually indeed for him in the place of God. This idea too is crumbling into the dust, though its remnants still cling to life by many strong tentacles of old legislation, continued instinct, persistence of traditional ideas, the fiat has gone out against it in the claim of woman to be regarded, she too, as a free individual being. The right of property of the rulers in the ruled has perished by the advance of liberty and democracy, in the form of national imperialism it still indeed persists, though more now by commercial greed than by the instinct of political domination, intellectually this form too of possessive egotism has received its death blow, vitally it still endures. The right of property of the State in the individual which threatened to take the place of all these, has now had its real spiritual consequence thrown into relief by the lurid light of the war, and we may hope that its menace to human liberty will be diminished by this clearer knowledge.

Indian Art.

In the course of a short though valuable article contributed to the *Hindustan Review*, which deals with *Indian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, the pre-eminent art critic of India, gives us the following just and fair interpretation of Indian Art.

Indian art embraces the distinct traditions of Hinduism (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain) and of Islam.

The subject matter of Hindu art is *literature and epic*. It does not aim at illustration or record, it is not an art of

self-expression, but abstract and anonymous. In primitive and classic phases it unites canonical form with swift serene gesture and tender feeling in decadence it preserves an original grandeur of design, though the gesture is no longer felt, and the form is over-emphasized or over-ornamented. Hindu art is never interested in the mere appearances of things, but interprets them as symbols of general ideas. Moreover the true work of art is not an object, but something which springs into being between the artist and the spectator and is due to the activity of both. In other words, the appreciation of art is not a question of taste or ethics, but of creative imagination. Without this the spectator however well he knows what he likes or dislikes, may remain unmoved before the most beautiful work with it he will understand the significance of the most awkward and primitive work, and the meaning of a great tradition will be recognized even in decadent examples.

An art of ideas cannot be judged by standards of verisimilitude: it must be approached as expression. There is no such thing as 'accurate drawing,' but that drawing is best (as Leonardo says) which best expresses the passion that animates the figure. We must look then for truth of feeling and movement rather than for scientific knowledge of perspective and anatomy. To appreciate art in this way as expression, however demands a knowledge of what is to be expressed—a knowledge which the contemporary artist is free to take for granted but which the student of an unfamiliar art must either possess intuitively or take some pains to acquire. To appreciate anything more than the superficial charm of Hindu art, therefore, demands a certain study of the ideas it exists to express. These ideas, being primarily devotional and philosophical are somewhat remote from the tendencies of modern life.

It should be observed that while Indian art can be classified as Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina these are sectarian names, and not distinctions of style or period.

Early Buddhism could not and did not inspire an immediate expression through art. Developing into a cult, however, under Asoka (272-232 B.C.) Buddhism adapted popular Indian art to edifying ends but the Buddha himself is represented only by symbols. A little later the growing spirit of devotion in the development of a popular religion led to the creation of anthropomorphic images as intermediary objects of worship. The typical Buddha figure, evolved already in the second century B.C., is that of a contemplative figure seated in the traditional Indian posture with crossed legs and steady gaze 'like a flame in a windless spot that does not flicker'—this must have presented itself to the Indian imagination as the only possible form in which to image One-who-had attained to Perfect Wisdom. Standing and reclining images were soon added, in which there are certain elements of Western origin. This Western (Graeco-Roman) element is most conspicuous in the abundant Buddhist art (1st to 3rd century A.D.) of the Gandhara provinces of the North West frontier. The purely Indian types are characteristic of the south and of Ceylon.

Rajput painting is the Hindu art of Rajasthan and the Punjab Himalayas of which surviving examples range from the 16th to the 19th century. This is a descendant of the old linear and national school of mural art represented at Ajanta, but greatly modified in theme and scale. Its subjects are drawn

from epic and contemporary vernacular poetry and Brahmanical theology but most characteristically perhaps from the cult of Radha and Krishna, where human love in all its phases is interpreted as an image of the history of the soul of man (typified in Radha and the other milkmaids of an Indian Arcadia) pursued by the divine lover (Krishna, the herdsmen avator of Vishnu). These themes afford the artist and poet, whose work is so closely related as to be hardly separable, with abundant material drawn from essentially Indian life—the home, the village, the cowsheds, ritual, riverside, and spring festivals: all which is interpreted in the sense of a spiritual drama. Perhaps the most attractive example of the idyllic art is a picture of Krishna disguised as milkmaid—one of the many devices he employed to effect his meeting with Radha, 'making himself as we are that we may be as He is.' Even the smallest of the Rajput drawings are designed on the broad scale of mural art, almost devoid of modelling, while the actual relation to mural painting, which is the real foundation of Rajput art is still more evident in the large cartoons of Radha and Krishna dancing. A series of illustrations of the Marriage of Kala and Damayanti exhibits the wonderful charm of sweetness that never becomes sentimental. Another favourite theme of Rajput art is the *Ragmala* or Garland of Musical Modes (the 'Ragas' and 'Raginis').

Mughal painting (formerly called Indo Persian), although unmistakably and definitely Indian, derives to some extent from Persian traditions. It forms a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art though it diverges from Hindu sentiment as much as it is definitely and exclusively secular and realistic, interested in the study of individual character and the representation of contemporary events. In these respects it resembles the late Renaissance art of Europe, rather than any purely Asiatic art. It owes its existence entirely to the patronage of the Mughal emperors (the 'Great Moguls') and especially Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahangir (1605-1628), both of whom gave lavish encouragement to court painters. It is eclectic and combines Persian, Indian, European and even Chinese elements. Under Akbar it is still strongly influenced by the Persian school of Bihzad. It attains its most characteristic development and fullest strength under Jahangir—becoming overripe in the time of Shah Jahan and declining under Aurangzeb. It differs from Persian painting (which was already decadent in the 17th century) in that it is, although still associated with calligraphy, far less definitely an art of book illumination than Persian art; it differs, too, in its greater actuality and its representation, no longer of epic themes, but of 'what we have ourselves seen and heard.'

The Transmutation of Money.

In an excellent article appearing in *East and West* for September H. L. S. Wilkinson discusses the economic effects of the war and points out the re-adjustment of money that must follow in order to save the world from utter bankruptcy. The writer discusses his subject with a free and unprejudiced mind, and his conclusions are rational and humane just as they should be. We draw the serious attention of our readers to the following extracts:

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the war bill becomes, the more clearly loom forth two conclusions —

First, that no economist of the orthodox schools has any idea how the huge bill is to be paid,

Second, that the one and only way to pay the bill will be to abolish the private ownership of money and of all important industries and enterprises.

Private ownership of anything which belongs to the life of the nation as a whole, and without which that life is restricted and interfered with, is manifestly and axiomatically wrong. Articles of general need, or of national use, must be sold at a fixed price by the State, and the monopoly of the supply of such articles must be removed for ever from private hands.

(The day of the domination of the capitalist is over, and the hawking of stocks and shares will, sooner or later, die a natural death of inanition, paralysed by the war's colossal taxation of capital.)

People who say that money is not really disappearing, as it still remains within the pockets of the war workers, are deluding themselves with a false idea of what money is. Money which will not move is as valueless as a railway wagon which lies for ever on a siding. Money only has value when it has the power of movement. In this respect it is like energy. Money which is paralysed by an exorbitant or impossible tax will not move. It will have lost its potential. Money is kept moving now by the illusory credit of the British Government. That credit will last just so long as the Government asserts its rights over capital. But the moment the capitalist asserts his counter-claims that credit will disappear into thin air, and with it will disappear the movement of capital itself.

The nationalisation of capital must take place along with the nationalisation of all the other needs of the nation, such as land, food, coal, railways, gas and electricity, shipping, implements of war, drugs, stimulants, and so on. All existing rights in these articles must be purchased by the State, and all future enterprises undertaken by the State after careful estimate by State officials of their financial soundness.

For a fixed unvarying sum per mile of railway or per kilowatt of electricity, any one should at all times be able to command the service of railway travel or electric power, and similarly any one should at times be able to command the services of capital at a fixed rate of interest. No one should have the right to restrict the natural flow of money by withholding capital, nor to force up the price of money, nor should any one be allowed to compete for its service by offering more than the national rate of interest. Joint-stock enterprise might or might not be allowed to continue, but if allowed, it could only be within State control, and subject to State purchase after a fixed term of years. But probably joint stock enterprise shorn of the hope of extravagant profits (for all such profits should be annexed by the State), would languish, and a good thing too. And with it would go all the machinery of credit which is spite of its seeming help to business, is really an unmitigated evil from a national point of view. And with this false fabric of credit, luxury, gambling and parasitism in all its various forms would disappear, and Society would reorganise itself on a healthy cash basis.

All this will come about naturally as soon as the world wakes up to the fact that the private ownership of the means of exchange, now held by banks, is wrong, just as the private ownership of natural

sources of energy, or of human labour, is wrong, bringing as it does wealth to a few at the expense of much greater loss to the nation as a whole.

The curse, which has strangled the life of the world hitherto, has been the private ownership of capital. The labour of honest men has been preyed upon by financial betting rags, sharks and parasites, who have played see saw with prices for their own ends, until legitimate buying and selling has become impossible.

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the bill grows, the more certain the doom of capitalism becomes. Not all the resources of the British Empire will suffice to create the wealth which will pay the interest on eight or ten thousand millions, which will be the amount of our debt when we have finally cleared up the mess, disbanded the armies, pensioned widows and orphans, provided for the cripples, and restarted the industries, if those industries are to be made over to the greedy hands of capital. The mere promise to hand them back would bring the nation face to face with bankruptcy in a week. Steam for the ship of State could not be got up. Motive power would be wanting and if applied by force strikes, bloodshed, and civil war would be substituted for international carnage.

In one way, and in one way only, will the potential energy of money be restored. When capital bears the burden which it is now evading and shirking, then the tide will turn, and the nation will realise the true path of duty. A large share of the war bill will possibly be voluntarily written off by those who can most afford to bear the loss. Interest on war stock promised when the loan was raised will doubtless be paid, but interest afterwards will be fixed at pre-war rates. The nation will gradually learn the limits within which private gain is a good thing, and beyond which it becomes a crime. Above all it will be felt that the first duty is to the workers, to those who suffered hardship and misery owing to wrong conditions of life before the war. Never more must they be allowed to want the primary necessities of life: clothing, shelter, honest work free from fear and care, education, leisure and the pleasures of art and love—in fact the full scope to develop naturally and freely to the utmost that nature intends.

This will mean the abolition of all slums and sweating dens, and the nationalisation of the land, and will be a gigantic task. But nothing will be impossible to the nation when it has once made up its mind that the old conditions are horrible, monstrous and obscene, and are not to be suffered for an instant longer than can be helped. And such an awakening of the nation's conscience is inevitable, once this war is finished.

Once the accursed incubus of greed and gain is removed from our own home-land, it will be removed from the uttermost bounds of the Empire as well. Freedom will not tolerate anything but itself anywhere within the limits of Britain's sway. The new life of Brotherhood will burst asunder all bonds of colour or creed, and the new generation of Britons will laugh to think that their fathers could have tolerated such futile and antiquated pretence and snobbery.

The ferment of this new life will penetrate India too, and she will awaken from her long sleep, and destroy her prison of caste and sex-domination and the iniquitous tyranny of the money lender.

The Secret of a Literary Education.

P. R. Krishnaswami points out the way which leads to the attainment of a literary education in the pages of the *Indian Education* for September. This is what he says.

A literary course is different from a course in every other branch of knowledge in that it is more or less an indefinite sphere of knowledge. Speaking comparatively, while there is for all only one method of progressing in other branches of knowledge in literature alone is it possible for the individual to have his own peculiar path of progress. Literature is the noble expression of ideas, feelings and moods and these are of endless range. Entrance into the realm of literature can be effected successfully only when the student finds adequately reflected some idea, feeling or mood with which he is in sympathy because it is in some measure also his own. The pursuit of literature is painful only till individual taste is gratified and after that progress is pleasant and easy. Every man possesses in himself a latent susceptibility to the beauties of literature and in varying degrees even a power of literary expression. But it needs a congenial spark to light it and this is not forthcoming in the case of many.

One fatal error in imparting a literary education is the emphasis of literary form at the expense of a rich development and acquisition of ideas by the youthful mind. The first requisite in a literary education is the provision of freedom of study and to a certain extent of pursuits. Such freedom must of course include facilities for contact with learned and intelligent teachers of diverse habit of mind and more especially with libraries well equipped with the largest variety of the best books.

It will be perceived that many of them did not attain to the literary greatness by following faithfully and rigidly any professedly educational course. Chaucer became a page in the royal household when he was seventeen. Shakespeare left school at thirteen to assist his father in trade. Ben Jonson was never at college. He started as a bricklayer, became a soldier and was cast adrift in the streets of London. Milton it is true was subjected to a most careful and complete course of education at home, school and college, but he achieved a greatness very different from what his father had designed for him. Bunyan had only an elementary education even the learning of which he forgot later. The education of Pope was most peculiar. Never inside the regular educational system of England, he was a self-taught poet and his method of reading was in his own words, "like a boy gathering flowers in the fields just as they fell in his way." We learn again that Swift was a rebel at school and college and neglected his studies. In the

case of Dr. Johnson it is recorded that the best portion of his learning which contributed to his literary greatness was acquired in the two years he spent at home after leaving school and before entering the university. The story of his looking for apples on one of his father's shelves and lighting on a folio volume of Petrarca is very well known in literature. Goldsmith and Burns had no regular education at all. Wordsworth disliked the discipline and paid no attention to the prescribed courses at Cambridge.

We may add here the name of Rabindranath Tagore for whom schools had no charm. He was educated mostly at home by varied and prolific self studies.

An essential element of a literary education is an abundant stock of learning put by, implying a long and familiar acquaintance with innumerable works of literature. In the effort to obtain a mastery of literary expression there is nothing so useful as having known varieties of concepts conveyed in varieties of literary expression. The reading habit is precious in a literary education and this reading habit is best promoted by freedom of choice of the course of study. That is why literature is frequently and appropriately termed a common and literary readers are those who browse upon it at will. In literature more often than anywhere else a rigorous routine is very harmful, destroying in the youthful mind all the attraction of literary pursuits. One boy is delighted to read a tale of real life, another a romance, a third loves a lyric, a fourth a drama and others still an essay or a biography. If the ideas in a particular prescribed work make no appeal to a boy's mind as often they do not, there is nothing harder and more wasteful than forcing him to it, and what is worse, preventing him from making a more congenial choice for his study.

Apart from extensive reading there are two other conditions of success in a literary education. All the greatest writers of literature were men who were deeply interested in the *doings and feelings* of their life. It would be hard to indicate the influences which may be brought to bear upon a boy in order to stimulate the *doing* aspect of his life. But it may perhaps be noted that a dull, secluded, boarding school life does not provide a boy with the same opportunities as close contact with the domestic and communal life of his people. Next to *doing* comes *feeling*. A necessary factor in a literary life is an intense self-consciousness or at any rate a keen sensibility to all the things of the world that surround a man. This keen susceptibility ought to be so far developed as to make the impulse to literary expression irresistible.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

American Literature

Out here in India the student of literature has very scanty, if any, knowledge of American literature past or present.

Anything which tends to give us a fuller and truer knowledge of the growth and the fine products of American literature is, therefore, most welcome. The article

under review, which appears in the *Saturday Review* partly serves this purpose. Those of our readers who want to have fuller information on the subject are referred to *A History of American Literature*. [Edited by W. P. Trent, T. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press, 15s net.] We read:

The early national literature of the United States begins under new influences. Up to the Revolution, intercourse with Europe so far as literature was concerned, was of a very limited nature. Addison and Steele were the models which writing in America proposed to itself, long after essay writing was extinct here, and poetry was as belated in its acceptance of new forms and impulses, while the drama, though very sensitive in recording the life around it, did not produce anything worth preserving before the Civil War, though several American plays were transferred to London with some success. The new influences were those of revolution on religion, and of the Romantic Revival on letters.

As religion was the one intellectual interest of provincial America, and the Bible its main reading, it was in religious experimental thought that the intellect found its most congenial exercise. Thus a world wide movement found a peculiarly favorable forcing ground in New England. Alcott, Parker, and Margaret Fuller, and in a wider sense, Emerson, the greatest name in the American Literature of the nineteenth century, are names of European reputation. The Romantic Revival, with Scott as its protagonist moulded imaginative literature in prose and verse. Longfellow and his contemporaries apart, the output of verse is small, and its quality mediocre. Bryant is the only verse writer of any account, and, though he has lines of haunting beauty, they are side by side with lines so unmusical as

... Why so slow,

-- Gentle and voluble spirit of the air?

In prose Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, and Herman Melville are authors of European fame, the charm of whose writing, in their various degrees, never fails. Irving was, in fact, the first American writer to win a public outside his own country, first because of his subject matter, which won him a hearing not only in England but on the Continent but, still more for the graceful suavity of his style and the whimsical turn of his mind. Cooper has attained distinction in two directions, he has written perhaps the finest Indian stories in literature, and the best sea stories in the world, free from the excesses which deprive Marryat of that honor, and not equaled by any later writer. His stories of American domestic life are marred by an undertone of controversy, and his novels of European society are almost beneath contempt. Herman Melville stands in a class by himself, allied on the one hand to Borrow, on the other to Laurence Oliphant. *Moby Dick*, though no one could speak of it as one of the great stories of the world, would hardly be given up for any other book of its size. *Omoo* and *Typee* are universal favorites; but some of his other works, such as *Mardi* or *The Confidence Man*, are whimsicality carried to the verge of impossibility.

A Child's Poems.

The *Liberator* publishes a bunch of poems from the pen of Elsie Stackhouse, the daughter of the English explorer Stackhouse, who was lost on the *Lusitania*. She is, we are told, only fourteen years old. We like the following verses best.

MY GARDEN.

'E'en if I were in Heaven, I agala
Would come to see my garden after rain,
And smell the warm, wet mould beneath the grass,
And see the butterflies pass and pass
From flowers to grass and back again to flowers,
And all the things in England after showers.

WISHES

Oh to be something else than I am—
(Bread and jam, bread and jam!)

Oh to know something else than I know—
(Laws to mow, laws to mow!)

Oh to love someone else than I do—
(I love you, I love you!)

Recognize Russia.

Writing under the above title in the pages of the *Liberator* (New York) John Reed has a good word for the Bolsheviks, whose government is based, we are told, "on the almost universal will of the Russian masses." The writer pleads for the recognition of the Soviets by the Allies on the following grounds.

The saving of Russia was the Bolshevik revolution. If that had not happened, the German army would now be garrisoning Moscow and Petrograd.

At Brest the Russians were not supported by the Allies, and for that reason were forced to accept the German terms. Not only that, but they are wholly abandoned now, and by the pressure of Japan in Siberia, greatly weakened in the heroic struggle they are carrying on against the armed might of the Central Powers.

For the Russian Soviet Government is at war with Germany—has been at war with Germany since last summer. It stands to reason that this is so. The Soviet ruling powers are Socialists, and as such, enemies of capitalism, and most of all, enemies of the German Imperial system, the arch-enemy of militant capitalism. They have been fighting Germany with the strongest weapon in the world—propaganda—the only weapon against which the sword is ultimately powerless. This propaganda, not only among the German troops, but also in the interior of the country, is remarkably successful. Austria is ready to crack open because of it, and during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the entire eastern front of the German troops was permeated with it to such an extent that the invading force into Russia had to be made up largely of volunteers from western front. As for the war prisoners in Russia, they are deeply infected by Bolshevism, and many thousands of them are enrolled in the ranks of the Russian Red Army against their own people.

The Red Army is rapidly being organized—as Lenin says not for defense of nationalistic interests, or Allied aims but to defend the world a Socialism."

The latest moves of German diplomacy indicate that the Imperial Government is not at all anxious to attempt the military invasion of Soviet Russia.

But just as the Soviet Government considers the German Imperial Government its worst enemy, so Germany well knows that Soviet Russia on her flank is mortal to her military autocracy. By every means, by commercial and financial pressure, by capturing the food supplying countries of the South, Germany is attempting to destroy the Soviets. At the time of the advance into Russia Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in an army order, said "Our aim is not annexation, but the restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe. And if this restoration of order and suppression of anarchy can be accomplished by Japanese intervention, so much the better for Germany. For Germany fears not military force she fears not a Japanese army in Siberia, nor a bourgeois republic in Russia—whose power of propaganda among German

troops would be as limited as that of the French Republic. Soviet propaganda, incredibly contagious, is the only thing that Germany fears. Allied recognition of the value of Soviet propaganda would be a blow at Germany.

The Soviet Government of Russia is there to stay. It is based on the almost universal will of the Russian masses. At the present moment it is being attacked on one side by the Germans, and on the other side by all sorts of bourgeois and reactionary movements based on the Japanese in Siberia. The threat of active, serious Japanese intervention besides, hangs over it like a storm-cloud. When Central Russia was famine stricken in the past, food could be got either in Ukraine or in Siberia. Now the Germans have Ukraine, and counter revolutionary hordes are overrunning Siberia. Russia is being starved from both sides. Its ability to make war on Germany is crippled by this and by the possible necessity of making war upon Japan.

Soviet Russia will not re-enter the war as an ally of the Allies, it will defend itself against the capitalist world.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI. A STUDY OF THE MODERN ZOROASTRIANISM by James Hope Moulton D. Litt. (London), etc. etc. Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1917.

To those who are interested in Zoroastrianism the name of Dr. Moulton the author of the *Early Zoroastrianism* (Hibbert Lectures for 1912), is not a new one. He is reputed for his writings on this subject. The account of his unfortunate death as related in the foreword is really very pathetic and it is to be much regretted that he could not survive to see his present volume in printed form. His present work is divided into two books, in the first of which the author after describing in some detail the contents of the Avesta, has traced the gradual development of the religion preached by Zarathustra during the various periods of its history, beginning from the Gathas to the later Avesta, and in the second he has criticised the religion and the modern community of the Parsis in their various aspects, as Dr. Dhalla has done in the last chapters of his excellent work *'The Zoroastrian Theology'* though from different point of view in many cases. The book under review forms one of the volumes of the *Achignous Quest of India Series* edited by Drs. J. N. Farquhar and B. D. Ghose who have very frankly and clearly stated at the very outset the two motives by which the writers of the series are governed in their work. One of these two motives is as follows in the words of the editors, "They seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of all their seeing and they believe him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that sooner or later, there age long quest

of Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new startling point." And so Dr. Moulton concludes his present work with the following observation, "Parsis themselves being witness the possession of a high ideal of religion in the Gathas has not availed to make them a religious people." And they have been found not to have resented "the Christian speakers (Dr. Moulton's) plea that their own Prophet and the act of their own Magi in the olden time point us mistakenly to Christ as the Crown of their ancient faith." Thus according to him "the conspicuous failure" of their religion "speaks eloquently of the supreme need of man" and evidently; that man is no other than Christ! Yet there are many things in the book which the Parsis should take into their serious consideration.

VISHNUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHIA PEOPLE. Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the Death of Shriaji, by C. A. Bhandarkar, C. V. O., I. C. S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Demy 8vo pp. 302. With illustrations and maps. Cloth Rs. 7. (Oxford University Press).

To study the history of the Marhattas one had to go to the scarce and antiquated volumes of Grant Duff published nearly a century ago. Remarkable as it is that work is marred by all the defects and blemishes that characterize every pioneer work. Mr. Kanade's attempt was brilliant but fragmentary and tantalising. It was reserved for the collaborators in the volume under review to present, for the first time, a complete history of the Marhattas who played such an important part in that epoch of transition from the Mediaeval to the Modern history

of India. The genuine historic intuition of patriotic Ranade has supplied the keynote to the present reconstruction of Marhatta history. The 'unrivalled collection of Marhatta papers' by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasuram, has supplied a wealth of fresh materials. Hence we get for the first time a work at once thorough in its survey, penetrating in its critical insight and elevating in its noble inspiration. What is needed to make the work a useful handbook for scholars is the publication of a source book of the history of the Marhattas with the important original documents both from the Moslem and Marhatta archives carefully edited so that sober students of history might study the subject critically and form their opinions independently. As it is the history is both instructive and illuminating for general readers from the rise of the Bhoslas (ch. xii) to the death of Sivaji the great (ch. xxi). The earlier chapters where the authors are merely summarising the results of the works of other scholars, are halting, conventional and lacking in freshness of vision and interpretation. A separate chapter, describing and discussing in detail Sivaji's noble polity, illustrating the constructive statesmanship of the great king, would also have been welcomed by every student of Indian history.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL 1772-1774 by M. E. Monckton Jones. With appendices of hitherto unpublished documents. Volume IX 1918. 8vo (9 x 6). Pp. XVI + 360, with two portraits and a map. 12s. 6d. net. (Oxford University Press).

The world of controversy raging round the figure of Warren Hastings lends a sort of a legendary charm to the personality of the first Governor of Bengal. Carefully careless selection of state papers palpably partisan pamphlets and 'made to order' biographies have combined with occasional studies in genuine historical criticism to produce impressions at once curious and conflicting: Hastings a demon or a demigod?—that was the subject for discussion in the debating society of Anglo-Indian critics for a long period of time. Then came a period of pseudo-scientific presentation of Hastings' history and the parading of state papers explaining away every miscalculation and misconduct of Hastings. Thus the very humanity of this highly human merchant-governor has been explained away!

This human side of Hastings, with all his strength and imperfections, has been sought to be depicted by Mr. Jones in his valuable monograph. The extremely human struggle of Hastings with the vulgar opportunism and pitiless heartless exploitation of his English contemporaries has been vividly described. His constructive statesmanship in reorganising the Revenue and Judicial administration on his genuine sympathy for the poor persecuted peasants and his firm faith in the capacity and potentiality of the native population—these, according to the author, were the distinguishing marks of Hastings the Empire builder. The enthusiasm of the author in the subject is genuine and his interpretation refreshing. Had he but surrendered the orthodox Anglo-Indian theory of infallibility, his study would have been more sound and complete from the standpoint of sober history.

KALHAN.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS

(i) Volume xii Part i Matsya Puranam Chapters 1-128 pp. xii + 360 + cxi (Nos. 79-84. January to June 1916)

(ii) Volume xii Part ii Matsya Puranam Chapters 129-198 pp. 200 (Nos. 85-90 Oct to December 1916) Price Rs. 4-8

(iii) Volume xii Part iii Matsya Puranam Chapters 199-291 (Nos. 91-93 January to March 1917) Pp. 201 370 + vii Price Rs. 4-8

The whole book has been translated by a learned Talukdar of Oudh. The translation is very close to the original.

The first part of this book was reviewed in the Modern Review of October, 1916 (p. 430).

The book is an important publication. It is one of the oldest Puranas and should be studied by the students of comparative mythology, sociology, folklore and religions. There are ten appendices (106 pages) in the book. These are very learned and valuable and are indispensable to students of the Puranas.

MAHESHCANDRA GHOSH

BENGALI

I have read with pleasure Mr. Surendranath Das Gupta's *Tattvakatha* a Bengali brochure which seeks to give in simple Bengali, some idea of the quest of Truth as it was conceived from the standpoint of Hindu Philosophy—in the fashion of the People's Books that are in vogue in English and other occidental literatures. The brochure is written in an easy conversational style, which however has a verve and glow of its own. To interest the man in the street in abstract speculation must seem to be a well nigh hopeless task but Mr. Das Gupta has succeeded in divesting himself of all technicalities, and this little book is an indication of what might be done in Bengali literature in the way of an elementary literary treatment of philosophic ideas and problems. I may express a hope that the writer will pursue his experiments in this line, which is a highly interesting, and promising one.

BRJENDRANATH SEAL.

GUJARATI

(i) Jyoti Sudharma (જ્યોતિ સુધર્મા), by Shivdas Champay Bhimji and Liladhar Hariram Bhimji, of Cutch Nitra, printed at Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage & N. Sailor Press, Bombay. Paper Cover pp. 108 Unpriced (1918).

The writers of this small book hail from Cutch and belong to a community known for its orthodoxy. The evils of the caste system, however, have so prominently been impressed upon them that they have been moved to put down their thoughts on paper, and the book deserves to be read more for the spirit it typifies than for anything else. We are sure the racy language in which they have exposed social evils would help their object most.

PRANAYA MANJARI PEM GITA પ્રવચનજરી
પ્રેમ ગીતા by Padmakar, printed at the Sayaji Vajaya Press, Baroda. Illustrated Paper Cover pp. 21 Unpriced (1918).

This dainty little book is in its get up in keeping with the subject that it has rhaphodized. Love is God. God is Love. This is the young versifier's text and he has let himself go untrammelled. Love (પ્રેમ) is made to do duty in every book of verses.

STRIYONI RANGHUMI (स्त्रीयोगी रंगभूमि) by *Mani-lal Chhaharam Bhatt*, printed at the *Granihodaya Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp 306 Price Rs 1 8 0 (1918)*

The practised pen of Mr Bhatt has clothed a very trite subject with great interest on account of the way in which he has approached it. The great necessity of educating our women and the real field of their work are so vividly impressed by him on the mind of the reader, and so pleasantly too that if the readers happen to be women, they are sure to take the lessons conveyed to them to heart. Bombay life, as passed in its *Chawls* and *Mulas* by its hundreds of female inhabitants is capable of being diverted into useful channels, and the writer shows one of the ways in which it can be done.

MANAV SHASTRA SERIES NO. 1 (मानव शास्त्र कीरीय पद्धत विद्याना सामान्य विद्यान्तो) by *Girdhar Lal Govindji Mehta*, printed at the *Vidyasagar Press Jamnagar Paper Cover pp 16 Price As 4 (1917)*

By intense study and practice Mr G J Mehta has specially qualified himself to write on the subject of Phenology. This small pamphlet is but introductory of his larger work on Phenology which is yet unsurpassed in Gujarati. To those who are interested in the subject, no better guide can be had, in our language.

K M J

SANSKRIT

SANSKRIT RAJMARGA OR THE ROYAL ROAD TO SANSKRIT GRAMMAR VOL. I by *Mr Rajaram R Shastri, Pages 94 Price as 10.*

This is a companion reader to Bhandarkar's Sanskrit series. Whatever the merits of Dr. Sir R G Bhandarkar's two Sanskrit Books used as text books in most of the Government High Schools in the Bombay Presidency may be, the grave defects they possess are (1) that they convey instruction to beginners of Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English, which is as new to the learners as Sanskrit. The result is that students understand neither language and mostly rely on memory in learning rules of grammar without understanding their meaning or application. (2) Too many details are given about the changes the words undergo in their formation, so that even teachers pity the lot of boys whose power of retention is thereby unnecessarily taxed. Neither of these defects is cured by the book under review which professes to having made the way of the learner. If memory has to be taxed any way, why not in the name of Heaven tax it in learning by rote ready made forms of Sanskrit words rather than in learning their formations? Considered from this practical point of view the book cannot be said to be a success.

V G APTÉ

MARATHI.

SWAMI VIVEKANAND YANCHIE CHARITRA OR THE LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANAND VOL. V by the late *Mr B V Phadke Price 14 as. Publisher—Ram Tirtha Karyalaya, Girgaon, Bombay*

The fourth volume of this series was noticed in

this Review last year. The present volume has a melancholy interest for its readers in as much as its author Mr Phadke a promising Marathi writer and devoted admirer of Swamiji, died lately, leaving the work of completion to his friend Mr Mandlik, who has closely followed the line laid down by his departed friend. The work is a creditable performance.

SAJJANGAD AND SAMARTHIA RAMDAS by *Mr. G C Bhatt, M.A., Professor Fergusson College, Poona. Pages 127 Price 12 as*

It is an interesting and thoughtful publication. It consists of three parts, the first of which is devoted to the description of interesting experiences of the author in his trip on bike to the historic place, Sajjangad, sanctified by the residence of the Saint Ramdas. The second part of the book gives a succinct summary, with profuse quotations, of the Saints' immortal *Dasabodh*, and the third part which is of a controversial nature relates one long prevalent belief about the relation between Ramdas and Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. It is believed by the generality of Maratha readers that the inspiration for founding the Maratha Empire came to Shivaji from Ramdas, and assiduous attempts have been made by certain writers to instil and confirm this belief without having any undoubted proof of historical document in its support. Prof. Bhatt has assailed their position with boldness from the vantage ground of a newly discovered letter written in 1672 which unmistakably proves that Shivaji had the first interview with Ramdas in that year and not in 1653 or at some earlier time as is alleged by some people. The proof is so convincing that it must now lay the dust of the controversy for all time unless some more reliable evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

It is a matter of much regret that the author has not shown an equally good sense and discrimination in drawing inferences from *Dasabodh* about the relations of Ramdas with other saints of his time as well as about the mission of Ramdas' life. That Ramdas tried to dissuade the *वार्करी* people from the worship of Vitthoba and to win them over to the worship of his favourite deity Rama is an allegation which is hard to substantiate. Neither history nor tradition supports it. That a sage like Ramdas could entertain any the least animosity against Vitthoba, the deity of the *वार्करी* sect or show partiality for the Brahmin caste at the expense of other castes is to ascribe a too narrow vision and insularity to the saint which is hardly credible.

The book on the whole is quite a welcome addition to the present day Marathi literature and will serve to awaken in Marathi readers that faculty of discernment which is a necessity in these days. It is a good proof of the growing historical sense among Marathi writers.

V. G. APTÉ

HINDI

GRIHADAIYI by *Babu Suroja Bhanu Vaidik and published by Babu Jyoti Prasad, Editor of the Jnan Pradip, Darband Demy 16 mo pp 85. Price—As 3*

Books of these types give individual views of the duties of females deduced mostly by practical experience. They are much better than any second hand

information on the subject. All these views and the hints based on these are good in their way and must do a great deal in the direction of benefitting those for whom they are intended. The book under review would certainly be very useful and considering the paucity of books for women in Hindi it must have considerable encouragement.

SACHITRA AITIHAASIK LAKH by *Babu Rajkumar Goenka* Published by *the Hindi Pustak Agency 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta* Crown 8vo pp 39 Price As. 6.

These are some notices on historical subjects based mainly on some ancient writings. Things having antiquarian interest have been notably dealt with. The way in which ancient books were kept by a firm in the year 1787 and the observations thereupon are interesting. A letter sent by Maharaja Ratna Singh of Bikaner to Lord Auckland, the facsimile of which has been given and the comments thereon would be similarly readable. The get up is excellent.

NARIRATNAMALA, PART I, by *Babu Gijira Kumar Ghosh* and to be had of him at *Katra Allalaba* Crown 8vo pp 109 Price—As 7.

This is a collection of short biographies of nine famous heroines of India. We cannot but very highly commend the author on this publication. The language is flawless and the descriptions bespeak the author's skill. The lives have been narrated in the form of so many novelettes. It may be a very suitable prize book for students in girls' schools. The biographies deal with the lives of Damayanti, Padmavati down to Nurgaban and Ahalyabai. The story of Padmavati depicts graphically the ancient glory of Rajput culture and moral standard.

SADHYATA KA ITIHAS by *Pandit Prannath Vidya Iankar* and published at the *Star Press Allahabad* Crown 8vo pp 164 Price—As 12.

This gives a sociological and historical sketch of the way in which civilisation has advanced. The book is an adaptation of a well known English publication on the subject and it will certainly be a real acquisition to the Hindi literature. The Gurukul of Kaadgi Haridar to which Pandit Prannath belongs has made itself famous by notable publications of books, the subjects of which had not been touched formerly by Hindi writers.

BHAROTILA SHASAY PRABANDHI SIMBANDHI SADHARAN KI AVAIDANPATRA by *Mr Sri Prakash B.A., LL.B., Bar at Law* and published by *Gyan mandal at the Lakshmi Narayan Press Benares City* Crown 8vo pp 264

This is a translation of the principal portions of the Reform Scheme as published in English by the Government. The other portions which have been considered to be not so important will be published later on by the author. This publication in Hindi so soon after the original publication bespeaks the energy and adventurous zeal of those by whom the author has been helped. The translation is faithful and at such a momentary period of Indian constitution, there is no doubt the book will prove immensely useful. A list of English vocabulary of important terms with their Hindi translations and equivalents has been added.

PRANIPHAR KAI KILKILHAYAI PHOOL—

A list of the works of the "Love and Life" Series published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad*, *Analy* together with notices thereon in the Press.

BHORMANDAL KAI PRANI, published by *Shreenath Shah Shamaram Durgahund Benares Demy 8vo pp 78* Price—As 8.

These are descriptions of strange animals and the descriptions have been suited to the imagination of infants. Efforts have been made to make them specially interesting and entertaining. There was a want of books like these specially suited to the tastes of young children and the book will certainly remove the want. The manner of description will appeal to children and the author is to be congratulated on the way in which he has adopted his work to the necessary requirements. Certain stories have the characteristics of Esop's fables.

KAISER by *Pandit Hari Raghunath Bhagwat, B.A.* and translated by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpayi* Crown 8vo pp 91 Price—As 10. Published by *Mr P. N. Patwardhan 652, Sadashiv Peth Poona*.

This is a sketch of the life of the German Emperor and there is much originality in the description. Many unknown features of the Kaiser's life have been narrated. The book is one of a series of the *Vishwa Vigyanmala* Series. The get up is very nice and the book is bound with thick board.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpayi*, published by *Messrs. Dikshit and Dwivedi, Dirgaanj, Allahabad* Crown 8vo pp 190 Price—As 8.

The author is well known to the Hindi readers and the book under review upholds his reputation. The life of the famous President of America has been very aptly narrated in it, the language and style being good.

MS

THE SECRET NAME

In the inscriptions left by mankind on the walls of time I cannot find the name I seek
When I lay me down to sleep it is that it may be revealed to me in my dreams
When I wake in the night it is to meditate on that which eludes all words
Day bringeth the phantasms of the senses, the puppet play against the Eternal Light
And all we are and do are for ever blending, as the thousand colours of far off worlds
blend into the glory of stars

E. E. SPEIGHT.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Archaeological Department

I

The Note on the 'Importance of Archaeology and duty of the Publicists' (published in the last issue of the *Modern Review*) calls for some comment from one who takes interest in Archaeological work. There were no Indian Superintendents nor a large number of Indian Assistants for some years since the reorganisation of the department in 1902. But now all Assistants are Indians and only half the number of Superintendents are non-Indians. This does not bear out the accusation that the settled policy of the department has been to exclude Indians. Dr Thomas, the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, draws a small annual honourarium of twelve hundred rupees only. He is not the Government Epigraphist; that distinction is now held by an Indian, Rao Shahib Krishna Sastri. The work of reediting the Asokan inscriptions has been entrusted for the first time to a competent Indian scholar, Dr Vogel, is manufacturing (?) an epigraphist for India in Holland, not in the person of a foreigner but in that of another distinguished Indian scholar now in England. The system has worked since 1902 with this decided leaning towards the employment of competent Indian scholars. And if it is not satisfied with the results a large share of the blame must rest upon the shoulders of his own countrymen. Archaeology is bound to be one of the 'transferred subjects' under the Reform Scheme. It is therefore necessary for us to be accurate in our information before any wholesale condemnation is publicly pronounced in the way in which it has done.

S R A

II

May I be permitted to offer a few words of protest against some of the statements in the Note on the Importance of Archaeology and the Duty of our Publicists in the October number of your Review. If this Note represented the views of any private correspondent* one might not care to take any exception, but since it appears under editorial responsibility the views do call for a protest on certain points, particularly having regard to the fact that we have all learned to greatly value your editorial comments for their independence, impartiality and strict adherence to truth. Against which unfortunately some statements in the Note in question appear to me to offend. I may say at once that I fully agree with much that has been said in the Note with reference to the thesis put forward by Dr Spooner which has been critically examined by many scholars and pronounced to be untenable or at least disapproved for the present. But the views of an officer are quite distinct from the materials that he collects which may be interpreted by different scholars in different ways, and the value of the works of the Archaeological department has to be judged by the nature and extent of the materials they have been able to collect, however much one may

differ from them in the mode and manner in which these materials should be read interpreted and presented. To what one takes strong exception is the rather sweeping statement that since 1902 the Archaeological Department has worked with no satisfactory results. I do not know if the author of the

Note is aware of the nature and difficulties of archaeological work in India and whether he is familiar with the works achieved by the French archaeological commission in Indo-China and of the Dutch Archaeological commission in Java. If he knew them, he would not have ventured to offer such wholesale condemnation of the works achieved by the Archaeological Department in India. Any one with any slight acquaintance with archaeological labours in other countries cannot but offer praise for the extent and output of the work attained in India since 1902. The works of conservation alone and the strenuous labour that they have entailed are worthy of the highest tribute. We Indians are apt to undervalue the works of conservation and restoration which spell such heavy strain on the resources of the department and leave very little time or money to devote to works of research and excavations. If we knew the story of the struggle for obtaining funds from the Finance Department we could realise why the results are so less 'satisfactory' than one would otherwise expect. In other countries the work of the official archaeologist is supplemented by the efforts of private societies, individuals and universities which finance archaeological expeditions to famous sites and subsidize the publication of expensive monographs embodying the results of such expeditions. In this way many valuable monographs on archaeological works in Indo-China have been published by private subscriptions. The American universities have spent enormous sums of money in sending archaeological missions to Greece, Italy, Egypt and Crete. And if the Archaeological Department in India is not illuminated every year by many new and brilliant discoveries the fault lies not so much with the Department as with the resources at its command. The materials collected require to be studied, classified, interpreted and published by and with the help of a large number of scholars, each expert in his own subject, but for which no funds are at present available.

Nevertheless the various works of excavation, e.g., those at Sarnath, Kasia, Sahrilhalol, Kanubka's Stupa, Nalanda, Taxila and Banawali have yielded 'satisfactory' results of great scientific value in elucidating the history of India. The Note seems to be unfair in ignoring the works rendered by the Indian officers of the Archaeological department. The work of Mr. Daya Ram Sahasral in arranging and cataloguing the Sarnath finds is of real merit. The materials collected by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for the study of Medieval Hindu Temples in Rajasthana is of great value. We should also be proud of the works of Rao Mahadur Krishna Sastri in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. The writer of the Note is undoubtedly on safer ground when he says that very few Indians have been associated with the work of the Archaeological Department and there is no

* They are the views of a correspondent, though they appeared among our 'Notes' as the initial 'A' shows.—Editor, M. A.

doubt that the work could be greatly enriched by the contributions of Indian workers properly trained in the science of archaeology. The department itself seems to have felt that and the recent association of scholars like Professor Romaprasad Chanda is a step in the right direction. The Government Resolution of 22nd October 1915 for which credit is due to the Director General was not a response to any popular agitation, but a spontaneous declaration of policy in an open and straightforward appreciation of the fact that archaeology in India could not progress without the assistance and co-operation of the people the ancient history of which it seeks to reconstruct.

We are anxiously looking forward to the day when the progress of archaeology in India will be organised and directed by Indians alone, for however efficiently the work may be done by Europeans it will be done in a far more efficient way by competent Indians. Unfortunately public interest in Indian archaeology is almost nil for the present and many of

us who are crying ourselves hoarse for Home Rule still continue to display a cultivated apathy to the importance of the subject and I hope the "note" will attract the attention of our patriots and public men.

The note seems to suggest that there is quite an army of Indian enthusiasts burning to further the progress of archaeological studies in India. How I wish such suggestions were true, but unfortunately they are not. We have only one Jayaswal and one Haraprasad, but even dozens of them will be helpless without the support of enthusiastic public interest, and what is more, adequate funds to finance their studies.

There are many points raised in the note which require long discussions from which I refrain for the present. I shall only add that the post of the Government Epigraphist is being given permanently to an Indian and not to Dr Thomas.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

22nd October, 1918

PRICE AND TRADE CONTROL IN ANCIENT INDIA

AT no other time in human history has economic distress consequent upon war been brought out in more lurid light than during the present world war. The misery which is experienced throughout the world shows how commerce and communications have made the various parts of the world interdependent upon each other so that economic disturbance in one part is easily transmitted to the other parts, just as the diseased condition of any organ of the human body affects the entire system. Restricted transport has dislocated trade. Diversion of industries to war requirements has diminished the supply of food products. Both these together with the greed of the opportunist tradesmen desirous of profiteering have contributed to the inflation of prices. The result is that the poor and middle classes are hard hit, so much so, in their despair the poorest classes have resorted to reckless looting. Want of food products has further diminished the sustaining power of the middle classes already poverty-stricken, so that abnormal physical conditions having caused an outbreak of epidemic, mortality also has run high. All these sufferings would not have been suffered in vain if they would at least open our eyes to recognise our present economic helplessness and to husband our future resources. At such a critical juncture it may be worth our while to examine what our ancient

Hindu civics have ordained to guard against such conditions even in normal times.

Yagnavalkya enjoins on the king the duty of fixing the market price of goods. (Book I, S. 251). It was to be done according to Manu once in 5 days or once in a fortnight in the presence of merchants. The merchants were bound to sell their commodities at the price fixed by the king together with the profit allowed for each commodity. It was not open to them to fix any price they liked.

The margin of profit was fixed not arbitrarily but with due regard to the condition of the market and the nature of the commodity. It also varied according as the produce was of indigenous manufacture or of foreign import. The profit for commodities produced in the country itself was 5 per cent. of the cost price and 10 per cent for foreign goods imported from other countries (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 252). This rate of profit however applied only to cases of sales effected soon after manufacture or receipt from foreign countries. If there was any long interval between the date of manufacture and the date of sale, the profit was so regulated as to allow for fluctuations of the market in the meantime and for loss of interest on the capital (Mitakshara). In the case of foreign goods, to the actual price was added the expenses of transit and toll

(Yagnavalkya, Book I, S 253) The profit was fixed by the king at 5 or 10 per cent after calculation of actual price as stated above

Any merchant who in combination with others intentionally sold at a higher or lower price than that fixed by the king with a view to derive greater profit to the prejudice of others was liable to punishment (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S 249) This prevented not only unhealthy competition among merchants themselves but also rendered exploitation of the trader at the expense of the consumer impossible Simi

larly any combination among merchants either to lower or raise the price of foreign goods contrary to the standard fixed by the state was punished

Such was the control which the ancient Hindu states exercised over trade and thereby regulated the prices in the market Under these conditions there would have been no scope for the cornering of markets or the creation of trusts which tend to enrich the moneyed capitalists and to crush the poor wage earning classes

B GURU RAJAH RAO

THE CODE OF FAVOURITISM

THE problem of favouritism is as old as human nature Every page of human history is full of it Every chapter in the biographies of rulers is painted with its workings Every account of the activities of political bodies furnishes examples of its existence That quality of the human mind namely seeking after self interest is directly responsible for its growth It does not require any array of arguments or any stretch of imagination to realise how favouritism arises There are certain ties which bind men to certain classes of communities more than they do to others These ties are of common race or origin, common history or tradition, common ideals or understandings and common colour or civilisation When once you identify yourself with a particular class or community, then your interests, your professions your spheres of work, your ideals and ambitions have a qualified scope and you become a qualified being Your groove of action is narrow The activities of your mind are partial not universal You are a man of likes and dislikes You are seeking after your own safety and welfare The moral basis of your tendencies and resolutions is not wide In one word, you are selfish

2 It is this state of man's mind which gives rise to favouritism amongst individuals and also amongst their groups and associations for various purposes of life The guiding principle which underlies

favouritism is the desire for self stability or group stability and self advance or group advance Though this principle remains the driving force, the objects and activities of favouritism are many and everchanging Those which help and promote its welfare and progress are preferred to those which hinder and obstruct them It is always time and place which indicate their value and utility They have no permanent value in themselves

3 It is an interesting study in a country like India to know the activities and objects of favouritism, and I wish to deal here with the rise of politically favoured classes, their maintenance, their value, their specialities, their place in national economy and culture and the differential treatment shown to them in all things of political importance

4 India is a place where men have chosen to form separate associations for every different principle or mode of life they represent or for every different social or moral religious or philosophical doctrine they follow or even for every place they inhabit This instinct or tendency for circumscribed and exclusive life has resulted in the growth of a great number of sects castes or communal groups, and consequently has given rise to conflicting interests and ways of thought, and to a great difference in the level of importance of each of them in the structure of Indian political life Their past history has also

increased or lessened their importance in this life

5 It would be helpful to the discussion and elucidation of this subject to classify peoples in India according to the political importance attached to them by the governing class. This classification will be somewhat as follows if we make two divisions or groups, one that of the favoured, and the other that of the not-favoured

<i>Favoured group</i>	<i>Not favoured group</i>
(1) Europeans (whites)	Indians (coloured)
(2) Christians	Non Christians
(3) Durasians	Indian Christians
(4) Mahomedans	Hindus & others
(5) Parsis, Jews, etc	Hindus
(6) Non Brahmanas	Brahmanas
(7) Illiterate and uneducated (masses)	Educated

6 The sovereign power in India is the British. It is foreign in race, language, culture and affinities. Its centre of attraction is obviously elsewhere. Its prime interests in India are always those of its own stability and permanence, its pecuniary advantages and commercial profits, its prestige and power. All that leads to these, all that supports these is to be planned and executed. Altruistic considerations are secondary and inferior in importance.

7 The governance of India is based in all its working on a fixed policy. Political utility is its maxim of work. You will not find an even balance held between the peoples in India, nor an equality of treatment meted out to them. They are tickled or teased, favoured or vilified, according to their political importance. It is not the numerical strength of a community, it is not its professions of loyalty or its love of order and peace, but it is its usefulness as a political weapon, it is its value as a political body which determine its fitness to receive some favoured treatment, some preferential grants and boons. The cost of these last may be borne by any other community. The determining question is not who pays, but who is to derive advantages. The distributor is supreme. The payer is submissive. He must pay without any protest or representation. The distributor has the right or the strength to enjoy the benefits or to distribute them amongst his favourites. The payer can only murmur, whispers fruitlessly, the distributor doing his work

without remorse, without hindrance or with impunity.

8 The truth of the above remarks will be borne out by a further analysis of the importance of each community as seen from the treatment and favours it receives from the governing body.

9 First of all come Europeans. It is in their, and their interests alone, that this whole show of an Empire is carried on, that the cry of a "white man's burden" is raised, that this sweet talk of an Imperial Preference is started. Everywhere their rights are far greater than those of others. In all Government departments their status, power and emoluments are high, but their responsibility to the tax payers is practically nil. Their words are generally carried out as laws, and their actions very often taken as rights. You have to obey implicitly what they order. They will regulate all the practice and procedure, even if you are at all allowed to discuss the adoption of any principle. All social and religious laws, all commercial and industrial enactments, all political and educational acts will be drawn up by them. They are the masters and you are the servants. Ultimate decisions on points of law will be recorded by them. The spirit of your culture must give way before their interpretations. All places of importance, of power, prestige, all sinecure places, all posts carrying high salaries, all departments which increase useful knowledge, which raise status, which are pecuniarily advantageous are allotted to this favoured class. The head of every institution, of every department is recruited from that class. All facilities for travel, trade and tour are provided for them. Every attempt is made to furnish them comfort and opportunity so that they may be able to exploit India to their own advantage. All laws are relaxed in their favour. Special mild laws are enacted in their interests. They are exempted from the Arms Act. The Indian Penal Code diminishes its rigour towards them. The Press Act does not interfere with their work. Law bends before them. Procedure and judge's discretion furnish safety valves for their escape. There is no other class equal to them in political importance. For their education separate and commodious, well equipped and well staffed schools will be built and maintained. They will receive every kind of training, mental and physical, making them fit for a

Proportionately very large grants would be made for their education irrespective of money they contribute as taxes. Every one of them will be made literate. Their social and religious needs and cravings will be cared for and satisfied. Poverty will not be allowed to visit them as far as possible. All required qualifications will be easily relaxed or broken in order to make them accommodation in well salaried posts.

10. The ruling class considers its own stability, permanence and vested interests to be safe and to depend mainly on their (Europeans) proper maintenance. They must be flattered and kept pleased by giving them greater advantages, more facilities and superior powers and status. To displease them would be to destroy the purpose of this political structure. But is the value of their maintenance for our sake so great as to necessitate all this favouritism? Indians are loyal to the British connection in their own interests. They are able to manage many branches of administration if only allowed to do so. What at present is performed by that class will be performed equally well by us. We are sure and certain about it. Moreover it will be done less expensively. If Britain's purpose in India is to train us for self government, then even if we be a little inferior in our abilities and work it is in our interest that we should be allowed to carry on the work of the country without any interference. Help us and guide us, not check us or hinder us in our advance. The pampering of the European class at our cost is evidently detrimental to our larger and permanent national interests. It is a danger to our advance in self government. Its existence has left no scope for the development of our virtues and qualities. It mars our growth by its desire and opportunity to determine the administration and policy of our country. We are made to move only in a circumscribed area under constant checks and limitations. There is no scope for the free growth of our inherent individual and national tendencies and character. This alien element in the structure of our national activities goes against the grain of our culture. We are heavily losing every day by being cut away from a life of political responsibility. Our self respect and self-confidence two great qualities of a people have suffered heavily. Thus we

find that at a great cost to us in law, in getting posts in the administration of justice towards them in commercial undertakings and trade, in mining operations and railways, they receive all the possible advantages and facilities in every part of India for the simple reason that the Government officers are their kith and kin.

11. Let us now see what favourable opportunities they enjoy in commerce and trade. India is a great market for the products of European industries. The policy of *laissez faire* the organised destruction of indigenous industries during the East India Company's regime and foreign commerce and the European advance in scientific machinery appliances and chemistry have killed the Indian competition in manufactured goods and industries. The want of technical and scientific education the lack of facilities for studying at the great organisations of industrial factories and mills have taken away Indians from the chief source of producing wealth, namely industries. The possession of raw materials the existence of cheap labour and of Indian money in Government and European Banks are only utilised by foreign capitalists whose profits are enhanced the other factors costing less Indians for want of capital, co-operation and scientific knowledge are unable to utilise the richness of the materials and the cheapness of the labour. For want of a national government the indigenous industries and foreign commerce are not able to develop on any sound or progressive lines. European capitalists find India a safe market for investment and for further immense profit. The so called British capital being really accumulated in India out of abnormal profits. Their interests are scrupulously secured first. They are encouraged to exploit India and to reap advantages in money and comforts. Railways afford them facilities in transmission of goods. Banks give them money on low rates of interest for their industrial undertakings in India. They secure big contracts and earn good commission. All the carrying trade with other countries, all the passenger traffic are done by European companies. They reach directly the cultivator and earn also the middleman's profit. Government officials who have large works to be executed entrust them to European firms. Many of the great agricultural industries of India, e.g. Jute

Indigo, and Tea, pour their enormous profits into their pockets. Almost all the mining operations of the country are carried on by the European companies. Private Railways are practically owned and managed by them. The Navy has place only for them. The artillery is practically entrusted to their charge. Commissions in the army are still practically issued to them only. Higher offices in these departments are reserved for them alone.

* 12 Exchange is made as favourable to them as possible, even at the cost of the stability of the Indian Currency and monetary system. Facilities for the transmission of money from England to India or vice versa have been afforded to English merchants at the cost of Indian money and of unsettling the Indian treasury.

13 Then there are some religious institutions, the bishoprics of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places maintained at the cost of the taxpayer—a practice which militates against and transgresses the professed principle of religious neutrality. Religious convents, colleges and schools started by Christian Missionaries receive grants in aid for their work. The activities of the Salvation Army are fostered by grants of land and money. And there are many other ways in which this Gospel of favouritism works. But this is in short the code of favouritism applied fully to and enjoyed continuously by those who are first in political importance.

14. Now we shall take the community of Christians which includes Eurasians first and Indian Christians next. Perhaps in their heart of hearts these people are not liked by Europeans, most probably because they imitate apishly European forms of dress, language, food etc. and there are other reasons also for the same. But this class of people are held in greater importance in political favouritism. Its code embraces them more sympathetically and distributes favours amongst them more liberally than amongst the remaining communities. Look at the care taken for their education. They are allowed to enlist as volunteers. Greater consideration is shown in giving them posts. Railway platforms and engines are their monopolies. Higher police services, Pier posts are becoming their preserves. Railways afford greater conveniences and separate compartments for their travel. Every station

reserves comfortable waiting rooms and makes other accommodations for their use. Comparatively inferior qualifications will secure them places undreamed of by others. They are a counterweight against the political aspirations of Indians. By favouring them abnormally they are made permanent hirelings to be used in times of necessity for the good of their masters. Their eyes are turned away from India, their centres of affection lie outside.

15 I shall now come to the Mahomedans. There is a great gap and fall between this community and those already mentioned in point of favouritism. They belong to a religion historically opposed to Christianity and to Christians. There was no love lost between the followers of the two different but militant faiths. In their struggle for conversion of 'infidels' and acquisition of territory they crossed swords on many a battlefield in every country for any trivial dispute. But in India they came to possess greater political importance in the eyes of a portion of the ruling class. In the valuation of Hindus and Mahomedans as the two chief communities of India, Hindus were discarded as less useful because greater in number, more patriotic at first, and with aspirations centred in India and for India. Though now to the permanent good of India the Mahomedans have changed their angle of vision and are following practically the same lines of work as the Hindus, they were considered until recently to hate Hindus as being their inferiors and subjects in the past, as infidels or kafirs in religion. Hence they were thought to be a good weight and weapon against Hindus in whatever the Hindus demanded or wanted to achieve. The past glories of their kingdoms in India, their ideas of being foreigners in the country, their western look towards Arabia and Persia, their civilisation, and their interest elsewhere all this was calculated to keep them apart from the people of the country. In valuing them politically as an asset for the stability of the British rule they were thought to be more weighty and useful.

16 The education of Mahomedans is receiving separate care. The exclusive and non national tendencies shown by a section of them are fostered. The militant spirit and turbulence displayed by some classes of them are not with disfavour so as these

understood channels. In legislative councils they have received separate electorates in addition to their share in the general electorate. They are now being given separate representations in municipalities and local boards, though great statesmen and foresighted patriots know that the principle of separate communal representation is disastrous to the development of a strong polity for India and India's harmonious political future.

17 The treatment of other favoured groups is similar but minor in character and less in importance. It is not worth our while to describe it here.

18 Very few will deny the truth of the description given above of the principles and workings of political favouritism in India. Of the many factors which go against our national interests, this Gospel of favouritism, this reign of partiality and injustice are the most prominent. Hence we have to know their workings so as to be able to find out ways to minimise their adverse influence.

Amraoti,
Berar

S V PUNAMBHAR.

INDIAN WOMEN OF TO MORROW

By Miss KRISHNABAI TELASKAR

EVERY one specially the educated knows that the history of woman has begun in all the great countries of the world. At present India may not be great politically but certainly she is a great country which has contributed a most important and solid share to the civilisation of the world. In such a country of one of the most ancient civilisations we are glad to see that the woman has commenced to make and write her own history. Wise and sincere workers must catch this time to help the cause of those who form the most precious part of humanity. To help women is to help the world in various ways because the forming of a happy home, a useful and healthy society and a strong nation depends upon its women. It will not be exaggerating to say that any type of generation we produce will take its characteristics according to the type of womanhood in that generation. Now India is entering upon a new era of enlightenment and it behoves its women to keep with the times and avail themselves of the new favourable conditions offered for their progress. Training them along proper and reformed lines making them feel the great responsibilities that lie before them and the part they are called upon to play, will prepare them for doing their part faithfully and intelligently. By nature

woman is very different from man, and though man is working very hard to alleviate human sufferings it is woman alone who can root out these miseries completely when she works with her heart and soul.

The ignorance which prevails among the women of India of their own power and influence is the great obstacle in the way of their doing their share of the work. The tender heart of a woman is touched very deeply at the sight of suffering humanity; she readily gives her sympathy and is willing to do whatever she can for them. The work of European women in the present war, in which their countries are engaged in a death struggle against one another affords splendid example of unparalleled self sacrifice. The Indian woman does not lack this spirit of self sacrifice. She shows it in even a greater degree because her outlook on life is very different from that of the woman in the West. Her sweet and gentle nature, a very sympathetic and loving heart, a highly spiritual outlook of life, her persistency in carrying out moral ideas of which she is convinced, her delicate mind and her remarkable spirit of self sacrifice all these qualities make of her a superb type of womanhood which not very many countries are fortunate to possess. But our women do not know their own

qualities, the influence they can exert and the great position which belongs to them in the home as well as in the world. Several of the excellent qualities like fidelity, generosity, &c., at present ill informed and misdirected, if trained and used with discrimination will form powerful factors in the reform of the home as well as society.

The long subjection in which our women have been kept in entire ignorance of their own excellent qualities and the systematic suppression of their natural growth have dulled their imagination and they are quite unconscious of the high mission they have in life. To them their life's work consists only in waiting upon man, serving him faithfully and being ready to bend at his slightest pleasure.

With our advanced thinking our attitude and notion regarding the relation of man to man is entirely changed and with that the relation of man to woman is no longer the same. Man and woman are two component parts of one life whether in the home, the community, the nation or the world at large. Is it right then that the development of half of the human race should be neglected or half heartedly attended to? Can humanity make any real advance and be really happy while one of its halves is lying paralysed in ignorance and steeped in misery? If we wish that India should make any solid and real progress based on higher principles of life let then her women receive the fullest consideration and let them come forward to take their right place and responsibilities. The social and spiritual health of the country can be only preserved and real regeneration of India in all spheres of life will be only achieved when her women will take their proper place in the new India of to-morrow. We are sometimes tempted to take some very poor satisfaction in the idea that we are educating our women and are trying hard to improve their lot. But the education that we have given them in the past and are giving even at present has done very little to enlighten their minds nor has it made them any much better than before. Even this poor education has not reached all, and where it has reached, all that it has done is to make them only more intelligent workers at home and better ministers to the wants of their brothers or husbands. But we must be far more sincere and honest when

we take up the cause of our women. Their education must be based on the new educational conceptions and advanced methods. In India the term education means making a person better and more intelligent animal by the acquisition of ready made facts. The educated man feels that he is more civilised than his fellow being who has no education and that he will be able to earn better and live more decently. True education is much more than this. It is unfolding the mind, leading out all latent, noble and humanly qualities in man and building up his character. It means a clear and intelligent mind. Its aim is self-expression through self-realisation. Its further aim is to make the man a self-sufficient being and a useful member of the Society. Right education must help a man to find out his proper place in life and prepare him to fit himself in that position.

The living interest in the social, intellectual, religious, and political activities which we find lacking in India, will be supplied when our women will understand them intelligently and co-operate with men heartily. To help them do so the old and defective system of education of women must be changed and based afresh on newer and healthier conceptions. Their educations must be such as to make them more useful members of the society. Until recently the ideal of the Indian woman had been to get married and live within the four walls of her home ministering to man's necessities and going through the drudgery of life cheerfully and bravely. Her vision seldom extended beyond this. Married life is certainly the highest expression of human joy and happiness but it should not be forgotten that even there man and woman should join hands in loving partnership and share the responsibilities of that life equally. Neither in the home nor elsewhere however, woman in India has yet received her proper recognition. On account of some economic considerations and other physical advantages man has assumed a superiority over woman, and she out of a deep sense of self-sacrifice has submitted to him willingly without complaint. But woman is the noblest expression of God and she must have the fullest scope to grow and develop herself not merely that she may demand her happiness and comforts in life, but that she may grow fully according to

her nature and in that growth realise the beauty of her existence and shed its bliss and lustre in her home and outside. She does not need to be taught only to give herself willingly and do sacrifice for others. That is woven in her nature and consciously or unconsciously she has never swerved from it. Her tender nature makes her take interest in helping humanity. But what she particularly needs is broadening her outlook and realising that society is nothing but an enlargement of the home and whatever affects the latter must affect the society. She will then feel responsible for all civic matters which affect both equally. In America for instance women take a keen interest in public matters, feel concerned in the existence of social evils even outside their homes and boldly handle such questions as smoking, drinking, adulteration of food, bad treatment of the children in the factories etc. Men always try to remove these evils but it is women alone who can lay effective campaigns against them and root them out successfully. In America sex prejudice has almost disappeared and men and women have joined their hands in co-operation for the common good and are laying their lives jointly and intelligently on the altar of duty towards humanity. There is no longer found that distrust in the opposite sex which is the great obstacle to social progress in any country. This want of confidence is due to our wrong notion of the relation between the sexes and has no basis in any solid and healthy convictions. If children are brought up with higher ideals and in pure and natural relationship they will behave towards each other as brothers and sisters with mutual trust and love.

While taking into account the peculiar temperament of our women which may ripen into a fruitful life, their special qualities must be cultivated by education. The new education which our women should receive must suit her temperament and make her conscious of her own capacities. Her intellectual training must help her unfold her latent faculties which are to be cultivated to some useful ends. It must help her to find out her proper place in life and in social fabric and make her a self-reliant and cultured human being and efficient worker in society. If India of to-morrow is to produce women worthy

of her name the system of education of women must undergo a complete change. They should not be made to go through a mere mode of intellectual grinding as we have provided for men, and stuff their minds with manufactured ideas of others. All our special institutions for women or those where co-education is allowed will not help the cause of our women so much as was hoped for, as long as they work with a blind devotion to inefficient methods of education. We want women who will bring about a regeneration of the home, the society and the nation on healthy and higher principles of life. First they must understand their wider moral relation towards each other so that they can give their sympathy and help to all. They must be able to cast out all social restrictions which blind the mind and degenerate the moral character. They should know many of the evils and immoralities which are practised under the name of religion and must administer their generosity and kindness wisely and in an organised form.

The saddest thing we notice in India is the disrespectful and mean attitude of man towards woman. Even the so-called educated class is not free from this blame. We grieve to see in all public places and streets the way that our women of higher as well as lower classes are treated. For their selfishness and self-satisfaction men treat women no better than human animals. These evils can only be remedied when women are educated intelligently so that they will stand for their rights and better treatment at the hands of the other sex. Then they will teach their children and brothers to respect a woman and receive her on an equal footing. In America for example if a woman gets into a street car which is crowded any man will at once offer his seat no matter what the colour of her skin is, black or yellow or white, the police too in the street will treat her most politely.

There is another fact which accounts for man's assumed superiority over woman and that is the economic dependence of the latter on the former. Let woman be economically independent of man and man will at once change his attitude towards her as he has done in the West. Her economic independence and her intellectual training will give her the right place in society. Apart from these considerations

our women feel keenly their dependent position and live a miserable and unhappy life. The society which allows that half of its members should be deprived of their rights and simple comforts of life is morally rotten. Only the right education of our women will remedy this evil.

In America there is no line of activity or department of business which does not include women workers and seek their help and co-operation. When women join any work of social reconstruction it is bound to be successful. By their personality and sincere efforts every social movement becomes a living force for the betterment of humanity. The influence of a woman is very inspiring and with her help man can achieve much in bringing about better social condition and lead humanity in its onward march of progress. Our men must change their attitude towards women not with a sense of patronising them but by receiving them as equals in life and helping them to make their life more useful not for man's own self aggrandisement but for helping the suffering and neglected humanity. Various social organisations and clubs where men and women can come together without the least constraint and on perfect equality will help to bring about this attitude. There both will freely exchange their thoughts and find out the means whereby they can help and work together for the neglected and unfortunate section of our people.

They must play their part ably and intelligently in the educational and political work of reconstruction as well. If they themselves are enlightened and if their ideas are broadened they will be the proper persons to take up the work of the coming generation. The patient kind and loving temperament of women make them better teachers than men in handling the delicate child mind. The impressions received and the kind of turn given to the innocent and tender child mind has a more permanent effect than any help given in later life. In America nearly half the number of the teachers are women in elementary and public schools. In America women teachers are employed on a large scale even in colleges and universities and it is such an interesting sight to see men and women paying their homage and loving tribute to women teachers and drawing their inspiration from them and

drinking at the same fountain of knowledge.

The employment of women as teachers will also give them work which will improve their economic condition as well. The economic independence of woman the raising of their status and their intelligent co-operation will help to bring about a better understanding between the sexes and each will help the other in the cause of humanity, and when men and women are working in perfect harmony and co-operation then there is greater hope for rapid progress. Then civic matters will not be entirely left in the hands of men who cannot see all the sides of every question which affects life. Many of the social corruptions will be removed and life will be made much happier and nobler than before. The resources and energies of men and women will be better organised and utilised and all the poor in society will have their share of blessings. National activities will receive great inspiration and living interest and women will contribute their share in the national regeneration of the country. When women have received broad and liberal education whereby their minds get truly cultured they will fill their place nobly. Their enthusiasm and earnestness will bring success more easily and men will not loath to seek their cooperation but on the other hand will appreciate it better.

It is evident then that for imparting true education and culture to our women, an entirely new system must be introduced based on a rational and proper estimate of their qualities and capacities and a full realisation of their mission in life. In this new system of education the one most important thing which requires particular emphasis in India is the physical development. The mental sloth, the moral blankness, the dull vision and general inability of action which are in abundant evidence in our people are due to weak physique. When the woman herself is not in a fit condition of body her children will be weaklings who cannot meet the stern demands of national duty and self sacrifice and no nation can be strong as long as its men and women are not healthy and vigorous. Each woman must consider it a sacred duty in bringing up her child to help it develop a healthy and strong physique. If women are healthy in body then they will also have a

healthy intellectual growth which will bring a rich and valuable contribution to the national life. Physical training, right cultural education, wider knowledge of sociology and the social sciences, vocational training, knowledge of domestic economy, and economic provision before and after education are some of the points to be considered in the education of the women of to-morrow.

Women so educated will form fitting companions to men in their work for the national cause. India will then earn quickly her proud position amongst the nations of the world and will shed that spiritual light which will illumine the path of stumbling humanity and that peace which will bring it real happiness. Let then the cause of women's education be

taken up in all the earnestness and the spirit of a sacred duty. If the India of to-morrow is to prosper materially and spiritually then no longer can she tread the old beaten path of the last several centuries. Her men and women must unfold their life in all its departments and bring to the world the gift of their spiritual living. Then will they work not as individuals of a merely larger group like a nation, for whose welfare only they feel responsible, but their sympathies will extend to other nations also for their motto will be "above all is humanity." By their silent but effective work they will carry the message of peace, love and brotherhood to the world and restore to India her place as a spiritual mother of the world.

tors" "pestilential." In one of the letters to the Viceroy occurs the following passage—

And here let me warn you that it is a lifelong way of mine not to be afraid of either of two words—'philanthropist' is one and agitator is the other. Most of what is decently good in our curious world has been done by these two much abused sets of folk.

The almost invariable bureaucratic practice in India is to back up the executive and the police, whether they be right or wrong. The author of the *Recollections* says

Suppose the designs of the extreme men are as mischievous impracticable and sinister as anybody pleases. Call them a band of plotters agitators what you will. Is that any reason why we should at every turn back up all executive authority through thick and thin, wise or silly, right or wrong? Surely that is the very way to play the agitators game. Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India, Lawrence Chisolm Sidney Low, all sing the same song. 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles whatever you may think of them be sure that before long the Mahometans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you' and so forth and so forth. That is what they all cry out.

This was written in June, 1906. In a letter written in December next year, referring to what happened at the Surat Congress, he said 'it means, I suppose, the victory of Extremist over Moderate, going no further at this stage than the break up of the Congress, but pointing to a future stage in which the Congress will have become an Extremist organisation.' We may incidentally observe that "Moderate" and "Extremist" are relative terms. Those among us who are called Extremists are moderation itself compared with the Czechoslovaks and Poles whom the Allies have agreed to treat as independent belligerent nations. We are called extremists because though we wish to remain within the British Empire our very moderate demands are felt as an encroachment upon the preserve of the British bureaucrats and exploiters, and the Czechoslovaks and Poles are to be treated as independent belligerent nations because their insurrection and fighting are directed against the Austrians and the Germans.

On August 26, 1909, Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy

Your long extract from B— to you is really of first-rate interest. It is surely as satisfactory as anything that we can expect in these turbid days. His diagnosis of the dangerous elements underground seems very just and sound. But he should certainly

be warned not to count on deportation as a weapon to be freely resorted to, and as for legislating on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act it is pure nonsense. He seems to refer to Forster's Act (not Balfour's of 1887) and that was about the most egregious failure in the whole history of exceptional law. If I know anything in the world it is the record and working of Irish coercion since 1891, and the notion in the present parliamentary circumstances and with me of all men in the universe as Secretary of State of our being a party to a new law authorising detention without trial is really too absurd to be thought of. The venerable Regulation of 1818 is not easily swallowed and a new version of it is a dream that a shrewd man like B— should be too wide awake to nurse in his head for a single minute. However he evidently will not be in a hurry to stir for new engines of repression if he can possibly help it.

In another letter occurs the following passage,

The question is the Future. 'Tis like the Czar and the Duma. We've to say you shall have reforms when you are quiet. Meanwhile we won't listen to a word you say. Our reform projects are hung up. Meanwhile plenty of courts martial, *lettres de cachet*, and the other paraphernalia of law and order. People here who have been shooting against the Grand Dukes in Petersburg for bullying the Duma will about equally vociferously against you and me if we don't in our own sphere borrow the Grand Duke policy.

That deportation is inconsistent with radical principles Morley knew very well. Hence he wrote to the Viceroy

Deportation is an ugly dose for Radicals to swallow in truth if I did not happen to possess a spot less character as an anti-coercionist in Ireland, our friends would certainly have kicked a good deal. As it is if a division is forced after my speech, we shall have against us the Irishmen most if not all of the Labourmen and a fair handful of our ordinary rank and file. This may put me personally into something of a hole for I don't see how I could carry on, if I found myself opposed by a majority of our own party. However we need not say good morrow to the Devil until we meet him.

Morley freely expressed the opinion that some high officers of Government in India required to be placed under restraint. He wrote

And now by the way that we have got down the rusty sword of 1818 [not for deportation] I wish you would deport — and — [two officials]. What do you say? I should defend that operation with real verve.

At present also there are certain high officers of Government who require badly to be deported,—if only to England.

After the "villainy of the Bombs, the revelations connected with the Bombs," as Morley puts it, he wrote

The ex-Anglo-Indian official with plenty of time on his hands and a horrible facility of penmanship, flies to the newspapers in most lively vociferation, above the familiar signatures of 'Indicus olim

who knows," and so forth. Then more sensible and more serious are the various orders of Money-Changers, who are interested in Indian loans of all kinds. That they should watch us with anxious eyes is in the natural order of things, and so it is that they should curse us for want of Vigour and all the other fine words in that specious vocabulary. Well, I'm as much for Vigour as they are, but I am not going to admit that Vigour is the same thing as Pogroms. When I read of the author (or printer) of a "seditious pamphlet" being punished with seven years of transportation, I feel restless. I have ordered that the pamphlet and proceedings shall be sent to me, and it may prove that I have been misinformed. I hope so. Then — is said to have sentenced some political offenders (so called) to be flogged. That, as I am advised, is not authorised by the law either as it stood, or as it will stand under flogging provisions as amended. Here also I have called for the papers and we shall see. — said to me this morning "You see, the great executive officers never like or trust lawyers." I will tell you why," I said "tis because they don't like or trust law. They in their hearts believe before all else the virtues of will and arbitrary power." That system may have worked in its own way in old days, and in those days the people may have had no particular objection to arbitrary rule. But, as you have said to me scores of times the old days are gone and the new times breathe a new spirit; and we cannot carry on upon the old maxims. This is not to say that we are to watch the evil doers with folded arms waiting to see what the Devil will send us. You will tell me what you think is needed. I trust, and fully believe that you will not judge me to be callous, sitting comfortably in an arm chair at Whitehall, while bombs are scattering violent death in India, while men like — are running risk of murder every hour for year after year upon the frontier while all sorts and conditions of men and women are enveloped in possibilities of hideous horrors like those of fifty years ago. (How greatly exaggerated all this is, Ed, M.R.) All I can say is that we have to take every precaution that law and administration can supply us with, and then and meanwhile to face what comes, in the same spirit of energy and stoicism combined in which good generals face a prolonged and hazardous campaign.

The letter dated August 26, 1908, is very important, and must be quoted in full.

I am still loitering in Scotland, but every day a post brings me away to India, and even if the post failed, native activity of mind would suffice to carry me off in solitary and reflective hours to the same detectable region.

Having paid myself that handsome compliment, I at once hasten to balance it by a word or two on matters where I am dogged and impenetrable. You warn me against "disapproval at home of severe sentences, and you draw me a vivid picture of the electric atmosphere of the daily life around you, and of the dangerous inflammation of racial antipathies. Vivid—but I am sure not a single shade too vivid for the plain facts. I wish you would in your next letter tell me the end of the story of the young Corporal who in a fit of excitement shot the first Native he met. What happened to the Corporal? Was he put on his trial? Was he hanged? I cannot but honour Curzon for his famous affair with the 9th Lancers, so far as I have correctly heard the story. If we are not strong enough to prevent

Murder, then our pharisaic glorification of the stern justice of the British Raj is nonsense. And the fundamental question for you and me to-day is whether the excited Corporal and the angry Planter are to be the arbiters of our policy. True, we should be fools to leave out of account the deep roots of feeling that the angry Planter represents and stands for. [We do not understand this Editor, M.R.] On the other hand, is it not idle for us to pretend to the Natives that we wish to understand their sentiment, and satisfy the demands of "honest reformers," and the rest of our benignant talk, and yet silently acquiesce in all these violent sentences? You will say to me, 'These legal proceedings are at bottom acts of war against rebels and locking a rebel up for life is more affable and polite than blowing him from a gun; you must not measure such sentences by the ordinary standards of a law court, they are the natural and proper penalties for Mutiny, and the Judge on the bench is really the Provost Marshal in disguise.' Well, be it so. But if you push me into a position of this sort—and I do not deny that it is a perfectly tenable position, if you like—then I drop reforms. I would not talk any more about the New Spirit of the Times, and I will tell Asquith that I am not the man for the work, and that what it needs if he can put his hand on him, is a good, sound old-fashioned Eldonian Secretary of State. Pray remember that there is to be a return of these sentences laid before Parliament. They will be discussed, and somebody will have to defend them. That somebody I won't be. Meanwhile, things will move, or may move and we shall see where we stand when the time comes —, writing to me by the last mail, says this "If the situation took a turn for the worse I wonder if you would support me in the deportation of two or three dangerous men?" etc. I have replied to this cool demand for a number of blank *lettres de cachet* given under my hand, to be filled in at discretion, by saying that "no resort to this proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me with a full statement of the case." I am writing this in Scotland away from official archives but if my memory is right I attached the same condition about deportation in regard to the G. of I itself. A *fortiori* to Bombay, Madras, or any other local Government. However, I fervently hope that things will not take a turn for the worse. Anyhow, it is silly to be in such a hurry to root out the tares as to pluck up half your wheat at the same time. If we have any claim to be men of large views, it is our duty not to yield without resistance to the passions and violence of a public that is apt to take narrow views. Clemency Canning was a great man after all.

The public impression in Bengal continues, in spite of the Rowlatt Committee's Report and Chandavarkar Committee's Memorandum, that the prevalent policy of detention and imprisonment without trial has resulted in rooting out more wheat than tares. If the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations are embodied in a permanent statute, then woe for the wheat! In recent years hundreds of men have been deprived of liberty without trial, but there was no Secretary of State like Viscount Morley to demand that "no resort to this

proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me, with a full statement of the case." We are also reminded in this connection with what he wrote on August 23, 1907, "I see that—says that this drastic power of muzzling an agitator will save the necessity of "urging deportation." He must have forgotten what I very explicitly told him, that I would not sanction deportation except for a man of whom there was solid reason to believe that violent disorder was the direct and deliberately planned result of his action." How many persons have been imprisoned as state prisoners in recent years in full consonance with the ground stated above?

In a letter dated June 7, 1907, Morley says, "since deportation began, I am often wounded in the house of my friends—"shelving the principles of a life time," "violently unsaying all that he has been saying for thirty or forty years," and other compliments of that species. This from men to whom I have been attached and with whom I have worked all the time! The same letter contains a passage which enables us to understand why no voice has been raised in Parliament against the deprivation of hundreds of persons of liberty without trial, in what Morley calls the Austrian or Russian manner. Describing an interview with Ibbetson, ex Satrap of the Panjab, Morley writes—

"He agreed with me that if deportation is to be used it ought to be a quick and unconditional stroke. But he thought deportation without condition or choice would do good. To this my reply was that if prosecution failed, then we could go forward to deportation with a clear conscience. [It can not be said of a single case of deportation that it was resorted to because prosecution failed. Ed. M.R.] The plain truth is that if there were any solid and substantial reason for believing India is drifting into a dangerous condition, and if that can be decently established, then we are in a position to say that the country is concerned—we can do what we please."

Britishers are woefully ignorant of Indian affairs. It is quite easy for Anglo-Indian and other interested scare mongers to prove to Britishers that India is drifting or has drifted into a dangerous condition, as has been not unoften done. When that is done, "British justice" disappears, and "we [i.e., those charged with the government of India] can do what we please." Therefore, the remedy for Austrian or Russian methods in India can not be had by appealing to "the sense of justice of the British nation"; the remedy

lies only and solely in complete self-government for India.

A passage from the letter dated May 27, 1909, is worth quoting

A pretty heavy gale is blowing up in the House of Commons about Deportation and shows every sign of blowing harder as time goes for new currents are showing. On the last fusillade of questions at the beginning of the week, a very clever Tory lawyer, F. E. Smith a rising hope of his party and not at all a bad fellow, joined the hunt, and some of the best of our own men are getting uneasy. The point taken is the failure to tell the deportee what he is arrested for to detain him without letting him know exactly why to give him no chance of clearing himself. In spite of your Indian environment, you can easily imagine how taking is such a hint as that, to our honest Englishmen with their good traditions of legal right and you will perceive the difficulty of sustaining a position so uncongenial to popular habits of mind, either Whig or Tory."

The letter dated August 12, 1909, contains the information that "Our own orthodox rank and file do not understand indefinite detention." A previous letter of that year dated May 5, informed the Viceroy that "some 150 members of Parliament have written to Asquith protesting against Deportation. Asquith will give them a judicious reply, but you will not be able to deport any more of your suspects—that is quite clear." In more recent years, no "pretty heavy gale," or even a light breeze, has blown up in the House of Commons about deportation, nor have any group of members of parliament protested against the detention of hundreds of suspects without trial, partly because of the pre occupation of the war and partly because Britishers have grown callous and accustomed to Austrian and Russian methods. The same year 1909, on January 13, the Secretary of State wrote a letter to the Viceroy, which lays down principles which, if observed in recent times would have prevented much injustice. We quote a paragraph

One last word about the eternal subject of Deportation. I chanced to spy a sentence the other day in a letter of—(not to me) which ran as follows "I have not the slightest doubt of his [Native's] very dangerous influence as an organiser and of his sympathy with acts of violence." I confess that it alarms me that a capable man like him should suppose that the fact of his having no doubt of another man's sympathy with something constitutes the shadow of a justification for locking him up without charge or trial. You may take my word for it my dear Viceroy, that if we do not use this harsh weapon with the utmost care and scruple—always where the material is dubious, giving the suspected man the benefit of the doubt—you may depend upon it, I say that both you and I will be called to severe account, even

by the people who are now applauding us (quite rightly) for vigor. It is just some momentary slip in vigilance that has often upset applecart and damaged political reputations, if reputations matter.

There are passages in the *Recollections* which go to show that Lord Morley sanctioned deportation only as a temporary and very exceptional measure, and that he did not like it. The following paragraph taken from a letter dated November 5, 1909, is one such:

I won't follow you into Deportation. You state your case with remarkable force I admit. But then I comfort myself in my disquiet at differing from you by the reflection that perhaps the Spanish Viceroy in the Netherlands, the Austrian Viceroy in Venice, the Bourbon in the two Sicilies and a Governor or two in the old American Colonies used reasoning not wholly dissimilar and not much less forcible. Forgive this affronting parallel. It is only the ally of a man who is himself occasionally compared to Strafford, King John, King Charles Nero and Tiberius.

Another letter dated January 27, 1910 is not less outspoken. We will quote the whole of the extract given in the *Recollections*:

This brings me to Deportees. The question between us two upon this matter may if we don't take care become what the Americans would call ugly. I won't repeat the general arguments about Deportation. I have fought against this here who regarded such a resort to the Regulation of 1818 as indefensible. So per contra I am ready just as stoutly to fight those who wish to make this arbitrary detention for indefinite periods a regular weapon of government. Now your present position is beginning to approach this. You have nine men locked up a year ago by *lettre de cachet* because you expected their arrest to check these plots. For a certain time it looked as if the coup were effective and were justified by the result. In all this I think we were perfectly right. Then you come by and by upon what you regard as a great anarchist conspiracy for sedition and murder and you warn me that you may soon apply to me for sanction of further arbitrary arrest and detention on a large scale. I ask whether this process implies that through the use of *détenués* you have found out a murder plot contrived not by them but by other people. You say: We admit that he got locked up; they can have had no share in these new abominations; but their continued detention will frighten evildoers generally. That's the Russian argument by packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia. We'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits and all will come out right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia, and did not save the lives of the Trepoïks, nor did it save Russia from a Du Bois the very thing that the Trepoïks and the rest of the off-shoots deprecated and detested.

On February 3 following Morley wrote:

Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination too enough and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realise the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial

Law which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law would not snuff out murder-clubs in India any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia or Ireland. The gang of Dublin invariables was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast.

We will conclude with an extract from the letter dated December 18, 1908.

One thing I do beseech you to avoid—a single case of forest gation in the absence of the accused. We may argue as much as we like about it and there may be no substantial injustice in it but it has an ugly continental Austrian Russian look about it which will stir a good deal of doubt or wrath here, quite besides the Radical Ultras.

The British Government in India has, however, recently made so much progress towards Austrianism and Russianism that in all cases of detention without trial it has been made the invariable practice to investigate in the absence of the accused, and an ex-Judge and a Judge of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts have brought forward specious arguments in support of this procedure. What is the next development?

Are Caste Electorates feasible and practicable in Bengal?

Caste electorates for the Hindus are demanded not by the Hindu castes themselves but by the Europeans of Bengal. The Europeans and Eurasians are numerically very small, and are each divided into more than a dozen castes which they call denominations, as the following table will show—

Denomination	Europeans	Eurasians
Roman Catholics	5,300	12,100
Anglicans	14,300	1,700
Armenians	700	0
Baptists	600	500
Congregationalists	100	100
Greeks	200	0
Lutherans	200	0
Methodists	500	400
Presbyterians etc.	2,700	800

Europeans include Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians and Russians.

If caste electorates must be imposed upon the Hindus against their wishes, why should not denominational electorates be accepted by the Europeans from whom the suggestion has proceeded? They have separate priests and separate burial grounds, etc. It is only the lowest Hindu castes which have separate priests, but the burning ground is the same for all Hindus. Nor can it be said that whereas

the Hindu castes do not intermarry, Europeans and Eurasians of all denominations do as a rule freely intermarry.

Caste electorates are impracticable for the Hindus, because most of the castes are numerically so small as not to be entitled to an entire member. If 50 elected members be thrown open to eighteen millions of Hindus living in rural Bengal, a caste ought to be 100,000 strong in order to deserve one full member. So all castes which number less than 100,000 people must remain unenfranchised. If two or more castes be clubbed together to make up 100,000 people and become entitled to an entire member, the very object with which separate caste electorates are advocated in the place of a general electoral roll on the basis of territorial units, will be defeated.

Caste electorates are impracticable in Bengal for the prime reason that every caste is scattered over nearly all the Districts of the Bengal Presidency. We shall take the case of the Namiasudras, of whom so much political capital has been sought to be made by the Europeans of Calcutta. They number about 1,960,000 people and are scattered over all Districts of Bengal, excepting Chittagong Hills, and more than 5,000 are to be found in 20 districts. They cannot be brought together to polling stations without dragging them far away from their homes and encouraging false personation.

SRI NATH DUTT

Professor Newman on India's Destiny.

The following extracts from Prof. F. W. Newman's *Memoirs* will be found interesting—

'It is rare indeed that an Englishman looks at India as Francis Newman looked at it fifty years ago—probably longer—he put his finger on exactly the spot which today is the crux which most puzzles and baffles politicians. In social and intellectual questions his were the clear-sighted, far-focussed eyes that reached beyond the measures of most men's minds. I saw clearly, fifty years ago, that India was drawing ever closer and closer to an inevitable terminus. That she was beginning to recognise, every year more definitely, her ultimate destination—was beginning to realise, too, that her foreign rulers were aware also of that terminus, but were not very anxious that she should reach it. Nay, were practically rather joggling her elbow to prevent her becoming so conscious of the direction in which the tide of affairs was drifting.

Nevertheless it is becoming more and more patent to every one who really studies the question impartially that things are not what they were fifty or sixty years ago; that a critical juncture is drawing

ever nearer and nearer—a juncture which inevitably will mean great changes for the governed and the governors.

Even the slow-moving East does more appreciably in half a century, when centres of education are doing their best to train Indians in European ideas of civilisation, in European ideas of government, and of the authority which learning gives. We can not expect to educate and yet leave those we educate exactly where we find them for with education comes invariably, inevitably, the growth of ideas planted by it,—their growth, and no less favorable fruition. To show someone all that is to be gained by reaching forward, and then to expect him not to reach, but to remain quiescent, is the act of a fool.

It is true that we have done much—very much for India. We have lifted her up—yes, but here is where the mental shoe pinches—we have insisted on preventing her from reaching her full stature. We have trained her sons to be able to work side by side with ourselves in various official duties, and then when they are desirous—as is indeed only the inevitable consequence of their education—of entering the *laissez-faire* side by side with Englishmen, they find there is no crossing the rubicon which officially divides the two nations.

Whenever the question of cooperation and sympathy comes up as from time to time it does, between Englishmen and Indians, whether it is fifty or sixty years ago, in Newman's day, or now in the year of grace 1909 with a few honourable exceptions, the answer is identically the same. It is practically an unknown quantity. The East and West have not really met. Still the ranks of the service are absorbed by Englishmen, still, as all educated Indians protest, the 'true centre of gravity for India is in London', still India is unrepresented in Customs, Post, Survey, Telegraph, Excise &c., and also in the commissioned ranks of the Army, still, because district administration is to all intents and purposes not in existence, there is no compulsory education for boys and girls, though most educated Indians are very strongly in favour of it"—*Memoirs and Letters of Francis W. Newman* by I. Gibberd Sieveking London, Kegan Paul, 1909, Chap. XII.

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

In continuation of what has been written on this subject in the February number of this review, the following will be found interesting. At the head of chapter XV of '*Empire in Asia*' How we came by it *A Book of Confessions* by W. M. Torrens, M. P. (Trubner and Co., 1872), the following is quoted from Lord Cornwallis' Minute on Land Settlement, dated 10th February, 1790—

'Bengal is one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe. Its real value to us depends upon the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to give considerable assistance to the treasury at Calcutta, and to supply the pressing and extensive wants of the other presidencies. The consequences of the heavy drains of wealth from the above causes, with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittance of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now severely felt by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon

the cultivation and the general commerce of the country. A very material alteration in the principles of our system of management has therefore become indispensably necessary, in order to restore the country to a state of prosperity and to enable it to continue to be a solid support to British interests and power in this part of the world.

Mr Torrens comments on the above as follows

That the primary sentiment which influenced the framing of the Bengal Settlement was not the prosperity of the country is clearly indicated by the passage quoted at the head of this chapter from the elaborate note drawn up by the Governor General Bengal Bahar and Orissa the first of which provinces had under native rule, been designated as 'the paradise of nations' were only valuable as they were able to supply the holders of India stock with large dividends to support an expensive government backed by an army of occupation and to reconquer a treasury exhausted by wanton and wasteful wars elsewhere. Misadministration by encroaching power had sapped the financial resources of the country and damaged the whole machinery of revenue.

As for the moderation or otherwise of the assessment, the following is the opinion of Torrens

The permanent land assessment of the Bengal province was ten-elevenths of the assumed rental calculated on only based on a mere rough and ready valuation that was presumed to fall considerably short of the actual rental and value though how far no care was taken to ascertain. Such a charge upon a bonafide value would have been indeed ruinous and preposterous (italics ours), but the real value of the land was two or three times greater than the nominal one for assessment.

The valuation, for the purposes of the assessment, was commenced in 1787, and completed in 1789, and Mr Holt Mackenzie in his report said

Our settlements were made in haste on general surmises on accounts never believed to be accurate and never brought to any clear test of accuracy on the offers of speculators and the bidding of rivals, on the suggestions of enemies on the statements of candidates for employment seeking credit with the Government by discreditors against the people (italics ours) on information of all kinds, generally worthless.

The valuation might under such circumstances be inaccurate, but it was hardly likely to err on the side of leniency towards the assesses. Mr Sidney Low, in his book, *A Vision of India* (ch xxiii), says that by the Permanent Settlement Indian zemindars 'were given all the rights of English landlords' with regard to the land, but that 'in the rest of India, the mistakes of the eighteenth century legislators indubious in the traditions of English real property law, were avoided.' It will thus appear that the status of Indian zemindars in the permanently set

tled districts is not different from that of English landlords.

The following opinions also on the permanent settlement of Bengal will be found interesting—

They [the landlords] are made to feel in a score of ways that their presence is an offence to a Government which exists for the protection of the people, and so they are subjected to all sorts of imposts and restraints. They are forced to give terms and conditions to their tenants which the Government steadily refuses to those ryots who hold land direct from itself. Government officials tell of the exactions which the zemindars take from the ryots, and how but for the intervention of the Government they would make the lot of the peasant unendurable, and yet, strange as it may seem I did not meet a single case of a cultivating ryot and I met hundreds of them who did not prefer to hold his land from a zemindar rather than hold it direct from the sircar. There is a human element present in the one case which is wholly absent in the other' (Ker Hardie, *India*, p. 94).

An enormously wealthy class (?) of zemindars has been created and the custom of official bleeding by offering them CILs and other decorations for subscriptions to the hobbies of collectors and Lieutenant Governors has grown up as a substitute for the more direct way of obtaining public revenue by a land assessment (Ramsay MacDonald, *Awakening of India*, Pop. Ed., p. 98).

The gradual extension of the Government Khas Mehals is also encroaching on the permanently settled tracts.

Seeking the Gratitude of Foreign Rulers, and Patriotism

The Indian Daily News writes

Says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*—It is a historical fact that it was with the help of the Bengalees that the early English settlers made themselves masters of Bengal and Behar. Were we a Bengali we should be ashamed to boast of the fact—if it is a fact.

Exactly. But did the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* 'boast of the fact'? Perhaps the *Patrika* wanted to excite the gratitude of the foreign rulers of the country. But even for that purpose one would shrink from mentioning such a 'fact'. It is immaterial for our present purpose to discuss whether it is a fact.

Ideal Governors for Ireland and for India

Lord Morley writes in his *Recollections*, Vol II, p. 232, 'I have often told you of my wicked thought that Strafford was an ideal type, both for governor of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and governor of India in the twentieth. Only they cut off poor Strafford's head, and his idea of government has been in mighty disfavour ever since. If a man's harangue provokes a riot, why don't they lock him up

for riot? Have they not police enough? If not police, what then has become of the "obligatory garison"?

Freedom and Subjection

There are many civilised countries, including the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in which, many newspapers write recklessly, with an utter disregard for truth, they write violently, sometimes inciting men to use force, they write in such a way as to set class against class, they attack the government of their country virulently. But there are no press laws there like those existing in India. The plain and main reason of this difference is that India is looked upon and governed as a subject country, with the intention that it should be so governed as long as possible. What an Englishman in power would tolerate if it came from a British editor "at home" or in India, would enslave him coming from an Indian editor.

We do not plead that editors should be charged libelous. What is wanted is that only when they are thought to have actually offended, they should be openly tried and punished or acquitted.

The beauty of our press laws is that even before a man has offended or thought of offending, he may be, as many have been, called upon to deposit some money as security for good behaviour. What still further heightens this beauty is that this is done solely at the sweet will of the executive. The man who is imagined to be a would be culprit is given no hearing. No doubt, editors are mightily pleased and their self respect is immensely increased when they find themselves thus classed with the criminal dregs of society. Another beautiful feature of our press laws is that when a printer removes his business to a new address, or when the place of publication of a newspaper is changed, the printer or the publisher is liable to deposit a sum of money as security. Many printers and publishers have had to do this. The most beautiful feature of the press laws is that when the money deposited as security has been forfeited to Government, a nominal remedy lies in an appeal to the High Court, but not one of the few appeals hitherto made at very heavy expense has been successful. The illusory character of the remedy was thoroughly exposed by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, late Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, in the *Comrade*

case. So the press laws have made the irresponsible will of the executive supreme.

Printers, publishers and editors should be treated just like other men. They should be free to pursue their respective avocations so long as they do not offend. But if Government must needs discriminate against them, they should have a hearing, with the further right of appeal, whenever security is demanded, increased, or forfeited. This is the least that can be tolerated.

Indians are not a more criminal or turbulent people than the inhabitants of other civilised countries where there is no Arms Act like that which exists here. In these civilised countries there occasionally occur rebellions, riots, armed robberies, murders, &c., but the people are not permanently disarmed, as Indians practically have been. The cause of this difference is to be sought in our subjection. All other causes alleged are mere cant. In our disarmed condition we suffer both from lawless men and wild animals. It is imaginable that by making the arms laws very stringent and by extraordinary watch kept over manufacturers of arms in India and on their imports, both law-abiding and law-breaking men may be kept deprived of arms, though this has not yet been found practicable. But wild animals have natural weapons of which they cannot be deprived, they can only be exterminated,—of which there is no sign yet. So we must continue to run the risk of falling a prey to wild men and wild animals. Men unaccustomed to self defence and conscious of a feeling of helplessness cannot but grow timid. This is emasculation. As Europeans and Eurasians can and do have arms freely, the juxtaposition of armed and disarmed sections of the population makes the former arrogant, violent and reckless and the latter weakly and timid. The remedy does not lie in requiring both sections of the people to take out licenses before being able to purchase arms. For that would simply be a nominal equality. Magistrates would freely grant licenses to Europeans and Eurasians, and refuse them almost as freely to Indians. Nor is this a mere assumption. The press laws are meant both for Indian owned and British owned newspapers, but has a single British owned paper suffered, in spite of the rabid writings of many of them, as against the hundreds of Indian owned papers which have

ed or been handicapped? The real remedy has often been suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League. It will also naturally suggest itself to the highest servants of the crown when by granting internal autonomy to India they are able to slake off the suspicion that the first use of arms which the people would make would be to rebel against the British Government.

The *Pioneer* has given currency to the rumour that the Government of India would soon place before the Imperial Council a Bill drafted on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. There is no doubt that Government are in a position to pass such a Bill. There is even every probability that the majority of nominated and elected Indian members would vote for it—whether from reasoned and honest conviction or from lack of real statesmanship, or from absence of the requisite degree of love of civic liberty, or from nervousness, we cannot say. Our clear opinion is that such a Bill is not only not required but that its results would be harmful. Where the real remedy is citizenship, masterful men are disposed to find a substitute in Coercion. Coercion and Crimes Acts have failed in Italy, Russia, Ireland, &c. But the Anglo Indian bureaucrat believes that as India is a peculiar country and as Indian nature is different from human nature elsewhere, 'lawless laws' are bound to succeed here. However, supposing that success is attained, the question would be, at what cost?

Morley, as quoted before, speaks of the risk of plucking up the tares and the wheat indiscriminately. The risk is very real. But Anglo Indian bureaucrats can afford to take the risk with a light heart, because the human wheat plucked up would not be any of them. But curses have a curious way of coming home to roost.

One of the serious problems for statesmanship to solve is how to repress crime and at the same time to keep up and foster the civic spirit. In free countries, nothing is done, except temporarily, which is likely to impair the civic spirit. Therefore statesmen in free countries have found successful remedies for increasing turbulence and criminality in widening the bounds of freedom, as the previous and subsequent history of the many Reform Acts

Great Britain show. But in subject

ies the pre occupation of the rulers

is, not how to keep up and foster the spirit of citizenship, but how to keep the people in subjection, miscalled maintaining order. Therefore repression looms larger in their eyes than measures for enfranchising the people. A compromise in the shape of Coercion cum Conciliation also occasionally suggests itself to them. It was tried during the Morley Minto regime, but with what consequences? Repression is thought of as a main weapon only because the rulers have not either the heart or the courage or the faith in human nature or the statesmanship to make the Reforms adequate. The futility of a small dose of Reform plus a big dose of Repression is patent to all students of history and of human nature.

In Ireland there have been during the war greater rebellions and conspiracies than in India. There are also no Arms Act and press laws in Ireland. But nevertheless no Rowlatt Committee have sat there to suggest 'lawless laws' as a permanent feature of the laws of the land. The Defence of the Realm Act is not to have a permanent place in the British or the Irish statute book, but the Defence of India Act may have such a place in the Indian statute book. What is the reason? The reason is to be found in the almost complete freedom of Ireland and the almost complete subjection of India.

The arguments for repressive laws are hard to meet. If they fail, it is urged that they would succeed if made more drastic and stringent and so should they be made. If they succeed, it is argued that they should be perpetuated, as, if they were abolished, crime would again raise its head.

• Externment of Mr. P. J. Mehta.

Mr. P. J. Mehta is a wealthy and public spirited citizen (or should we not say 'subject'?) of Rangoon. He is the secretary of the Burma Provincial Congress Committee. His importance in the public life of the province was recognised by Sir Harcourt Butler by his nomination to sit on two committees to deal with vaccination and with the grievances of deck passengers to Burma. He is an anti vaccinationist. But that is neither sedition, nor rebellion. He wrote a dissenting minute to the report of the deck passengers' grievance committee. But that was a thoroughly constitutional act. He spoke up for Mr. M. K. Gaudhi against the

unjust criticisms of Sir Reginald Craddock. But Mr M. K. Gandhi is not an outlaw. Mr Mehta has formed a social service league. But that also is thoroughly constitutional. All his activities have been above board, open and constitutional. Wherein, then, lay his offence that he should have been ordered to be detained within 24 hours,—and that, too, at a time when he lay in a precarious condition in hospital after undergoing a serious operation? Sir Reginald Craddock ought to tell the public why he has passed such an order. The Defence of India Act has given him the power to do what he likes. But it has given him no power to compel people to believe that whatever he does is just and necessary. Public opinion cannot be coerced or controlled. It cannot even be influenced in his favour unless he condescends to give reasons. And in the long run public opinion is a power even in India and Burma.

He has stopped the circulation of some Indian papers in his province, as Sir M. O'Dwyer has in the Panjab. But these are confessions of failure to govern in an enlightened manner. Criticisms which are allowed to be circulated in other provinces may have been prevented from circulating in the Panjab and Burma, either because the governors of these two provinces are more autocratic and touchy than the governors of the other provinces or because the administrations of these two offer more points of criticism than those of others. Another reason has been assigned as regards the Panjab *viz.*, that the nature or the education or the want of education of the Panjabis is such that criticism which is innocuous elsewhere would be productive of dangerous consequences there. Panjabis have rightly repudiated this untrue suggestion. But were it true, it would only mean that the Panjab Government had not been able to educate and make the Panjabis reasonable as the other provincial governments had done with regard to their charges. Should a similar argument be adduced in support of the Burma Government, the reply would be similar to the above. For the nature of the Panjabis and the Burmans is fundamentally the same as that of other men.

The order of externment passed on Mr Mehta shows the dangers of perpetuating the provisions of the Defence of India Act, as any public spirited man may be subject

ed to civil death by means of such an Act. The dangerous and arbitrary character of these provisions have also been conspicuously brought out by the conviction and imprisonment of four members of the social service league at Rangoon who are alleged to have told some coolies to stick out for higher wages than they had been getting. The ground of the conviction is said to be that these four gentlemen were by their action obstructing the prosecution of the war. But in Great Britain and the Dominions there have been, during the war, numerous strikes for higher wages, including one of London Policemen, but those who stuck out for higher wages only got better terms, not imprisonment, nor were their advisers and advocates in the press and on the platform brought to trial and deprived of liberty. So what is not an offence in a free country is a crime in a subject country.

The retrograde, dangerous and barbarising tendency of permanent repressive laws can be understood by members of legislative bodies, if they have sufficient statesmanship, sufficient love of civic freedom and sufficient imagination to realise the miseries and moral and material loss of those who undeservedly suffer from such laws. But probably many legislators do not believe that any persons have suffered unjustly. Were we of that opinion, we would still object in theory to the punishment of men without due trial, on account of the greater probability of innocent men suffering therefrom than if the usual judicial procedure were followed.

No one should wish that the real character of laws on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee should be brought home to our legislators by the undeserved internment or deportation of some of their near and dear ones. But there may be some among them to whom a pin prick applied to their bodies is a greater grievance than sword-cuts on others' limbs. If such there be, may they be blessed with gifts of greater sympathy and imagination!

Supersession of two Municipalities in Bengal

The commissioners of the Burdwan and the Hughly Chinsura Municipalities have been superseded by the Bengal Government for one year. The orders of the Government in the two cases are quoted below.

BURDWAN

5 After the most careful consideration the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the maladministration of the Burdwan Municipality is a grave public scandal which cannot be allowed to continue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Municipal Commissioners have abused their powers and proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality, and in the opinion of the Governor in Council it is only by their supersession in exercise of the special powers of control vested in Government that the administration can be reformed and the interests of the rate payers safeguarded. The Governor in Council is, therefore, constrained to declare by this order, issued under section 6a of the Bengal Municipal Act, that the Commissioners of the Burdwan Municipality are incompetent to perform their duties and have abused their powers and he directs that they be superseded for a period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act the Governor in Council further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall during the period of supersession be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Burdwan.

HOOGHLY CHINSURA

16 After the most careful consideration the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the Municipal Commissioners have persistently made default in the performance of their duties and have proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality. They have been treated for years past with great patience but have deliberately neglected the warnings and instruction given to them and the Governor in Council is reluctantly forced to decide that temporary supersession is necessary in the interests of the rate-payers themselves.

In these circumstances the Governor in Council declares by this order issued under section 65 of the Bengal Municipal Act that the Commissioners of the Hooghly Chinsura Municipality are incompetent to perform and persistently make default in the performance of their duties and he directs that they be superseded for the period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act, the Governor further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall, during the period of supersession, be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Hooghly for the time being.

As we are not aware of what the commissioners of these municipalities have to say in self-defence, we are unable to consider the charges preferred against them. If they have a case, they ought to publish a statement signed by all of them in reply to the Government Resolutions.

There is an impression abroad that, like the publication of the Rowlatt Committee's report at the present juncture, these Resolutions, superseding municipalities, are part of a bureaucratic campaign against the Montagu Chelmsford Reform

Scheme, their object being to show that as Bengalis are unfit to manage their local affairs even in such advanced districts as Burdwan and Hooghly, it would be unwise and premature to entrust them with larger powers of self-government. It has been also surmised that if Sir S. P. Sinha had been in charge of the local self-government portfolio instead of the Maharajahdwaraj of Burdwan, the supersession of these municipalities would not have taken place. We cannot say how much of truth there may be in such suppositions.

From the Government Resolutions it would appear that the affairs of Burdwan had been more grossly mismanaged than those of Hooghly Chinsura.

Though for want of information we are unable to examine the charges against these municipalities, we may say that taking them to be true, less drastic remedies than supersession ought to have been tried. For instance, official chairmen and secretaries might have been appointed. If it were thought that official chairmen and secretaries could not bring about a change for the better in the administration of the two municipalities with the co-operation of or in spite of the obstruction of the present body of commissioners, Government could have ordered a fresh election of commissioners, disqualifying the present ones for re-election.

As indicated above, we are unable either to defend or to condemn these municipalities outright. But that out of more than a hundred municipalities in Bengal these two have been singled out for supersession, would go to show that these had been less efficiently worked than the others. Their fate ought to be a warning to others. And when municipal government is restored after a year to these towns the rate-payers ought to be more careful in the selection of commissioners and in keeping them up to the work.

Taking it for granted that they have failed to do their duties, wrong conclusions ought not to be drawn from such failure. It ought not to be concluded either by our own countrymen or by outsiders that Bengalis are unfit to manage municipal affairs. In the vast majority of municipalities they have succeeded tolerably well. But even if there had been failure in the majority of municipalities, that would not prove any inherent incapacity. Lord Durham's Report states that

in Canada, now the foremost of the self governing British Dominions, on the eve of her obtaining self government,

In the rural districts habits of self government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control.

Who would have thought at that time that self government would ever be successful in Canada? The Filipinos have received fully responsible self government within 18 years of the American occupation of their country. But only 11 years ago, Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows:

In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwise not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 683 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements.

Two hundred and twenty six municipalities spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored and the commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues.

Redlich and Hirst's book on *Local Government in England* contains extracts from the report of a parliamentary commission, dated 1835, regarding the municipalities and boroughs of that period, from which a few sentences may be quoted:

In general the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police or in watching or lighting the town &c but they are frequently expended in feasting and in paying salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases in which the funds are expended on public purposes such as building public works or other objects of local improvement an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken.

The same book states that the parliamentary commission referred to above reported in 1835 regarding local bodies that "revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people." Such a deplorable state of things could not prevent local self government from flourishing in England in course of time.

Not infrequently it has been officially alleged that District Magistrates are

terribly overworked, and that is also one of the main grounds on which the partition of districts has been advocated and carried out. It is, therefore, curious to find the overburdened District Magistrates of Burdwan and Hooghly entrusted with the working of two of the biggest municipalities in Bengal. Could not a better way be found? Is it certain that, because the Bengal Government are not likely to find fault with the work of their own Magistrates, therefore municipal work is sure to be carried on by them efficiently?

Presidentship of the coming Congress

Mr B G Tilak, who was elected to preside over the coming Delhi Session of the Congress, having left for England and signified his inability to accept the office, it has become necessary to choose another president. We think in the circumstances Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the fittest man to preside. We hope he will be unanimously elected.

The Reform Committees.

Government have appointed the two committees to consider and report on the question of electorates and the franchise and the question of dividing "subjects" into "reserved" and "transferred." Self determination required that the people of India should appoint the committees, it required that the committees should consist entirely of Indians elected by their countrymen, it required that, as the next best thing, the majority of members should be elected Indians, it required that in any case Indians, however or by whomsoever chosen, should form the majority, it required that whether Indians were in a majority or in a minority, they should represent the main shades of constitutional political opinion in the country. The nominations do not satisfy any of these requirements. Therefore so far as India is concerned, self determination is a word which may be taken as not uttered by any British or Allied statesman. Reuters ought not to have cabled this myth out to India.

So far as Musalmans are concerned, the Moslem League represents the articulate Muhammadan political opinion of India. There has not been any secession from the Moslem League as there has been from the Congress. But Government have not appointed any Musalman who sends the views of the Moslem.

Musalman, which is we believe the only existing English organ of Indian Musalmans, writes thus about the two Muhammadan members of the two committees.

'Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was never a politician and he himself acknowledged when he left India, on his appointment to the India Office, that politics was a thing in which he was more or less a novice. Moreover, the Muslims think that the political views of the gentleman, if any, are not in consonance with those of the community.'

Khan Bahadur Nouvi Rahim Baksh presided at the Rawalpindi session of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference and this was the first time that we came to know of him. If a person is not widely known, that does not however disqualify him for membership of a responsible committee. So far as we are aware, Moulvi Rahim Baksh's politics also is not of the right sort. He does not share the views of the progressive section of his community and accordingly the latter has scarcely any confidence in him.

The Hindu members belong to the group of politicians who have seceded from the Congress. As the Congress includes both Home Rulers and a considerable body of Moderates, and as the seceders consist only of the remaining Moderates, the Congress may be justly presumed to represent the majority of educated and politically minded Indians. And it is this class of Indians, represented by the Congress, which Government have entirely ignored.

For all these reasons the constitution of the committees must be pronounced unsatisfactory. Practically they are packed committees.

We cannot say whether the Indian members will or will not act with the welfare of India as their only object in view. There is no positive evidence to show that they will be swayed by personal considerations. But at the same time one need not assume that they all will be or have been able to resist official blandishments. It is best to hold judgment in suspense.

President Wilson's September Speech

The speech delivered by President Wilson in the last week of September, on the eve of the opening of the United States fourth Liberty Loan, was a most momentous one. We give below a few extracts from it.

The issues are these—Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of the peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall they be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall the people be ruled and dominated even in their

own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man or group of men chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with the full unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest. This is what we mean when we speak of permanent peace, if we speak sincerely and intelligently and with the real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

India is keenly interested in the answer which the British cabinet may give to these questions asked by Dr Wilson. He clearly expressed the opinion that there must not be any compromise with avowed principles.

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am therefore going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the tactical complications that are involved in it. If it is indeed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price the only price that will procure it, and ready and willing also, to create in some visible fashion the only instrumentality whereby it can be made certain that the agreements of peace will be honoured and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed, and not only impartial justice, but also satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is the League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, whereby the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part on the word of outlaws and only upon that word.

The essentials of peace were stated by Dr. Willson authoritatively as representing the U S Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace, as follows.

Firstly, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

Secondly, no separate or special interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement, which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

Thirdly, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

Fourthly, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifthly, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere, as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms.

The president of the United States explained very frankly and clearly why he felt it necessary to restate American war aims and to describe again the essentials of peace.

I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created not of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubting and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all irresponsible talk about peace intrigues, weakening of morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly and if need be unceremoniously aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found even when it is only to say over again what has been said before quite as plainly if in less varnished terms.

As I have said neither I nor any other man in Governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command, but I have responded gladly and with the resolution that has grown warm and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can prevent unless it be wilfully. I am bound to fight for them and fight for them as time and circumstances have revealed them to me as irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid unmistakable outline and the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array and organise their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of peoples engaged.

It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom the statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded and more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place.

The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who

still retain the impression that they are playing the game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they have come together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments shall declare to them plainly what it is exactly and what it is not that they are seeking in this war and what they think the terms of their final settlement should be.

They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and discussions of power and not in terms of broad visioned justice and mercy and peace and satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples, that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world.

Perhaps statesmen have not always recognised this aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the question asked because they did not know how searching these questions were and what sort of answers they demanded. But I for one am glad to attempt the answer again and again in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer, that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are perhaps above all others, entitled to a reply, the meaning of which no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get someone to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated, will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose, with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained.

President Wilson said that he made this analysis of the international situation not because he doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom the American people were associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose. This was said quite like a faithful and generous ally. And this ought, therefore, to have been responded to in a fitting manner by the leaders of the British and other allied nations. But Reuter has not cabled to us either the views of the British press or the views of the British ministers and other statesmen on Dr. Wilson's speech. This is significant for two reasons. On other occasions Reuter invariably cables out the opinions of the British press whenever a British statesman or allied statesman makes an important speech, the second reason is that Anglo Indian papers like the *Shan*

have openly written against Dr Wilson's speech. It is also significant that no British minister has yet acted up to the suggestion of the American president contained in the following sentences of his speech:

And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained.

'Union for Freedom'

The Review of Reviews for May contained the following paragraph:

An important Congress of the representatives of the subject races of Austria took place last month in Rome. The Congress lasted two days and had the support of many leading Italian politicians foremost amongst them being Signor Bissolati. England, France and America were represented by Mr Wickham Steed, Mr Franklin Bouillon and Mr Nelson Gay. An important resolution was passed unanimously settling forth the views of the oppressed nationalities in opposition to the German Magyar hegemony and recording the following significant agreements between the Italian and Jugoslav representatives—

1 That the unity and independence of the Jugoslav nation are recognised as of vital interest to the Italian nation and reciprocally.

2 That the liberation of the Adriatic Sea and its defence against all present and future enemies is of vital interest for both nations.

3 That territorial controversies shall be settled in a friendly manner on the basis of the principle of nationality and in such a way to be defined at the conclusion of peace as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations.

The Polish representatives added a declaration asserting that they considered Germany to be the principal enemy of Poland, that the Poles see in the movement of the people for freedom against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy one of the principal conditions of the independence of Germany.

The insurgent Czecho-Slovaks and Poles have since been recognised by the British and their allies as independent belligerent nations. This is undoubtedly right. But if Rome, where the representatives of the subject races of Austria met, were situated in a country in alliance with Austria, these representatives would have been tried and punished as conspirators, as some Indians were tried and punished in San Francisco. That we believe, is international law. However, as we are not an independent nation, it may be thought presumptuous on our part to write on international law—the Bengali proverb forbids the humble ginger seller to be curious as to shipping news. Neverthe-

less, one may ask, why if it be proper for the subject races of Austria to look to England, France, Italy and America for help to become independent, it should have been considered disgraceful on the part of Mr S. Subramania Iyer to appeal to President Wilson to help India to obtain, not independence but only *Home Rule within the British Empire*? Of course from the point of view of their rulers, all subject races who seek freedom are traitors. But what makes the conduct of a seeker of Home Rule unworthier than that of a seeker of independence?

The note extracted from the Review of Reviews speaks of the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary. We do not personally know in what particular manner they are oppressed. But this we know that they have far greater political power than Indians, and that they are more educated and richer too. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report says that the immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe. (para 131)

The Present Economic Situation

The prices of the necessities of life have been already abnormally high for some time past. The failure of the rains in many regions has made the situation very serious. In many districts prices of food stuffs are much higher than during previous famines. But Government have not declared famine in these regions yet.

Sir George Lowndes and large numbers of other Anglo-Indians think that India has not been hit as hard by the war as the belligerent countries of Europe. It must be admitted that our sufferings are not comparable with those of the Poles, the Belgians and other inhabitants of regions where fighting has actually taken place. But it must also be admitted that in Great Britain no class of men are in such dire straits for food and clothing as very large masses of men are in our country. Have any British men or women committed suicide because of the want of a piece of rag sufficiently long and broad to cover their nakedness? England ought never to have asked for and accepted free gifts of 150 crores and 67½ crores of rupees from such a poor country as ours.

During previous famines only the price of foodstuffs went up, the prices of other necessities did not rise much beyond the

normal. The conditions are much worse now. So the consequences of any outbreak of famine in the immediate future are almost unthinkable in their appalling character. Let us husband our resources, for ourselves and for others for bad days, should they unfortunately come.

Stopping of Self-rule Deputations

We have been officially told that the place of Indians now is in India, and that at the proper time they will be allowed to send deputations to England. Yes, at the proper time. When the enemies of Indian reform have thoroughly poisoned the minds of the British public when the draft of the Indian Reform Bill is ready when the Reform Committees here have submitted their reports, when, briefly speaking, the whole thing has become something like a settled fact, and when probably the peace terms have been drawn up without their being any authorised representative of India at the Peace Table, Indian deputations may be allowed to proceed to England to plead a lost cause. That would be in entire accord, too, with the spirit of President Wilson's September speech, and, of course of self-determination.

However, better late than never

A Generous Gift

We are glad to say that another English gentleman has sent us a cheque for Rs 1,500 for the relief of distress caused by the high prices of cloth and other necessities. He writes —

"I am much distressed at the conditions which, I understand, prevail in many parts of Bengal, and of the inability of the peasantry to secure either proper food or clothing, and I feel it the more because I hold myself a few shares in one of the Jute Companies which have been paying large dividends. I enclose a cheque for Rs 1500 and would ask you to spend it, for the relief of the suffering, in any way you may think best."

We cordially thank the donor for his generous gift. The sum has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which has been engaged in relieving suffering for months past.

"A Brahmin Oligarchy"

In a previous issue we have shown that the establishment of Home Rule in India cannot lead to the country being ruled by

a Brahmin Oligarchy, disproving the assertions of Lord Sydenham and other enemies of India. We will give a few more facts in support of our position.

The total population of India is 315,156,396 out of which only 14,598,708 are Brahmins. So Brahmins form a very small minority of the population. But mere numbers may not signify much. People may become dominant by means of wealth, education, and martial qualities. Let us therefore see what the comparative position of Brahmins is in these respects. Brahmins are not the only "warlike race" nor even one of the chief 'most warlike races' of India. At present, with the exception of a few sub-sections of the Brahmins in a few provinces, Brahmins do not enjoy any reputation for martial qualities. Hence, there need not be any apprehension of Brahmin supremacy founded on fighting capacity. Then as regards wealth the Brahmins as a class have never been wealthy, at least not wealthier than many other more numerous classes. Education has next to be considered.

The total number of literates in India is 18,539,378. The total number of Brahmin literates is 2,335,123. Which means that out of 185 lakhs of literates 23 lakhs are Brahmins. But it may be contended that mere literacy is not of much importance, it is literacy in English which is the passport to power, position, distinction and wealth. Let us then consider the figures for literacy in English. The total number of persons literate in English in India is 1,670,387, of whom 333,368 are Brahmins. That is to say out of about 17 lakhs of literates in English a little above 3 lakhs are Brahmins.

The above facts and considerations apply to India as a whole. Let us consider the position of the Brahmins in the Provinces.

In no province do the Brahmins form the majority of the population, in every province there are one or more Hindu castes more numerous than Brahmins—not to speak of non-Hindu sections of the people. But the possibility of attaining dominant position depends on the percentage of literacy, and particularly on the percentage of literacy in English of the various castes. In the Census Report these percentages are given. From these statements we find that the Brahmins are either so backward in educa-

tion or so insignificant in numbers in the provinces of Assam Baluchistan Burma and the N W F Province that there is no mention of them in the figures given for those provinces, that Brahmins do not occupy the first place in education in Bengal Behar Orissa Central Provinces and Berar, the Panjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and that it is only in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies that they hold the first place not of course in point of the number of literates but as regards percentage of literacy and in the latter presidency Brahmins are beaten by others in Gujarat and Sind Let us now place before the reader a tabular statement

Provinces	Total Literates	Literates Brahmins	Total Literates English	Brahmin Literates English
Assam	326566	40359	35296	6092
Bengal	3,22044	472342	494499	129223
Behar				
Orissa	1419138	256332	79192	12423
Bombay	1372826	59798	202454	10818
C P &				
Berar	496236	107796	46102	16209
Madras	3093560	408626	274625	93748
Punjab	774845	114855	109101	11564
U P	1618465	551518	136616	20209

[In the above table the figures for Burma and N W F Province have not been given as the number of Brahmin literates there is insignificant]

It will appear from the above table that in no province is the majority of literates or the majority of literates in English Brahmins

The franchise will be given to people either according to property qualifications or according to educational qualifications or both. If the possession of property were made the sole qualification Brahmins would occupy a low place in the electorates. Even according to educational qualifications they will not have a predominating position in any province. But even if Home Rule led at first to an oligarchy of some sort that would not be anything unusual. Sir J. D. Rees asks on the subject of the Brahmin oligarchy: "Were there no Whig oligarchies in Britain? Will a stage be skipped in India? Why not so at the oligarchy? Wait till the masses object." In reviewing Prof Ramsay Muir's *National Government, Its Growth and Principles* The culmination of Modern

History (Constable 8s 6s net), *The Times Literary Supplement* of July 11, 1918, writes —

In the middle of the eighteenth century popular government existed in England it was in many ways very imperfect the power was in fact concentrated in the hands of a small group of aristocratic families but none the less as was felt and known at the time no Government could maintain itself in the country unless it was really in accordance with the public opinion not only of the comparatively few who had the right to vote but of the great mass of the people who in fact were never reluctant to make their views and the power heard of necessary by violence and rioting

It is, therefore, mere pharisaism to object to an oligarchy in India. But we repeat as we have conclusively shown that there is not the least probability of an oligarchy being established in India

Persons Killed by Wild Animals and Snakes

A statement has been given in the *Gazette of India* of the number of persons killed in each province of British India by wild animals (specifying the principal kinds) and snakes in each year from 1913 and 1917. We give below the totals for 1913 and 1917

Province	Number of Persons killed by wild animals in	
	1913	1917
Madras	308	569
Bombay	20	34
Bengal	293	341
U P	137	166
Punjab	10	24
Burma	59	51
Bihar & Orissa	546	655
C P & Berar	125	158
Assam	102	138
N W F Prov	2	6

In every province more men have been killed in 1917 than in 1913. Have Indians grown weaker and more timid in every province? Or it may be the wild animals have advanced in civilisation at a faster rate than the men for, the power to kill is a mark of civilisation. A more prosaic explanation may perhaps be found in the number of licenses for arms issued in each year and the total number of such licenses in force in each year. This will be found in a table given in a subsequent note

The number of men killed by snakes in each year in each province has also been given in the *Gazette*. The first figure given below again at the name of a province

is the number for 1913, and the next figure for 1917 Madras, 1695, 1452 Bombay, 1406, 1527, Bengal 4491 4393 United Provinces, 5166, 6481 Panjab 899, 957, Burma 1044 1873, Bihar and Orissa, 1940, 5885, C P and Berar, 1155 1524, Assam, 167, 151, N W F Province, 29, 25 So snakes also have not begun on the whole, to take a smaller toll of human lives than before, as in the whole country 21770 persons were killed by snakes in 1913, and 23,918 in 1917

Number of Wild Animals and Snakes

Destroyed by Men

We give below a few figures from the official return of the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men

Provinces	Wild animals killed in		Snakes killed in	
	1913	1917	1913	1917
Madras	2238	1898		
Bombay	3471	2937	37396	25035
Bengal	2858	412	17134	1205
U P	2659	2640	5310	4999
Panjab	3080	492	3080	15026
Bihar Orissa	1550	1046	16784	9171
C P & Berar	1902	1564	1260	728
Burma	5311	5873	16222	16398
Assam	1988	1490	1981	322
N W F Province	90	44	595	396

It will be found that in most provinces the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men in 1917 was less than the number killed in 1913 24 630 wild animals were killed in India in 1913, and 19,476 in 1907 90 186 snakes were killed in 1913 in India and 73,968 in 1917 It is thus discouraging to find that wild animals and snakes are killing more men in the country than before whereas men are killing smaller numbers of wild animals and snakes than before

Number of Licenses for Arms

The total number of licenses for arms in force was as follows in the provinces and years noted below We omit the smaller provinces as in the tables in previous notes

	1913	1917
Madras	47511	45509
Bombay	15231	13563
Bengal	26961	8042
U P	22952	6357
Panjab	13876	6219
Burma	7390	8051
Bihar and Orissa	12799	11247
C P & Berar	16070	15511
Assam	13046	13114
N W F Provinces	5517	7717

In most provinces the number of licenses in force was smaller in 1917 than in 1913 This is particularly conspicuous in the case of the United Provinces, Bengal, and the Panjab The country has been practically in a disarmed condition for a long period These provinces have been further disarmed more than the others What is the reason for the disarmament of each of these provinces and of the country as a whole? That the country as a whole is being gradually disarmed will be clear from the following figures showing the total number of licenses in force in India in each year from 1913 to 1917

1913	182412
1914	176779
1915	167242
1916	137183
1917	136707

Let us now see how many licenses were granted in 1913 and 1917 in the different provinces

Province	1913	1917
Madras	3096	4302
Bombay	2727	1888
Bengal	3230	392
U P	3162	594
Panjab	1636	1279
Burma	1330	1201
Bihar and Orissa	753	531
C P and Berar	7613	4903
Assam	216	305
N W F Prov	1805	3625

The number of fresh licenses issued has been reduced in a most glaring manner in Bengal and the United Provinces 'The most timid' province could be trusted with the smallest number of fresh licenses in the country Yet the Governor of Bengal asked the people of Mymensingh what they had done in the way of fighting political dacoities and other revolutionary crimes, knowing that in 6 years the Bengal Government had reduced the number of licenses from 26961 to 8042, and that in 1917 it had issued only 392 licenses as against 3230 in 1913 In two provinces the number of licenses issued in 1917 was larger than in 1913 The reason for this greater favour shown to them is not apparent However, taking the country as a whole, the number of fresh licenses issued each year has gone on steadily decreasing except for one year The figures are given against each year 1913—25627, 1914—23016, 1915—19975 1916—20577,

1917-19316. These figures combined with those for the total number of licenses in force in each year, given before, afford one explanation of the increasing helplessness of Indian human beings in the presence of wild animals, as also of the increasing destructiveness of the latter.

The area of British Indian territory, according to the census of 1911, is 1,093,074 square miles. 136,707 licenses for this area works out at about one license (and presumably one fire arm) for every 8 square miles. The population of British India is more than 244 millions. For the protection of these myriads, there are about one eighth of million licenses. This means that there is probably one fire arm for the protection of about 1786 persons.

The total number of towns and villages in British territory, as given in *Statistics of British India, Educational* for 1911-12, is 584322. We can therefore safely say that in at least three villages out of every four there is no one licensed to carry or use arms.

'Against Home Rule'

Mr N S Ramam, Secretary, Sahodara Sangham Office, Cranganore, has sent us a leaflet entitled "Against Home Rule." We quote the first three paragraphs.

One of the Taluqs of Cochin State is Cranganore, a place of immense historical significance from very ancient days. Nearly four miles in extent, this place is inhabited by diverse communities, the Nairs, Brahmans, Ezhavas and Muhammadans. The Ezhavas, the Valans, the Pulayas, and other sub-castes number more than eight thousand and they are commonly grouped under the depressed classes. There are few men who have received English education among them, but they can be proud of many men who have attained mental culture through Sanskrit learning. They are physically very strong and stalwart, they eke out their living by honest professions and various kinds of manual labour. In point of cleanliness even their deadly foes will admit that they are far advanced.

Many crude and strange practices which have clothed the essence of Hinduism in a veil of obscurity, are being observed in these parts with all their superstitious rigidity. The detestable custom of distance pollution which has even marred the social harmony, and which caused the great Swami Vivekananda to give Kerala the opprobrious epithet of the lunatic asylum has got a very strong hold on the minds of the higher caste Hindus of Cranganore. The use of even public roads is seriously denied to the so-called low caste Hindus. Some of the public roads are closed to their children; consequently they are allowed to be drowned in gross illiteracy. In some of the bazaars they are strictly prohibited to enter. Smarting under the humiliating oppression and the worst type of tyranny

of the so-called higher castes, more than eight thousand poor souls are dragging on a precarious existence. They are beaten black and blue along the public roads. Many a horrible scene of open violence and high handedness is daily witnessed all over Cranganore. Such deeds of flagrant injustice are hardly recorded in the pages of history, and the only modern parallel that can be drawn is the manifold sufferings of the Indians in South Africa. The poor victims subjected to the galling yoke of the so-called higher castes remain inarticulate, therefore no attention of a Gandhi or Gokhale could be drawn to their cause.

The crying grievances of more than 300,000 members of the depressed classes in Cochin state were brought to the notice of the authorities concerned, by means of petitions and deputations but why any effective remedy is not yet proposed is beyond comprehension. However they are driven to despair and their only hope of gaining social salvation lies in their embrace of Christian or Muhammadan faith.

This is very painful and humiliating reading. The social tyranny to which attention has been called here cannot be too severely condemned. The Cochin State cannot of course make the "holy" Brahmans and others treat the "depressed" classes as their social equals, but it is its bounden duty to remove all civic disabilities. For instance, public roads and public schools should be as much at their disposal as of others. The "higher" castes should recognise the common humanity of these classes. It is surprising that worms, reptiles, pigs and dogs can use public roads; but not these sisters and brethren of ours. Do the "holy" Brahmans of Cochin feel "polluted" if they see a dog or a pig or a cat or a mouse or a fly or a mosquito or a cow or a goat at the distance of a few inches, feet or yards from them?

The ill treatment of the depressed classes is not an argument against Home Rule, it ought rather to incite these classes to obtain political power so that they may be able to improve their own condition. The leaflet itself mentions the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. But these Indians have never said that their sufferings were an argument against self rule in South Africa, on the contrary they wish to improve their position by gradually obtaining citizens' rights. The Negroes in America are in some respects treated as badly as and in some respects worse than the "depressed" classes in Kerala (Vide "Towards Home Rule," Part I). But they do not contend that for that reason the republican form of government should be abolished. On the contrary, they want more political rights than they have got, so that they may cease to be oppressed.

They are fighting most loyally and enthusiastically in the present war along with their white fellow citizens. Our "depressed" sisters and brethren should follow the same policy.

Stationing of Military in Madura

In the course of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu in Madura for alleged sedition crowds gathered about the court premises and there was some shooting and bayoneting by the police. Military have also been stationed in Madura. *The Commonwealth* has published a dispassionate and well-reasoned article on the affair by Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyar, in which the writer says:—

The Government of Madras has declined to accede to the request of the citizens of Madura voiced at a public meeting presided over by Mr. V. Ramachandra Aiyar, one of the leading gentlemen in the city, for the appointment of an independent body to enquire into the matter of bayoneting and shooting by the police on the 27th of last month by which some were injured and two died and which took place on the second day of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu for alleged sedition. The refusal of the Madras Government to institute such an independent tribunal to enquire into the whole matter is an unfortunate circumstance which must detract considerably from the weight and authority which must attach to any other kind of enquiry like the one which is going on at present. Mr. Paddison, the present Collector of Madura, is as good a district officer as it is possible to get in these times and as would be desired in any district calm in temperament, tactful, conciliatory and capable of entering into and understanding the aspirations for a freer life on the part of a race different from his own, and deserves the high praise of the Madras Government that it has the highest confidence in him. But in a matter where serious allegations are made against the police including its higher ranks in the district and when there has been evidently a panic in the minds of the authorities and some of the English residents in the city—which led to their assembling the members of their families in the premises of their English club, strongly patrolled by the military or those undergoing military training about the time the above occurrence took place—it is apparent that persons locally selected for making the enquiry cannot be supposed to be free from preconceived notions and prejudices in the estimation of the public whose satisfaction it must be conceded is one of the main objects of such an enquiry whatever be the esteem or respect to which the persons making the enquiry may be otherwise entitled.

The District Magistrate is also practically responsible for the policing of the district, and hence an investigation by him into the doings of the police cannot but be looked upon as to some extent partaking of the character of an accused conduct in his own trial.

Mr. Aiyar shows conclusively that the

food riots in Madras Presidency were not at all due to political agitation, as officially alleged. He also says that the crowd which had gathered during Dr. Naidu's trial was not responsible for any excesses. "The only excesses that were manifested were the bayoneting and the shooting of innocent men in the crowd, and the injuries and deaths caused thereby, which were certainly not excesses for which the people are responsible." Considering all the circumstances the writer concludes

Under the above circumstances the location of sepoys and soldiers in Madura City has no justification. It is said that the Municipality has been directed to defray the cost of maintaining these sepoys and the warrant is much less for any punitive action against the citizens of Madura if it turns to be such. Gathering of sympathetic crowds during a State trial in India does not betoken any serious state of affairs affecting public tranquillity as they do in European countries where mobbing, rioting and breaking of windows are often the outcome of more serious results do not ensue. But in India they do not mean anything more except that the crowds are prepared to sit and wait for a number of hours as a token of sympathy and interest on the part of many and as a *Tamasha* on the part of the rest. The location of the military in Madura City at the present time can only be an artificial demonstration coming into existence *ex post facto* that the situation in Madura was so serious and of alarming proportions as to justify the bayoneting and shooting of innocent men.

Therefore there is all the more reason for the whole situation being enquired into by independent and impartial agency unconnected with local prejudices or predilections.

Report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme

Most of the suggestions or recommendations made in the report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme make for progress. The notes of dissent of the Indian members are on more progressive lines than the body of the report, with the exception of Mr. Sunder Singh's note, who urges special representation of the Sikh on the same lines as of the Muslims. Nor do we think it necessary on general grounds to allow separate representation to the Indian mercantile community, though we admit its necessity as a counterpoise against the special and separate representation given to European merchants. We do not understand why the special representation of the Hindholders has been recommended to be increased from 2 to 6. Two is quite enough. The more special representation is given to particular ^{the less re} presentation there th ³⁵⁵

of the people and the greater would the injustice be to them

Burma wants Political rights

It is quite right and natural that the people of Burma should wish to share in the constitutional progress of the Indian Empire. The Upper Burma public recently discussed the *Reforma Scheme* at a public meeting held in Mandalay on the 8th ultimo. It was said at the meeting that the Secretary of State who did not visit Burma during his mission to India, did not get the opportunity to have all the facts about Burma placed before him. Burmans were superior to the Indians in many respects viz the absence of any caste system, social advancement and the high percentage of literacy. Burma had one of the best seaports in the Indian Empire. Her hidden mineral wealth, her valuable forests and the large amount of revenue collected annually in Burma all combine to testify Burma's fitness to enjoy the same political rights and privileges as the other major provinces. The meeting regretted the allegation made in the Report that Burma's desire for elective institutions was not developed. The memorials submitted to the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy bear ample testimony to the fact that Burma did desire elective institutions. Throwing open the public service more widely to Indians (Burmans in the case of Burma) would not mean as suggested in the report the replacement of one alien bureaucracy by another race and perhaps another. The people belong to another race but by no means in a more backward stage of political development. Burmans at the time in the past did rule an Empire and there is no reason why they should be unable to rule themselves when the same democratic principles as have been extended to the British Colonies inhabited by white people, come to be extended to India and Burma.

Several resolutions were passed at the meeting, their special feature being the ensuring of the proper representation of Burmans and the safeguarding of their interests.

A Mother's Cry.

Srimati Dakshayani Dasi, mother of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has again sent a memorial to the Viceroy. As the reader is aware of the history of the case, it is not necessary to summarise it from the memorial. In the 8th paragraph, the mother respectfully submits —

(i) That her son Jyotish is lying for about a year and a half in the same awful condition of absolute stupor with insanity.

(ii) That at Berhampore though proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding have been made for him, arrangement as to proper treatment have not been adequate and the best medical treatment available in Bengal has not been accorded to him.

(iii) That a change in the environment of detention in order to remove the "stressful situations" and a change in the system of treatment ought to be made now without any further delay.

(iv) That in order to awaken his consciousness he should be placed in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint and where familiar stimuli may act upon him.

(v) That every attempt should now be made in these directions at any cost so that his life may, if possible be saved; for, human life has a value of its own and the responsibility for it is no less grave.

(vi) And that lastly she has a right to know the causes of his present moribund condition and insanity and the Government are morally bound to explain them.

In consideration of the above, your Excellency's humble Memorialist, a heart-broken and aggrieved mother, most fervently prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased

(i) to order his immediate removal to Calcutta with proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding there.

(ii) to place him under the necessary supervision of the Government in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint;

(iii) to allow Your Excellency's humble memorialist and her relatives to live with him so that he may feel that he is in a familiar environment and under constant attendance and care of his near and dear ones.

(iv) to make arrangements as to place him under the Ayur Vedic System of Medical treatment (in which she has much faith);

(v) and to hold a thorough investigation into the causes which have brought about his present awful condition.

We support this prayer most strongly.

Acknowledgment of Donation

Babu Ramnanda Chatterjee, Treasurer, Binkura Sumilani, begs to acknowledge with thanks the following donation in addition to those acknowledged last month —

Mrs. Kumudini Ganti

Rs. 22 12 0

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SHIVAJI'S NAVY

THE expansion of Shivaji's rule across the Western Ghats into the coast district of Konkan brought him into contact with the maritime Powers of our western sea board. Chief among these were the Siddis or Abyssinians of Janjira a rocky island 45 miles south of Bombay and guarding the mouth of the Rappuri creek. Half a mile east of it, on the mainland stands the town of Rappuri and two miles south-east of the latter is Danda. But these two towns are regarded as one place and formed the head quarters of the land possessions of the Siddis covering much of the modern district of Kolaba. From this tract were drawn the revenue and provisions that nourished the government of Janjira.

An Abyssinian colony had settled here early in the 16th century. One of them secured the governorship of Danda Rappuri under the Sultans of Ahmadnagar early in the 17th century. But the dissolution of that monarchy and the situation of the district on the extreme frontier of the State beyond the Western Ghats made it easy for the Siddi to establish himself in practical independence of the central authority, so that when the partition treaty of 1636 gave the west coast to Bijapur that Government recognised the Siddi chief as its representative in the district elevated him to the rank of a *wazir* and added to his charge the whole sea board from Nagôthna to Bankot, on condition of his protecting Bijapur trade and Mecca pilgrims at sea.

As the Siddis formed a small military aristocracy dominating a vast alien population, their constitution provided for the rule of the ablest and on the death of a chief not his son but the first officer of the fleet succeeded to the governorship. The Abyssinians were hardy skilful and daring mariners and the most efficient

fighters at sea among the Muslim races, while their courage and energy, joined to coolness and power of command, made them enjoy a high estimation as soldiers and administrators.

The Siddi chief of Janjira maintained an efficient fleet and throughout the 17th century he was officially recognised as the admiral at first of Bijapur and latterly of the Mughal empire. There was no native Power on the west coast that could make a stand against him at sea (*Bomb Gaz* xi 434-416).

To the owner of Konkan it was essential that the Siddi should be either made an ally or rendered powerless for mischief. Shivaji found that unless he created a strong navy his foreign trade would be lost and his subjects on the sea coast and for some distance inland would remain liable to constant plunder, enslavement, outrage and slaughter at the will of a band of pirates alien by race, creed and language. The innumerable creeks and navigable rivers of the west-coast while they naturally fostered the growth of rich ports and trade centres made it imperatively necessary for their protection that their owner should rule the sea. On the other hand the possession of Danda Rappuri and its adjacent district was necessary to the owner of Janjira for his very existence. The political separation of the two made war an economic necessity to him.

II

In 1648 Shivaji had captured the forts of Fala Ghonsala and Kairi (or Raigarh), situated in the Siddi's territory, but the latter still held Danda Rappuri and much of the neighbouring land. There must have been constant skirmishes between the two Powers thus occupying the eastern and western portions of the Kolaba district, but no record of them has come down to us. The Siddi had too small an army

defy the regular Maratha forces on land and he seems to have confined himself to making secret raids and doing petty acts of mischief to Shivaji's villages in that region as is clear from the Maratha chronicler's description of the Siddi as 'an enemy like the mice in a house' (Sabbasad 67).

Very little activity was probably shown by Yusuf Khan who ruled Janjira from 1642 to 1655.

But his successor Fath Khan was a brave active and able leader. In 1659 when Afzal Khan was advancing against Shivaji from the east with a formidable Bijapuri army Fath Khan seized the opportunity of trying to recover his own and laid siege to Tala. But on hearing of the destruction of the Bijapur army (October) he retired in haste. Next year when Ali Adil Shah II opened a campaign against Shivaji who was invested in Panhala fort Fath Khan renewed his invasion of Konkan. The Kāya Samant of Wara a loyal vassal of Bijapur co-operated with the Siddi. After an obstinate battle both the Samant and Bajji Rao Palsalkar (Shivaji's general) fell in a single combat and the Marathas retreated to their base (Sabbh 66 Chit 66)*.

To retrieve the position Shivaji next sent a larger force five to seven thousand strong under Raghunath Ballal Atre who forced his way to the sea-coast. The Marathas continued the campaign even during the rains, and after a long siege captured the fort of Danda Rajpuri (July or August, 1661), and following up their success opened batteries against Janjira itself. But their weakness in artillery defeated their attempt on this sea-girt rock. Hopeless of relief from Bijapur, the Siddi begged for terms from Raghunath and formally ceded Danda Rajpuri. Thus no stronghold was left to the Siddi on the mainland.

III

But this peace could not possibly last.

* I have followed Sabbasad in the above order of events. But another Marathi account, followed by Grant Duff (I. 166-167 and 180) gives a different narrative. Shivaji's first Peshwa avenges the Siddi's domination, but is defeated with great slaughter (early 1659)—Raghunath Ballal replaces him in the command—both parties retire for the monsoons—during the time when Shivaji was besieged in Panhala (July 1660) Bajji Palsalkar fought the Kāya Samant both being slain—Shivaji captures Danda Rajpuri (Aug 1661).

To the Siddi the loss of the Kolaba territory meant starvation, and, on the other hand it was Shiva's lifelong ambition to capture Janjira and make his hold on the west coast absolutely secure. Hostilities soon broke out again. The Siddis resumed their depredations on the coast, while Shiva battered Janjira every year during the dry season but without success.

The Maratha gains on the Kolaba coast were now organised into a province and placed under an able viceroy, Vyanaji Datto with a permanent contingent of 5 to 7 thousand men (Sabbh 68). He defeated the Siddis in a great land battle, totally excluded them from the mainland, improved the defences of Danda Rajpuri by fortifying a hill that commanded it and built a chain of forts (such as Birwadi and Lingana) which effectually prevented Siddi depredations in that quarter. At this the Siddis, in order to 'fill their stomachs' had to direct their piracy against the villages and ports further south in the Ratnagiri district which had now come under Shiva's sway. The Maratha chief therefore, resolved to create a navy for the protection of his coast and the conquest of Janjira which continued as a thorn in his sides. A

IV

The Marathi chronicles speak of Shivaji's fleet as consisting of four hundred vessels of various sizes and classes such as *ghurabs* (gun boats), *tarandis*, *tāmbes gallivats shibars pigars, mra chivars babhors tirkatis pals and dubares**. Their cost is put down vaguely as 5 or 10 lakhs of Rupees. But the English reports never put their number above 160, and usually as 60 only. They were formed into two squadrons (of 200 vessels each, if we accept the Marathi accounts), and commanded by two admirals who bore the titles of *Daria Sarang* (Sea Captain) and *Mar Nayak* (Water Leader) †.

* *Ghurabs* are floating batteries or gun boats carrying two masts and moving slowly. *Gallivats* are vessels constructed for swift sailing. *Shibars* are trading boats. *munchas* being a stronger kind of trading vessel than *Shibars*. (Orme's *Trag* Sec. 1.) The *machars* (a round built two masted craft of from 3 to 20 tons) and the *Shibar* (a large square-stemmed flat bottomed vessel with 2 masts but no deck) are described in *Bomb. Gaz.* XIII 345-40.

† *Daria* = Persian for Ocean and *Mar* is Arabic for Water. Sabbasad, 69, speaks of *Dariya Sarang* as a Musalman and of *Mar Nayak* as a Hindu of the Bhadani caste. But a Bombay letter dated 21 Nov

The numerous creeks on the Bombay coast had developed among many low-caste Hindus of the region (such as the Kohs, Sanghars, Vaghers and the Maratha clan of Angrias) hereditary skill in seafaring and naval fight. The "Malabar pirates" were a terror even to the English. From them* Shiva recruited his crew, and he afterwards added to them a body of Muslims, notably a discontented Siddi named Misri and Daulat Khan.

Shivaji's navy immediately took to plundering the innocent towns along the coast of Kanara and Goa, and brought to their master vast quantities of booty in the manner of his land forces. They often fought the Siddi fleet, but the latter retained its supremacy on the whole. We may here record what little is definitely known about Shivaji's mercantile marine. Soon after getting possession of the ports in North Konkan, he began to engage in foreign trade on his own account. Early in 1660 he captured at Rajapur some of the junks of Afzal Khan and turned them to his own use. In February 1663 the English at Surat report that he was fitting out two ships of considerable burden for trading with Mocha (in western Arabia) and loading them at Jetapur, two miles up the Rajapur river, with "goods of considerable value which were by storms or foul weather driven upon his coast." Two years later (12 May, 1665), they write that from each of the eight or nine "most considerable ports in the Deccan" that he possessed, he used to "set out 2 or 3 or more trading vessels yearly to Persia, Basra, Mocha, &c." Again, we learn that in April, 1669, a great storm on the Karwar coast destroyed several of his ships and rice boats, "one of the ships being very richly laden."

V

The rise of the Maratha naval power caused anxiety to the Siddis, the English

1670 says "The admiral of the [Maratha] fleet is one *Ieatree Sarungee*, commonly called *Durrea Sarungee*. Daulat Khan was an officer distinct from the *Dariya Sarang* (Rajwade VIII 27 and T.S.)"

* The Bhandari (caste of husbandmen) are found in most parts of the Ratnagiri district, but chiefly in the coast villages. They supplied the former pirate chiefs with most of their fighting men. A strong healthy and fine-looking set of men, they are fond of athletic exercises, and do not differ from the Marathas and Kunbis. (Bomb. Gaz., 124.) For the Koli pirates IV Pt 1, 513-529, and the Angrias, I & 2, 2, 57-58, VI 115

merchants, and the Mughal emperor alike. On 26 June, 1664, the Surat factors report that Shiva was fitting out a fleet of 60 frigates for an attack on some unknown quarters, probably "to surprise all junks and vessels belonging to that port and to waylay them on the return from Basra and Persia," or to transport an army up the Cambay creek (Sabarmati) for making a raid on Ahmadabad. At the end of November it was learnt that the fleet had been sent to Batikhola, to co-operate with his army in the invasion of Kanara. The English President describes the Maratha vessels as "pitiful things, so that, one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into great danger." In addition to the inferior size and build of their ships, the Marathas on land and sea alike were very weak in artillery and, therefore, powerless against European ships of war.

In February 1665, Shivaji's fleet of 85 frigates* and three large ships conveyed his army to Barselore for the plunder of South Kanara.

He had very early begun to plunder Mughal ships, especially those conveying pilgrims for Mecca from the port of Surat (called *Dar ul hajj*, 'the City of Pilgrim age'). The Emperor had no fleet of his own in the Indian Ocean able to cope with the Marathas. Early in 1665 Jai Singh opened his campaign, and, in accordance with his policy of combining all possible enemies against Shivaji, wrote to the Siddi to enter into an alliance with the Mughals (*Haft Ajy*, Benares MS 78 a.) Late in the same year, when Jai Singh was about to begin the invasion of Bhajpur, he invited these Abyssinians to join the Mughal force, promising them *mansabs*†. By the Treaty of Purandar, the Mughals left the territory of Janjira adjoining Shiva's dominions to Shivaji, if he could conquer it. (*Ibid*) Shiva also offered to attempt the conquest of Janjira for the Emperor. (*Ibid*,

* Duff (i: 201 n) suggests that by the term frigates were probably meant small vessels with one mast, from 30 to 150 tons burden common on the Malabar coast.

† A Siddi *Kambal* fought on the Mughal side during the invasion of Bhajpur in 1666 (LV 1012). The informal connection thus established between the Emperor and the Siddis continued as we find that during Shivaji's siege of Janjira in 1669 Aurangzeb wrote to him commanding him to withdraw from the attempt. (Bombay to Surat dated 16 Oct. 1669, I A Surat, Vol 10.)

786 But Chit 107, *Shivadi* 240, and *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 22, agree that Jai Singh definitely refused to make the Siddis give up Janjira to Shiva.)

VI

In 1669 Shivaji's attack upon Janjira was renewed with great vigour. In the earlier months of the year the hostile armies made almost daily incursions into each other's country and the warfare closed the roads to all peaceful traffic. In October, the Siddi was so very hard pressed and Janjira was in such danger of being starved into surrender that he wrote to the English merchants of his 'resolve to hold out to the last and then delivering it up to the Mughal.'

The contest came to a crisis next year (1670) Shivaji staked all his resources on the capture of Janjira. Fath Khan worn out by the incessant struggle impoverished by the ruin of his subjects and hopeless of aid from his master at Bijapur resolved to accept Shiva's offer of a large bribe and rich jagre as the price of Janjira. But his three Abyssinian slaves roused their clansmen on the island against this surrender to an infidel imprisoned Fath Khan seized the government and applied to Adil Shah and the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan for aid. The Mughals readily agreed and the Siddi fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to that of Delhi, and Siddi Sambal one of the leaders of the revolution was created imperial admiral with a *mansab* and a *jagir* yielding 3 lakhs of Rupees. His two associates Siddi Qasim and Siddi Khairiyat, were given the command of Janjira and the land dominions respectively. The Siddi fleet was taken into Mughal service on the same terms as under Bijapur. The general title of *Yaqut Khan* was conferred on successive Siddi admirals from this time, and the government of Janjira was separated from the admiral's charge and placed under another Siddi who was regarded as the second leader of the tribe and heir to the admiral's post (K. L. 11 224).

This revolution of Janjira is said by Khafi Khan to have taken place in January or February 1671.* Shortly before it the Maratha fleet had met with a great re-

verse. In November 1670, Shivaji collected at Nandgaon, 10 miles north of Janjira, 160 small vessels and an army of 10 000 horse and 20 000 foot, with full provisions for a siege, large numbers of mining tools (pick axes, shovels and crow bars) and victuals for 40 days. Another body of 3 000 soldiers with a great number of pioneers, was kept 'ready to embark and depart with the fleet at a minute's notice.' His secret design was to march to Surat by land, where the fleet would join him, and then the fort would be delivered to him on 29th November, as had been secretly agreed upon by its commandant. If he succeeded there, he intended to march on and take Broach also.

But the plan failed. The fleet left Nandgaon on 24th November, passed northwards skirting the Bombay island the next day and Mahim on the 26th. The army under Shivaji marched in the same direction by land. But on the 26th he suddenly turned back and recalled his fleet. He had discovered that the seemingly treacherous qiladar's promise to sell the fort to him was only a trap laid for him. Quickly changing his plan, he turned to an easier and surer prey. Early in December he suddenly burst into Khandesh and Berar and looted them far and wide. During his absence on this raid, his fleet met with a defeat. In passing by Daman, his admiral had captured a large ship of that place worth Rs 12 000, bound for Surat. The Portuguese retaliated by capturing 12 of his ships and leaving the prizes at Basim. He went in pursuit of the rest of the Maratha fleet, which however fled to Dabhol in safety. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol 105).

VII

Siddi Qasim (surnamed Yaqut Khan) the new governor of Janjira, was distinguished among his tribesmen for bravery, care of the peasantry, capacity, and cunning. He busied himself in increasing his fleet and war material strengthening the defences of his forts and cruising at sea. He used to remain day and night clad in armour, and repeatedly seized

Naraji Pandit concerning the peace youdes red might be concluded with the Siddi Fath Khan. (*F. R. Surat* Vol 88.) This proves (a) that Fath Khan was a Siddi and not an Afghan and (b) that he was in power in 1674 instead of having been deposed in 1671. Here K. L. 11 224 is proved by contemporary records to be unreliable. But Siddi Sambal was undoubtedly admiral of the fleet from 1671 onwards.

* But the date is evidently wrong. On 4 April 1674 Narayan Shenvi the English agent writes from Raigarh to Bombay I have discussed with

enemy ships, cut off the heads of many Marathas and sent them to Surat' (K K, ii 225) His crowning achievement was the recovery of Danda Rajpuri from Shivaji's men. One night in March, 1671, when the Maratha garrison of that fort were absorbed in drinking and celebrating the Spring Carnival (*Holi*), Yaqut Khan secretly arrived at the pier with 40 ships, while Siddi Khairiyat with 500 men made a noisy feint on the land side. The full strength of the garrison rushed in the latter direction to repel Khairiyat, and Yaqut seized the opportunity to scale the sea wall. Some of his brave followers were hurled into the sea and some slain, but the rest forced their way into the fort. Just then the powder magazine exploded, killing the Maratha commandant and several of his men, with a dozen of the assailants. Yaqut promptly raised his battle cry *Khassu' Khassu'* and shouting "My braves, be composed, I am alive and safe," he advanced slaying and binding to the centre of the fort where he joined hands with Khairiyat's party, and the entire place was conquered.

Shiva had been planning the capture of Janjira, and now he had failed to hold even Danda Rajpuri! It is said that during the night of the surprise, at the moment the powder magazine blew up Shiva, who was 40 miles away, started from his sleep and exclaimed that some calamity must have befallen Danda Rajpuri! He was, however, unable to make reprisals immediately, as his army was busy elsewhere, in the Nasik and Baglana districts, where the Mughal Viceroy was pressing him hard. Yaqut, therefore, could easily follow up his success by capturing seven other forts in the neighbourhood. Six of them opened their gates in terror of his prowess after his grand victory at Danda Rajpuri. The seventh stood a siege for a week and then capitulated on terms, which Yaqut faithlessly violated, enslaving and converting the boys and handsome women, dismissing the old and ugly women, and massacring all the men of the garrison. For some time afterwards the Marathas were forced to stand on the defensive in their own territory (K K ii 225-228).

These disasters fully roused Shiva. The recovery of Danda-Rajpuri fort became an absorbing passion, as well as a political necessity, with him. To the end of his life

and throughout the reign of Shambhaji, hostilities continued between the Marathas and the Siddis intermittently, indecisively, but with great bitterness and fury. Gross cruelty and wanton injury were practised by each side on the captive soldiers and innocent peasantry of the other, and the country became desolate. The economic loss was more keenly felt by the small and poor State of the Abyssinians than by the Marathas, and the Siddis at times begged for peace, but did not succeed, as they were not prepared to accept Shiva's terms of ceding their all to him.

In September 1671, Shivaji sent an ambassador to Bombay to secure the aid of the English in an attack on Danda Rajpuri. But the President and Council of Surat advised the Bombay factors "not to positively promise him the grenades, mortar pieces, and ammunition he desires, nor to absolutely deny him, in regard we do not think it convenient to help him against Danda Rajpuri, which place if it were in his possession would prove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay."

VIII

In the latter part of 1672, Aurangzeb sent a fleet of 36 vessels, great and small, from Surat to assist the Siddi of Danda Rajpuri by causing a diversion by sea. This squadron did Shivaji 'great mischief, burning and plundering all his sea port towns and destroying also above 500 of his vessels' (evidently trading ships). At this time (21 Dec) Shiva had six small frigates, which he laid up in Bombay harbour in fear of the Mughal armada, and which the English saved from the latter by pretending that they themselves had attached them as compensation for the plunder of their Rajapur factory in 1660. Early in January next, the Mughal fleet visited Bombay after its successful campaign against the Marathas. At this time both Shiva and the Emperor were eagerly courting the naval help of the English in a war with the other. But the foreign traders very wisely maintained their neutrality, though it was a ticklish business. In the following August, however, the ship *Soleil d'Orient* of the new French East India Company founded by Colbert, arrived at Rajapur and secretly sold 80 guns (mostly small pieces) and 22

maunds of lead to Shiva's fleet [The French gave similar help in November 1679 when they sold him 10 guns for the defence of Panbala]

The difference between the English and Shivaji was utilised by Reickloff van Goen the Dutch commodore who about March 1673 opened negotiations with the Maratha chief promising him the help of the entire Dutch fleet (of 22 ships) in retaking Danda Rajpuri while Shivaji was to lend 3 000 of his soldiers in a Dutch attempt to conquer Bombay Shivaji, however durst not trust the Dutch and continued friendly to the English though he had by this time spent a vast treasure and incurred the loss of nearly 15 000 men in his vain attempts to recover Danda Rajpuri

The Mughal fleet of 30 frigates commanded by Siddi Sambal returned from Surat to Danda Rajpuri in May 1673 and after passing the south west monsoon (June/September) there sailed down the coast taking many Maratha trading vessels and some ships of war On 10th October the Mughal fleet entered the Bombay harbour sent landing parties to the Pen and Nagothna rivers laid waste the Maratha villages opposite Bombay and carried off many of the people These devastations were frequently repeated But at the end of the month some of Shivaji's soldiers [from Raigarh] surprised a parcel of the Siddi's men as they were on shore cutting the standing rice in his country and destroyed about a hundred of them carrying away the heads of some of the chiefest unto Shivaji The great cruelty practised by the Siddis on his subjects and their burning of several small towns in his territory provoked Shivaji much and his reprisals were apprehended in the Mughal dominions especially at Surat

In February 1674 we learn from an English letter The war betwixt the Siddi and Shivaji is carried on but slowly they being both weary and the President of Surat was requested by the Siddi to mediate a peace between them

II

Next month (March 1674) however Siddi Sambal attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan in the Satauli river (i.e. the Muchkundi creek in the Ratnagiri District) both the admirals being wounded and the

two sides losing 100 and 41 men respectively The Maratha fleet were left victors and Siddi Sambal withdrew to Harishwar a port 21 miles south of Janjira In May Shivaji who was resolved to take that castle (Danda Rajpuri) let it cost him what it will was reported to be daily sending down more artillery ammunition men and money to strengthen his siege troops In the course of this year he reduced the whole coast of South Konkan from Rajpuri to Bardez near Goa but not the fort of Danda Rajpuri

In September 1675 we read of his making preparations for taking that fort by a land and sea attack The cruise of the Siddi fleet along Shiva's coast in January and February of this year had proved unsuccessful But it returned in October with reinforcements and sailed down the coast to Vingurla plundering and burning Maratha squadrons from Gheria (Vijaydurg) and Rajapur took the sea seeking a fight but the Siddi escaped to Janjira

This island had been besieged by Shiva with a great force some months earlier The neighbouring coast was dotted with his outposts and redoubts and he also built some floating batteries and made an attempt to throw a mole across the sea from the mainland to the island of Janjira* The siege was raised at the end of 1675 at the arrival of the fleet under Siddi Sambal but it was renewed next year with greater vigour than before The Peshwa Moro Panth was sent with 10 000 men to co operate with the fleet and the former siege troops (under Vyanaji Datto) If we can rely on the puzzling Marathi chronicle, the landing place at Janjira and two gardens (?) outside the fort were stormed and the Siddis were driven to seek refuge in a citadel on a height in the centre of the island The place was wholly invested

But the attempt failed Siddi Qasim arrived with the Mughal fleet broke the line of investment infused life into the defence made counter attacks burnt the floating batteries and forced the Marathas to raise the siege (end of December 1676) Janjira was saved by the blessings of a

* A very confused and obscurely written account of this struggle is given in the Marathi *Shivaji Charitra* pp 192 196 and also in the Persian MS *Tarikh Shivaji* (No 197 of I O L.) which is a mere translation from a Marathi or a local

living saint, and the Maharajahs men returned disappointed," as the Marathi chronicler puts it. (*Shiva digvijay*, 195)

X

The rest of the struggle with the Siddis is given below in a summary form, on the basis of Orme's narrative compiled from the English factory records, which I have supplemented by a reference to some additional records in the India Office, London.

In May 1676, Siddi Sambal who had quarrelled with the Mughal government was dismissed and his post of Imperial Admiral was given to Siddi Qasim, with the governorship of Danda Rajpuri Qasim held at Bombay on his way to his new headquarters. But Sambal delayed handing over the fleet to his successor. He cruised along Shivaji's coast (in October) burning Jetapur (at the mouth of the Rajapur river) in December, but was prevented from advancing further inland and returned to Janjira, where Qasim had already raised the Maratha siege under Moro Pant.

Early in 1677 strict orders came from Delhi that the fleet must be delivered to Qasim. But Sambal put off obeying the order for many months, till the rival Siddi admirals who were living in Bombay came to blows, and finally through the mediation of the English council the quarrel was settled, and Qasim was installed as admiral, at the end of October. Sambal, in disgust transferred his services to Shiva, carrying his family and personal retainers with himself, the most notable among them being his gallant nephew Siddi Misri.

Qasim left Bombay with the fleet in November and up to March next cruised off the Konkan coast, making frequent landings and kidnapping the people, all of whom (including the Brahman prisoners) he forced to do impure menial services. In April 1678 he returned to Bombay to rest during the monsoons. Shivaji, wishing to avenge the degradation of Brahmans, sent his admirals Daulat Khan and Daria Sarang with 4000 men to Panvel, a town opposite Bombay (July) with orders to cross the creek and burn the Siddi fleet then anchored at Mazagon in Bombay island. But "insufficiency of boats and the violence of the monsoon prevented the army from crossing, and Daulat Khan, after vainly pressing the Portuguese to allow him a passage

through their territory, retired to Raigarh. Siddi Qasim sent his boats and plundered the Alibagh coast.

In October 1678, Daulat Khan was sent with a large army and a mightier train of artillery than before to renew the bombardment of Janjira, but Siddi Qasim could not pay his men for want of remittance from Surat, and had to continue inactive in Bombay harbour.

Shivaji's navy had by this time been increased to 20 two mast *ghurabs* and 40 gallivats. "None of his harbours admitted ships of a great size, such as were used at Surat, or by the Europeans. The [immense] traffic from port to port of the Malabar and . . . Konkon coasts had from time immemorial been carried on in vessels of shallow burden capable of taking close refuge under every shelter of the land. The vessels for fight [on] these coasts were" also built of the same small size, "and trusted to the superiority of number (and not of gun power or sea worthiness) against ships of burden in the open sea. Shivaji did not change this system in his own marine" (Orme's *Fragments*, 77-78).

In February 1680, Qasim sallying from his anchorage in Bombay harbour burnt many villages on the Pen river and brought away a thousand captives. Then Shiva and the English made an agreement (March) not to let the Siddi fleet winter in Bombay unless they promised to observe strict neutrality. This brings the narrative down to the death of Shivaji, but the same wearisome story of abortive attacks on Janjira by the Marathas and cruel devastation of the coast districts by the Siddis continued under Shambhaji.

XI

The difficulty of capturing Janjira set Shiva thinking of some other island in the neighbourhood which would afford him a naval base. His choice fell on Khandera ('Kennerly') a small rocky island, 1½ miles by ½ mile, situated 11 miles south of Bombay and 30 miles north of Janjira. As early as April 1672 the people of Surat learnt of his intention to build a fort on the island. The English President at once decided to prevent it, as affecting the interests of Bombay even more than those of Surat, because no ship could enter or issue from Bombay harbour without being seen from Khandera.

The progress of the Maratha engineers

was very slow, and in September next their fortifications were still incomplete. The English and Siddi fleets came there in concert and warned the Marathas to stop their work. Shivaji's admirals, Daulat Khan and Mai Nayak, finding themselves opposed to very superior forces, withdrew from the island.

At the end of August 1679, Shiva again took up the project of fortifying Khanderi, and collected men and materials for the purpose at Chaul. On 15th September we find that 150 men of Shiva with four small guns under command of Mai Nayak are already on the island and have run up breast-works of earth and stone all around it. A request from the Deputy Governor of Bombay "to quit the place as it belonged to the island of Bombay," was declined by the Marathas in the absence of orders from Shivaji to that effect. The English, therefore, resolved that if the occupation of the island was persisted in and the Maratha fleet under Daulat Khan came there to protect the fortifications, they would "repel them with force as an open and public enemy."

The encounter* took place on 18th October, 1679. At daybreak the entire Maratha fleet of more than 60 vessels under Daulat Khan suddenly bore down upon the small English squadron consisting of the *Revenge* frigate, 2 *ghurabs* of two masts each, 3 *Shubars* and 2 *munchuas*,—eight vessels in all with 200 European soldiers on board, in addition to the lascars and white sailors. The Marathas advanced from the shore a little north of Chaul, moving so fast that the English vessels at anchor near Khanderi had scarcely time to get under weigh. In less than half an hour the *Dover*, one of the English *ghurabs*, with Sergeant Mauleverer and some English soldiers on board, with great cowardice struck its colours

and was carried off by the Marathas. The other *ghurab* kept aloof, and the five smaller vessels ran away, leaving the *Revenge* alone in the midst of the enemy. But she fought gallantly and sank five of the Maratha gallivats, at which their whole fleet fled to the bar of Nagothna, pursued by the *Revenge*. Two days afterwards the Maratha fleet issued from the creek, but on the English vessels advancing they fled back. Such is the inefficiency of "mosquito craft" in naval battle with artillery that even fifty slender and open Indian ships were no match for a single large and strongly built English vessel. At the end of November the Siddi fleet of 34 ships joined the English off Khanderi and kept up a daily battery against the island.

But the cost of these operations was heavily felt by the English merchants, who also realised that they could not recruit white soldiers to replace any lost in fight, and therefore could not "long oppose him (Shiva), lest they should imprudently so weaken themselves as not to be able to defend Bombay itself, if he should be exasperated to draw down his army that way." Moreover, during the monsoon storms the English would be forced to withdraw their naval patrol from Khanderi, and then Shiva would "take his opportunity to fortify and store the island, maugre all our designs." So, the Surat Council wisely resolved (25th October), that the English should "honourably withdraw themselves in time," and either settle this difference with Shivaji by means of a friendly mediator, or else throw the burden of opposing him on the Portuguese governor of Basim or on the Siddi, and thus "ease the Hon'ble Company of this great charge." The Surat factory itself was in danger and could spare no European soldier for succouring Bombay.

XII

The reprisal against Bombay feared from Shiva almost came to pass. "Highly exasperated by the defeat of his fleet before Khanderi," he sent 4,000 men to Kahan Bhumri with the intention to land in Bombay by way of Thana. The Portuguese governor of Basim having refused to allow them to pass through his country, the invaders marched to Pauwel (a port in their own territory) opposite Trombay island, intending there to em

* A full description is given in *Bombay Gaz.* vol. pt. 2, 478. I have followed the *Factory Records* and Orme.

† Surat Consultation 3 December, 1679. "Sergeant Mauleverer etc. English taken formerly by Shivaji in the *Ghurab Dover*, being in great want of provisions and all other necessities we having duly considered, and perceiving how cowardly they behaved themselves in the time of engagement, do order them to be stricken out of the muster rolls but that they may not wholly perish that some small allowance be made to them for victuals only. If it can be securely conveyed to them [in the Maratha prison] (*J.R. Surat*, Vol. 4).

bark on seven *shubars* (end of October 1679). The inhabitants of Bombay were terribly alarmed. The Deputy Governor breathed fire, but the President and Council of Surat decided to climb down. On receiving a courteous letter from Shivaji sent by way of Rajapur, they wrote "a civil answer, demonstrating our trouble for the occasion his people have given the English at Bombay, to quarrel with him about his fortifying so insignificant a rock as Khanderi, which is not in the least becoming a prince of his eminence and qualifications; and though we have a right to that place, yet, to show the candour of our proceedings, we are willing to forget what is past, and therefore have given instructions to the Deputy Governor of Bombay to treat with such persons as he shall appoint about the present differences." The Deputy Governor was "very much dissatisfied" with this pacific tone and held that a vigorous policy of aggression against Shiva's country and fleet would "give a speedy conclusion to this dispute, to the Hon'ble. Company's advantage." But the higher authorities at Surat only repeated their former orders that Bombay should avoid a war with Shiva and "frustrate his designs of fortifying Khanderi either by treaty or by the Siddi's fleet assisting us to oppose him thereon." The two English captains consulted took the same view.

But the hope of hindering the Maratha

fortification of the island without fighting proved futile, and the English ships were withdrawn (January, 1680) from Khanderi, which after "holding out [against the Siddis and the English] to the admiration of all," was freed from enemy vessels by the coming of the monsoons, and remained in Shiva's hands.

But the Siddi occupied Underi ('Hendery'), a small island about a mile in circumference, close to Khanderi, with 300 men and 10 large guns and fortified it [January 9, 1680]. Daulat Khan with this fleet came out of the Nagothna river and attacked Underi on two nights, hoping to surprise it, "but the Siddi's watchfulness and good intelligence from Chaul frustrated his design." On 26th January Daulat Khan assaulted the island at three points, ready to land 2000 men and conquer it. But after a four hours' engagement he retreated to Chaul, having lost 4 *ghurabs* and 4 small vessels, 200 men killed, 100 wounded besides prisoners, and himself severely wounded. The Siddi lost only 4 men killed and 7 wounded, but no vessel, out of a fleet of 2 large ships, five three-masted frigates, one ketch and 26 gallivats, with 700 men on board." Underi continued in Siddi hands throughout Shambhuji's reign, and neutralised the Maratha occupation of Khanderi, the two islands bombarding each other.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER XII.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

14.

TO-DAY we are going to Calcutta. Our joys and sorrows, if we merely go on adding to their number, lie heavy on us. Both keeping and accumulating them alike are false. As master of the house I am in an artificial position,—in reality I am a way-farer on the path of life. That is why the Master of the House is getting hurt at every step, and at last there will come the supreme hurt of death.

My union with you, my love, was only of the wayside. It was well, so long as we followed the same road, but it will only hamper us, if we try to preserve it further. We are now leaving its ties behind. We are started on our journey beyond, and it will be enough if we can throw each other a glance, or feel the touch of each other's hands, in passing. After that?—After that, there is the larger world-path, the endless current of universal life.

But how little it is that even you can deprive me of, my love! Whenever I set

my ear to it I can hear the flute which is playing its fountain of melody gushing forth from its stop holes of separation. The immortal draught of the goddess is never exhausted. She sometimes breaks the bowl from which we drink it, only to smile at seeing us so disconsolate over the trifling loss. I will not stay to pick up my broken bowl, but will march forward albeit with unsatisfied heart.

The Senior Rani came and asked me 'What is the meaning brother, of all these books being packed up and sent off in box loads?

It only means I replied that I have not yet been able to get over my fondness for them.

I wish your fondness for some other things would keep as well! Do you mean you are never coming back home?

I shall be coming and going but shall not immerse myself here any more.

Oh indeed! Then just come along to my room and see how many things I have been unable to shake off my fondness for. —With this she took me by the hand and marched me off.

In my sister-in-law's rooms I found numberless boxes and bundles ready packed. She opened one of the boxes and said 'See brother look at all my *pran* making things. In this bottle I have catechu powder scented with the pollen of screw pine blossoms. These little tin boxes are all full of different kinds of spices. I have not forgotten my playing cards or draught board either. If you two are over busy I shall manage to make other friends there who will give me a game. Do you remember this comb? It was one of the *Snadeshi* combs you brought for me.

But what is all this for sister Rani? Why have you been packing up all these things?

Do you think I am not going with you?

'What an extraordinary idea. Don't you be afraid! I am not going there to fight with you nor to quarrel with the Junior Rani! One must die sooner or later and it is just as well to be on the bank of the holy Ganges before it is too late. It is horrible to think of being cremated in your wretched burning ground here under that stumpy Banian tree—that is why I have been refusing to die and have plagued you for so long!'

At last I could hear the true voice of home. The Senior Rani came into our house as its bride, when I was only six years old. We have played together, through the drowsy afternoons, in a corner of the roof terrace. I have thrown down to her, as she stood below, green *amras* from the tree top, to be sliced into deliciously indigestible *chutnies* with mustard, salt and fragrant herbs. It was my part to gather for her all the forbidden things from the store room to be used in the marriage celebration of her doll, for, in the penal code of my grand mother, I alone was exempt from punishment. And I used to be appointed her messenger to my brother, whenever she wanted to coax something special out of him, because he could not resist my importunity. I also remember how when I suffered under the rigorous regime of the doctors of those days—who would not allow anything except warm water and sugared cardamum seeds during feverish attacks—my sister-in-law could not bear my privation and used secretly to bring me delicacies. What a scolding she got one day when she was caught.

And then as we grew up, our mutual joys and sorrows took on deeper tones of intimacy. How we quarrelled! Some times conflicts of worldly interests roused suspicions and jealousies making breaches in our love, and when the Junior Rani came in between us these breaches seemed as if they would never be mended. But it always turned out that the healing forces beneath proved more powerful than the wounds on the surface.

In this way a true relationship has grown up between us from our childhood up till now, and its branching foliage has spread and brooded over every room and verandah and terrace of our great house. When I saw the Senior Rani make ready with all her belongings, to depart from this house of ours all the ties that bound us to their wide spreading ends, felt the shock.

The reason was clear to me why she had made up her mind to drift away towards the unknown, cutting asunder all her life long bonds of daily habit, and of the house itself which she had never left for a day since she first entered it at the age of nine. And yet it was this real reason which she could not allow to

escape her lips, preferring rather to put forward any other paltry excuse.

She had only this one relationship left in all the world; and the poor, unfortunate, widowed and childless woman had cherished it with all the tenderness hoarded in her heart. How deeply she had felt our proposed separation I never realised so keenly, as when I stood amongst her scattered boxes and bundles.

I could see at once that the little differences she used to have with Bimala, about money matters, did not proceed from my sordid worldliness, but occurred whenever she was made to feel that her claims, in regard to this one relationship of her life had been over-ridden, and its ties weakened for her, by the intervention of this other woman from outside. She had been hurt at every turn and yet had not the right to complain.

And Bimala? She also had felt that the Senior Rani's claim over me was not based merely on our social connection, but went much deeper; and she was jealous of these ties between us, reaching back to our childhood.

To-day my heart knocked heavily against the doors of my breast. I sank down upon one of the boxes as I said, "How I should love, sister Rani, to go back to the days when we first met in this old house of ours."

"No, brother dear," she replied with a sigh. "I would not live my life again,—not as a woman. Let what I have had to suffer end with this birth. I could not bear it over again."

I said to her: "The freedom to which we pass through sorrow is greater than the suffering."

"That may be so for you men. Freedom is for you. But we, women, would keep others bound. We would rather remain in bondage ourselves. No, no, brother, you will never get free from our toils. If you needs must spread your wings, you will have to take us with you; we refuse to be left behind. That is why I have gathered together all this weight of luggage. It would never do to allow men to run too light."

"I can feel the weight of your words," I replied laughing, "and if we men do not complain of your burdens, it is because women pay us, so handsomely for what they make us carry."

"You carry it," she said, "because it is

made up of many small things. Whichever one you think of rejecting pleads that it is so light. And so, with much lightness we weigh you down . . . When do we start?"

"The train leaves at half past eleven to-night. There will be plenty of time."

"Look here, brother dear, do be good for once and listen to just one word of mine. Take a long nap this afternoon. You know you never get any sleep in the train. You look so pulled down, you might go to pieces any moment. Come along, get through your bath first."

As we went towards my room, Khema, the maid, came up and with an ultra-modest pull at her veil told us, in deprecatingly low tones, that the Police Inspector had arrived with a prisoner and wanted to see the Maharaja.

"Is the Maharaja a thief, or a robber?" the Senior Rani flared up, "that he should be set upon in this way by the police. Go and tell the Inspector that the Maharaja is at his bath."

"Let me just go and see what is the matter," I pleaded. "It may be something urgent."

"No, no," my sister-in-law insisted, "Our Junior Rani has been making a heap of cakes last night. I'll send some to the Inspector, to keep him quiet till you're ready." With this, she pushed me into my room and shut the door on me.

I had not the power to resist such tyranny,—so rare is it in this world. Let the Inspector while away the time eating cakes. What if business is somewhat neglected?

The police had been in great form these last few days, arresting now this one, now that. Each day, some innocent person or other would be brought along to enliven the assembly in my sitting room. One more such unfortunate, I supposed, must have been brought in that day. But why should the Inspector alone be regaled with cakes? That would never do!—I thumped vigorously on the door.

My sister-in-law cried out from the passage: "If you are going mad, be quick and pour some water over your head; that will keep you cool!"

"Send down cakes for two," I shouted. "The person who has been brought in as the thief probably deserves them better. Tell the man to give him a good big helping."

15

I hurried through my bath. When I came out, I found Bimal sitting on the floor outside.* Could this be my Bimal of old,—my proud, sensitive Bimal? What favour could she be wanting to beg, seated like this at my door!

As I stopped short, she stood up and said gently, with downcast eyes: "I would have a word with you."

"Come inside then," I said.

"But are you going out on any particular business?"

"I was, but let that be. I want to hear."

"No, finish your business first. We shall have our talk after you have had your dinner."

I went off to my sitting room, to find the Inspector's plate quite empty. The person he had brought with him, however, was still busy eating.

"Hullo!" I ejaculated in surprise. "You, Amulya?"

"It is I, Sir," said Amulya, with his mouth full of cake. "I've had quite a feast. And if you don't mind, I'll take the rest with me." With this he proceeded to tie up the remaining cakes in his handkerchief.

"What does this mean?" I asked, staring at the Inspector.

The man laughed. "We're no nearer, Sir," he said, "to solving the problem of the thief; rather, the mystery of the theft deepens."

He then produced something tied up in a rag, which, when untied, disclosed a bundle of currency notes. "This, Maharaja," said the Inspector, "is your six thousand rupees!"

"Where was it found?"

"In Amulya Babu's hands. He went last evening to the manager of your Chakua sub-office to tell him that the money had been found. The manager seemed to be in a greater state of trepidation at the recovery than he had been at the robbery. He made out that he was afraid he would be suspected of having made away with the notes and of now concocting a story to avoid being found out. He had asked Amulya to wait, on the pretext of getting him some refreshment, and had come straight over to the

Police Station. However that may be, I rode off at once, kept Amulya with me, and have been busy with him the whole morning. He refuses to tell us where he got the money from. I warned him, he would be kept under restraint till he did so. In that case, he informed me, he would have to lie. Very well, I said, he might do so, if he pleased. Then he stated that he had found the money under a bush. I pointed out to him that it was not quite so easy to lie as all that. Under what bush? Where was the place? Why was he there?—All this would have to be stated as well. 'Don't you worry,' he said, 'there is plenty of time to invent all that?'"

"But, Inspector," I said, "why are you badgering a respectable young gentleman in this way?"

"I have no desire to harass him," said the Inspector. "He is not only a gentleman, but the son of Nubaran Babu, my school fellow. Let me tell you, Maharaja, exactly what must have happened. Amulya knows the thief, but wants to shield him by drawing suspicion on himself. That is just the sort of bravado he loves to indulge in."

The Inspector turned to Amulya. "Look here, young man," he said, "I also was eighteen once upon a time, and a student in the Ripon College. I nearly got into gaol trying to rescue a hack driver from a police constable. It was a near shaye! Then turning again to me he continued: 'Maharaja, the real thief will now probably escape, but I think I can tell you who is at the bottom of it all.'"

"Who is it, then?" I asked.

"That manager, in collusion with the guard, Kasim."

When the Inspector, having argued out his theory to his own satisfaction, at last departed, I said to Amulya: "If you will tell me who took the money, I promise you no one shall be hurt."

"I did it," said he.

"But how can that be? What about the gang of armed men . . . ?"

"It was I, by myself, alone!"

What Amulya went on to tell me was indeed extraordinary. The manager had just finished his supper in his quarters, and was on the verandah, rinsing out his mouth. The place was somewhat dark. Amulya had a revolver in each pocket, one loaded with blank cartridge, the

* Sitting on the bare floor is a sign of mourning, and so by association of ideas of an abject attitude I must infer.

other with ball. He had a mask over his face. He flashed a bull's eye lantern on the manager's face and fired a blank shot. The man swooned away. Some of the guards, who were off duty, came running up, but when Amulya fired another blank shot at them they lost no time in taking cover. Kasim, who was on duty guarding the strong room, came up next, whirling a quarter-staff. This time Amulya aimed a bullet at his leg, and finding himself hit, Kasim collapsed on the floor. Amulya then made the trembling manager, who had come to his senses, accompany him to the strong room, open the safe and deliver up six thousand rupees. Finally he took one of the estate horses and galloped off a few miles, there let the animal loose, and quietly walked up here, to our place.

"What made you do all this Amulya?" I asked.

"There was a grave reason, Maharaja," he replied.

"But why, then, did you try to return the money?"

"Let her come, at whose command I did so. In her presence I shall make a clean breast of it."

"And who may she be?"

"My sister, the Junior Rani."

I sent for Bimala. She came hesitatingly, barefoot, with a white shawl over her head. I had never seen my Bimal like this before. She seemed to have wrapped herself in morning light.

Amulya prostrated himself in salutation and took the dust of her feet. Then, as he rose, he said: "Your command has been executed, Sister. The money is returned."

"You have saved me, my little brother," said Bimal.

"With your image in my mind, I have not uttered a single lie," Amulya continued. "My watchword *Bande Mataram* has been cast away at your feet for good. I have also received my reward, your *prasad*, as soon as I came to the palace."

Bimal looked at him blankly, unable to follow his last words. Amulya brought out his handkerchief, and untying it showed her the cakes put away inside. "I did not eat them all," he said. "I have kept these to eat after you have helped me with your own hands."

I could see that I was not wanted here, and left the room. I could only preach

and preach, so I mused, and get my effigy burnt for my pains. I had not yet been able to bring back a single soul from the path of death. They, who have the power, can do so by a mere sign. My words have not that ineffable meaning. I am not a flame, only a black coal which has gone out. I can light no lamp. That is what the story of my life shows,—my row of lamps has remained unlit.

16.

I returned slowly towards the inner apartments. The Senior Rani's room must have been drawing me again. It had become an absolute necessity for me, that day, to feel that this life of mine had been able to strike some true and responsive chord in some other harp of life. Our own existence cannot be realised by remaining shut up within ourselves: it has to be sought outside.

As I passed in front of my sister-in-law's rooms, she came out saying: "I was afraid you would be late again this afternoon. However I ordered your dinner as soon as I heard you coming. It will be served in a minute."

"Meanwhile," I said, "let me take out that money of yours and get it kept ready to take with us."

As we walked on towards my room she asked me if the Inspector had made any report about the robbery. Somehow I did not feel inclined to tell her all the details of how that six thousand had come back. "That's just what all the fuss is about," I said evasively.

When I went into my dressing room and took out my bunch of keys, I did not find the key of the iron safe on the ring. What a careless fellow I was, to be sure! Only this morning I had been opening so many boxes and things, and never noticed that this key was not there.

"What has happened to your key?" she asked me.

I went on fumbling in this pocket and that, but could give her no answer. I hunted in the same place over and over again. It dawned on both of us, that it could not be a case of the key being mislaid. Some one must have taken it off the ring. Who could it be? Who else could have come into this room?

"Don't you worry about it," she said to me. "Get through your dinner first. The Junior Rani, seeing how absent-minded."

ed you are getting, must have kept it herself."

But I could not help feeling greatly disturbed. It was never Bimal's habit to take any key of mine without telling me about it. Bimal was not present at my meal time that day. She was busy feasting Amulya in her own room. My sister-in-law wanted to send for her, but I asked her not to do so.

I had just finished my dinner when Bimal came in. I should have preferred not to discuss the matter of the key in the Senior Rani's presence, but as soon as she saw Bimal she asked her, "Do you know dear, where the key of the safe is?"

"I have it," was the reply.
"Didn't I say so!" exclaimed my sister-in-law triumphantly. Our Junior Rani pretends not to care about these robberies, but she takes precautions on the sly, all the same.

The look on Bimal's face made my mind misgive me. Let the key be, now I said. "I will take out that money in the evening."

"There you go again putting it off and off," cried the Senior Rani. "Why not take it out and send it to the treasury while you have it in mind?"

"I have taken it out, already," said Bimal.

I was startled.
"Where have you kept it then?" asked my sister-in-law.

"I have spent it."

"Just listen to her! Whatever did you spend all that money on?"

Bimal made no reply. I asked her nothing further. The Senior Rani seemed about to address some remark to Bimala, but checked herself. "Well that is all right, anyway," she said at length, as she looked towards me. "Just what I used to do with my husband's loose cash. I knew it was no use leaving it with him—his hundred and one hangers on would be sure to get hold of it. You are much the same, brother dear! What a number of ways you men know of getting through money. We can only save it from you by stealing it ourselves! Come along now. Off with you to bed!"

The Senior Rani led me to my room, but I hardly knew where I was going. She sat by my bed after I was stretched on it, and smiled at Bimal as she said, "Give me one of your *pras*, Junior Rani, darling,

—What? You have none? You are a regular *mem sahib*! Then send for some from my room."

"But have you had your dinner yet?" I anxiously inquired.

"Oh long ago," she replied,—clearly a fib,—and then she kept on prattling away there, at my bed side, about all manner of things.

The maid came and told Bimal that her dinner had been served and was getting cold, but she gave no sign of having heard it.

"Not had your dinner yet? What non sense! It's fearfully late." With this the Senior Rani took Bimal away with her.

I could divine that there was some connexion between the taking out of this six thousand and the robbing of the other. But I have no curiosity to learn the nature of it. I shall never ask.

Providence leaves our life moulded in the rough, its object being that we ourselves should put the finishing touches, shaping it into its final form according to our taste. There has always been the hankering within me to express some great idea, in the process of giving shape to my life on the lines suggested by the Creator. In this endeavour I have spent all my days. How severely I have curbed my desires, repressed myself at every step, only the Searcher of the heart knows.

But the difficulty is that one's life is not solely one's own. He who would create it must do so with the help of his surroundings, or he will fail. So it was my constant dream to draw Bimal to join me in this work of creating myself.

I loved her with all my soul, on the strength of that, I could not but succeed in winning her to my purpose,—that was my firm belief.

Then I discovered that those, who can simply and naturally draw their environment into the process of their self-creation, belong to one species of the genus 'man', and I to another. I had received the vital spark, but could not impart it. Those to whom I have surrendered my all, have taken my all, but not myself with it. Just when I want a helpmate most, I am thrown back on myself and am left alone. Nevertheless, I record my vow that, even in this trial I shall win through. Alone, then, shall I tread my thorny path to the end of this life's journey.

I have begun to suspect that there has

all along been a vein of tyranny in me. There was a despotism in my desire to mould my relations with Bimala in a hard, clear-cut, perfect form. But man's life was not meant to be cast in a mould. And if we try to shape the Good, as so much mere material, it takes a terrible revenge by losing its life.

I did not realise, all this while, that it must have been this unconscious tyranny of mine, which made us gradually drift apart. Bimala's life, not finding its true level by reason of my pressure from above, has had to seek an outlet by undermining its banks at the bottom. She has had to steal the six thousand rupees because she could not be open with me,—because she felt that, in certain things, I despotically differed from her.

Men, such as I, possessed with one idea, get on well enough with those who can manage to agree with us; but, those who do not, can only get on with us by cheating us. It is our unyielding obstinacy, which drives even the simplest to tortuous ways. In trying to manufacture a help-mate, we spoil a wife.

Could I not go back to the beginning? Then, indeed, I should follow the path of the simple. I should not try to fetter my life's companion with my ideas, but play the joyous flutes of my love and say: "Do you love me? Then may you grow true to yourself in the light of your love. Let my ideas be suppressed, let God's design, which is in you, triumph."

But can even Nature's nursing heal the open wound, into which our accumulated differences have broken out? The covering veil, beneath the privacy of which alone nature's silent forces can work, has been torn asunder.—Wounds must be bandaged. Can we not bandage our wound with our love, so that the day may come when its scar will no longer be visible? But is it not too late? So much time has been lost in mistakes; it has taken right up to now to come to an understanding; how much more time will it take for the correcting? What if the wound does eventually heal,—can the devastation it has wrought ever be made good?

There was a slight sound near the door. As I turned over, I saw Bimala's retreating figure through the open doorway. She must have been waiting by the door, hesitating whether to come in or no, and at last have decided to go back. I

jumped up and bounded to the door calling: "Bimal."

She stopped on her way. She had her back to me. I went and took her by the hand and led her into our room. She threw herself face downwards on a pillow, and sobbed and sobbed. I said nothing, but held her hand as I sat by her head.

When her storm of grief had abated she sat up. I tried to draw her to my breast, but she pushed my arms away and knelt at my feet, touching them repeatedly with her head, in obeisance. I hastily drew my feet back, but she clasped them in her arms crying in a choking voice: "No, no, no, you must not take away your feet. Let me do my worship."

I kept still. Who was I to stop her? Was I the god of her worship that I should have qualms?

BIMALA'S STORY.

21.

Come! Now is the time to set sail towards that great confluence, where the river of love meets the sea of worship. In that pure blue, all the weight of its muddiness sinks and disappears.

I now fear nothing,—neither myself, nor anybody else. I have passed through fire. What was inflammable has been burnt to ashes; what is left is deathless. I have dedicated myself at the feet of him, who has received all my sin into the depths of his own pain.

Tonight we go to Calcutta. My inward troubles have so long prevented my looking after my things for the journey. Now let me arrange and pack them.

After a while, I found my husband had come in and was taking a hand in the packing.

"This won't do," I said. "Didn't you promise me you would have a sleep?"

"I might have made the promise," he replied, "but my sleep did not, and it was nowhere to be found."

"No, no," I repeated, "this will never do. Lie down for a while, at least."

"But how can you get through all this alone?"

"Of course I can."

"Well you may boast of being able to do without me. But frankly I can't do without you. Even sleep refused to come to me, alone, in that room." Then he set to work again.

But there was an

shape of a servant, who came and said that Sandip Babu had called and had asked to be announced.

I did not dare to ask whom he wanted. The light of the sky seemed suddenly to be shut down, like the leaves of a sensitive plant.

"Come, Bimal," said my husband, "Let us go and hear what Sandip has to tell us. Since he has come back again, after taking his leave, he must have something special to say."

I went, simply because it would have been still more embarrassing to stay. Sandip was staring at a picture on the wall. As we entered he said: "You must be wondering why the fellow has returned. But you know the ghost is never laid till all the rites are complete." With these words he brought out something, tied in his handkerchief, and laying it on the table, undid the knot. It was those sovereigns.

"Don't you mistake me, Nikhil," he said. "You must not imagine that the contagion of your company has suddenly turned me honest. I, Sandip, am not come back, in slobbering repentance, to return ill-gotten money. But . . ."

He left his speech unfinished. After a pause, he remained looking towards my husband, but said to me: "After all these days, Queen Bee, the ghost of compunction has found an entry into my hitherto untroubled conscience. As I have to wrestle with it every night, after my first sleep is over, I cannot call it a phantom of my imagination. There is no escape even for me, till its debt is paid. Into the hands of that spirit, therefore, let me make restitution.—Goddess, from you, alone, of all the world I shall not be able to take anything away. I shall not be rid of you, till I am destitute. Take these back!"

He brought out, at the same time, the jewel casket from under his tunic and put it down, and then left us with hasty steps.

"Listen to me, Sandip," my husband called after him.

"I have not the time, Nikhil," said Sandip, as he paused near the door. "The Mussalmans, I am told, have taken me for an invaluable gem, and are conspiring to loot me and hide me away in their graveyard. But I feel that it is necessary to live. I have just twenty-five minutes to catch the North-bound train. So, for the present, I must be gone. We shall have our talk out, at the next convenient opportunity.

If you take my advice, don't you delay in getting away either. I salute you, Queen Bee, Queen of the bleeding hearts, Queen of desolation!"

Sandip then left almost at a run. I stood stock still. I had never realised so vividly, before, how paltry this gold and these jewels were. Only, a short while ago, I was so busy thinking what I should take with me, and how I should pack it. Now I felt that there was no need to take anything at all. To set out and go forth was the important thing.

My husband left his seat and came up and took me by the hand. "It is getting late," he said. "There is not much time left to complete our preparations for the journey."

At this point, Chandranath Babu suddenly came in. Finding us both together, he fell back for a moment. Then he said, "Forgive me, my little mother, if I intrude.—Nikhil, the Mussalmans are out of hand. They are looting Harish Kundu's treasury. That does not so much matter. But what is intolerable is the violence that is being done to the women of their house."

"I am off," said my husband.

"What can you do there?" I pleaded, as I clung to his hand.

"Oh, Sir," I appealed to his master. "Will you not tell him not to go?"

"My little mother," he replied, "there is no time to do anything else."

"Don't be alarmed," Bimal," said my husband, as he left us.

When I went to the window, I saw him galloping away on horseback, with not a weapon in his hands.

In another minute the Senior Rani came running in. "What have you done, Junior Rani, darling," she cried. "How could you let him go?"

"Call the Dewan, at once," she said, turning to a servant.

The Rani never appeared before the Dewan, but the Senior Rani had no thought, that day, for appearances.

"Send a mounted man to bring back the Maharaja, immediately," she ordered, as soon as the Dewan came up.

"We have all entreated him to stay, Rani mother," said the Dewan, "but he refused to turn back."

"Send word to him that the Senior Rani is ill, that she is on her death bed," cried my sister-in-law wildly.

When the Dewan left, she turned on me with a furious outburst 'Oh you witch, you ogress, you could not die your self, but needs must send him to his death! "

The light of the day began to fade. The sun set behind the feathery foliage of the blossoming *Sajna* tree. I can see every different shade of that sunset even to-day. Two masses of cloud, on either side of the sinking orb, made it look like a great bird with fiery feathered wings outspread. It seemed to me that this fateful day was taking its flight, to cross the ocean of night.

It became darker and darker. Like the flames of a far off village on fire, which leap up every now and then above the horizon, a distant dim swelled and died away, in recurring waves, into the darkness.

The bells of the evening worship sounded from our temple. I knew the Senior Rani was sitting there, with hands clasped together, in speechless prayer. But I could not move a step from the window.

The roads, the village beyond, the farther fringe of trees, grew more and more vague. The lake in our grounds looked up into the sky with a dull lustre, like a blind man's eye. On the left, the tower seemed to be craning its neck to catch sight of something that was happening.

The sounds of night take on all manner of disguises. A twig snaps, and one thinks that somebody is running for his life. A door slams, and one feels it to be the sudden heart thump of a startled world.

Lights would suddenly flicker up under the shade of the distant trees, and then go

out again. Horses' hoofs clattered now and again, only to turn out to be riders leaving the palace gates.

I continually had the feeling that, if only I could die, all this turmoil would come to an end. So long as I was alive my sins would remain rampant, scattering destruction on every side. I remembered the pistol in my box. But my feet refused to leave the window in quest of it. Was I not awaiting my fate?

The gong of the guard solemnly struck ten.

A little later, groups of lights twinkled in the distance and I could make out a crowd winding its way, like some great serpent, along the road in the darkness, towards the palace.

The Dewan rushed to the gate at the sound. Just then an advance rider came galloping in.

"What news, Jata?" asked the Dewan.

"Not good," was the reply.

I could hear these words distinctly from my window. But something was mumbled next which I could not catch.

Then came a palanquin, followed by a litter. The doctor was walking alongside the palanquin.

"What do you think, Doctor?" asked the Dewan.

"Can't say yet," the doctor replied. "The wound in the head is serious."

"And Amulya Babu?"

"He has a bullet through the heart. He is done for."

THE END

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE LIFE ITSELF

A MEDITATION

By MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE

Verily, this is He who, as the I life itself, shines forth in all beings.

THIS truth has been clearly imprinted on our souls, that the highest revelation of God is within. The true light is revealed in the brightness of the human spirit.

The sun and moon and stars and lightning cannot reveal that splendour. The

Stainless and Formless dwells in the bright abode of the spirit of man. He is our innermost and our dearest.

The truth will never grow old (though it may be repeated a thousand times) that God is the heart of our hearts. His brightest revelation is within. He is the I life itself, the essence of the life of all beings.

The man who is pure of heart sees that Supreme One shining in the sky of his inner spirit, as the sun shines in the heaven. He sees the resplendent lustre of that changeless Light. He knows that God is not the God of the dead but of the living, for God is the Life itself deathless and eternal. He slumbers not, nor sleeps. He is awake, for He is the living God,—the life of all the world, the Life of life.

When we meet in our hearts that Supreme One, then alone our worship is fulfilled. When our eyes meet His our homage is complete. If we do not see Him in our worship, we can give him no obsequance with true adoration. We can offer him no prayers laden with love's tears. We cannot hold converse with a dead body. We cannot find God in a clod of earth, a block of wood or stone. This is our prayer that we may at all times see His shining presence as the Life itself.

When we come to offer our worship to spread the flowers of our devotion to His sacred feet to sing songs to His glory—if at such times because of our great weakness we cannot see His presence as the Life itself, then that must be our first concern. For if we have not perceived with our own eyes that pure radiance of divine wisdom how can our thoughts turn to Him and our love expand? Even now in the light of our own souls we may see His presence as the Life for He is the essence of the life of all beings.

Let us not cease then to offer Him the blossoms of our love for if we have a single hearted purpose we shall see Him as He is. No sooner do we have the inner longing for God's presence than He reveals Himself to us. We obtain in our own hearts the sight of that perfect and beautiful one, the worshipful and ever living God, whose dwelling place is the soul.

Our birth right is glorious. We do not have to go abroad to see Him. We can salute that Holy One within. Dearer to Him than sun and moon dearer than the flowers of the field or trees of the forest, is the human soul.

The all wise and ever living God pervades all time and space. Every visible thing that is apart from him wears the aspect of death. The endowment of life in all things is from God. He is the centre of consciousness, and through His manifestation consciousness has come to all.

By accepting His reality this world has become real. In the shelter of His endless life man has become deathless. We are the children of the Immortal and have the birth right to immortality.

So long as we are dependent on the world we are bound by Death's bondage. The whole world bears the outward form of death but God is the dwelling place of immortality. If we are one with Him and He is one with us, then, beyond this transitory world, we can behold the radiant abode of Brahma. Then we can say of our own selves. They who know this become immortal."

The man that dwells with the ever living God no longer fears when he sees the hand of Death. He has the unwavering certainty within himself that he will enjoy immortality.

Our spirits therefore are God's dwelling place. He is worthy to be worshipped not with outward rites, but in spirit and in truth. Bliss is ours when we recognise God's presence in our inner spirits.

Men without number have undergone difficulties innumerable and wasted their bodies with austerities, trying to gain God for themselves by external acts, but in vain. And so we find in the scriptures this sacred text. 'Whatever a man does, not knowing the Infinite in this world,—whether it be worship or adoration, sacrifice or penance, even for many thousands of years—it comes to an end'."

But there is no limit to our blessedness, if, with a calm and collected mind, we meet the Supreme in our own inner spirit. When, like the sacred *rishis*, we see Him everywhere, when in our own hearts we realise His presence as truth, wisdom and immortality, when our relation to Him is so close and deep that His eyes look into our own then there is no separation. He is our Father and we are His children. He is our Teacher and we are His disciples. He is our Mother and we are His dearest treasure. We can say with our whole spirit. 'Thou art our Father who takest us across the river of darkness to the farther shore'."

Thou art our Mother. With an open heart we can offer up the prayer. 'Protect us, as a mother protects her children, and give us grace and wisdom'."

When we think of the Father who gives us courage, the Teacher who gives us wisdom, the Mother who gives us affec-

tion, then we understand how deep, how close, is our relationship with God. Then we shed tears of love at the thought of His love. We know that He watches over us and loves us.

When this inner consciousness of God becomes interwoven with all our thoughts, we receive a new life. The meaning of things is made clear. The world itself is no longer unreal, we see all things in Him, and Him in all things.

"Verily, He is the Life itself, manifest in all beings"

Just as He watches over us, His eyes are over all. His handiwork is visible in all places,—in the leaves of the trees, in the wings of the birds, in the depths of the ocean, on the heights of the mountains.

In all manifestations of power there are signs of His might In all works of skill we see His wisdom In all events His goodness is revealed In all the universe we see His love When we suffer, we are sheltered in the arms of the divine Mother When we are bereft of worldly affection, we are merged in the ocean of His unfathomable love His wisdom, love and goodness are in all the world

Ab, what is this that has come upon me, and where am I now? I am neither in heaven nor on earth, but with that Supreme, surrounded with the glory of God. The mind cannot contain such bliss and human words cannot express it.

Translated from the Bengali

PAINTING IN ANCIENT INDIA *

BY T A GOPINATHA RAO

THE art of painting pictures is a very ancient one in India. It is counted as one among the sixty four *kalas* (arts) which are too well known to require mention. Vātsyāyana in his famous *Kamasūtra* states that girls should learn even when they are young the arts of dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, painting, &c.—the sixty four *kalas* so that these might be of use to them in their womanhood¹ and then he enumerates the sixty four *śilpas*. Of these the fourth is the painter's art and is referred to as *śleṣhyam*. The commentator of Vātsyāyana explains the word thus —

‘आलेख्यमिति—इयमदा प्रभाषानि भावस्तत्पय्ययोजनम् ।

सादृश्यं वदितुं भावः इति धिक् प्रत्ययः ॥ इति

एतानि परानुरागजननानि आत्मविनोदाद्यनि च ।'

Ikkyū, therefore, consists, according to him, of the six essentials, namely the different subjects taken up for painting, their due proportions, expressions of emo-

tions, beauty, likeness and exact colour. The arts referred to above, including painting, have, it is stated, the high function of exciting the emotions of people as also of affording them amusement. It would be seen from the above that the essentials and functions of painting are identically those which are claimed for it by the Western painters also.

In the next chapter, Vatsyāyana after stating that civilized people should live in Nagaras, Kharvatas or Pattanas, informs us that among a number of articles to be seen in the houses of such civilized persons there must be a *chitrāphalakā* (a board to paint on) and a *vartika-samudga*.⁴ *Vartika samudga* seems to refer to a colour box with brushes in it.

Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* states¹ that dancing girls and others should be taught the arts of dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental, and painting at the expense of the State by appointing proper teachers for conveying instructions

* A portion of a chapter on Mural Decoration in the author's forthcoming treatise on "Hindu Architecture from the view point of Hindu Silpa-Sastras."

१. यथासमयोज्ञादि पाठ्यपट्टिकायां कान्द्वारद्वयं का
किनामासेत् ॥ (१ अधि १४, १४ प्र)

2 भागदत्तावसत्ता वेषा विप्रलोक वतिपासमुद्रको य
कचित्प्लवक कुर्यात्तथासाथ ॥

(१ अक्षि, ४ अ, १० म)

2. Kauti 1974 p. 126 (Alma Sis r Tran la o.)

in the several arts. From this statement it becomes patent that the art of painting was encouraged by the State in the 3rd and 2nd centuries before the Christ era. In the *Rāmāyana*, a work of much greater antiquity than the *Arthashastra*, the city of Lankā is said to have possessed painted halls.⁴ The *Nāṭya Śāstra*, another ancient Sanskrit work, insists upon the walls of the stage, being properly prepared with polished mortar, must be painted with the figures of men and women as also creepers and trees. A very large number of Sanskrit dramas contain references to the art of painting, for instance in the ancient drama the *Śāpna Vāsavadattā* attributed to Bhāsa, we are told that a portrait of the heroine Vāsavadattā painted on a board was sent to the king Vatsārāja.⁵ Kālidāsa, the prince of poets in India, describes the hero of the *Meghasandesa* as painting with *dhāturāga* the portrait of his sweet heart who was angry with him.⁶ After having conquered Lankā and having returned to Ayodhyā, Śrī Rāma found where he used to see his father Dāsaratha often only his portrait. When Kusā the son of Rāma transferred his capital to Kusāvati from Ayodhyā, the poet describes that, the pictures, in the deserted capital, of the female elephants, which descended down the lotus ponds to pluck lotus stalks to give their male friends to eat, looked so natural that lions mistaking them for real elephants began to attack them.⁷ Again, we learn from the *Māturikāgammītra* that Iravati entered the *chitra śālā* which was newly painted and was regaling her sight

with the splendid pictures found in it.⁸ There are innumerable references to painting in the works of the later poets such as Dandin, Bhāṭṭahuti, &c. From all these authors we learn that the surfaces employed for painting were walls, boards and slabs of stones and that the paints were *dhāturāga* as mentioned in the *Śilpa-ratna*. Cloth was another substance which was employed to paint pictures on. Elaborate instructions are given to prepare the surface of the cloth for making it fit for laying colours on. Reference is found to the painting on cloth in the *Mudrārākshasa* where *jama pata* is mentioned. One of the common names of a picture is *pata* and it is evidently derived from the use of cloth employed for the purpose. Mr Rhys Davids informs us that painting is referred in "the Pali Buddhist canon dating from some three or four centuries before the Christian era. The Ceylonese Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, composed probably in the fifth century, tells of the mural paintings decorating the relic chamber or the Ruvanvelī dagoba constructed by king Dattagāmiṇi about B.C. 150."⁹

Mr. V. A. Smith, the author of the *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, laments the dearth of literature in India dealing with painting and the allied subjects sculpture and architecture.¹⁰ Writes he:

'The blank in the history of Hindu painting due to the non-existence of ancient pictures cannot be filled up from literary notices. The Hindus have never taken sufficient interest in art for its own sake to write treatises, practical, historical or critical, on the subject. As already observed, the vast literature of India contains only two passages dealing directly with the history of art, namely Abul Fazl's notices of the introduction of Indo-Iranian painting, which will be discussed in chapter XIV and the remarks recorded in 1608 by Taranath, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism.'

The fault is not so much attributable to the ancient Indians, who, it may be paren-

9 विचित्राणां गता देशो यदाप्रमथयन्वर्चसामां विचित्रिषाद्-
पाचार्यस्य चरकोकशको विवृति तक्षिणश्चर-
यन्परिचितः ॥

10. Quoted from Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Arts in India*, p. 273.

12 "The enormous mass of Indian literature whether in Sanskrit or any other language, does not contain, I believe, a single treatise on the aesthetics of plastic and pictorial art. The (the-*Śilpa Śāstra*) use as guides to aesthetically correct construction and composition is secondary and incidental." P. 8

4 सतायदासि चित्राणि चित्राद्यायदासि च ॥

Rāmāyana.

5 पद्मं चक्रोऽपि तत्र च वासवदत्ताय च परिचित्रि-
विचित्रधपाय चाचित्रिष विरादो निम्नो । युवा
विचित्रधपा'तत्र यथासं विवृता ॥

Śāpna Vāsavadattā.

प्रथमकुपितां भाग्यमोक्षं मिथ्यायाम्
आजानं देववर्षवति यौवदिश्यामि कर्तुम् ॥

Meghasandesa.

वायव्यायामो विचित्रिदेवधायिष्यस्य विचित्रिवेश ॥

Raghuvamśa.

8 चित्रदिपाः पद्मनाभयोर्वा, करेभिरु दत्तपादाभयम् ।
नयान्तराघातविभिन्नकुम्भा शरमविषमद्वयं वदन्ति ॥

Raghuvamśa.

thetically remarked here, have left behind very masterly treatises on all branches of Fine Arts, nay on all arts known in their time—treatises which for their psychological and scientific analysis far excel many a scientific treatise of the modern day. It is the culpable disregard of the modern so-called educated Indian, whose culture is one-sided and whose sense of patriotism has been killed by foreign ideals taught to him that is responsible for the lack of appreciation of the ancient Indian treatises on art and other subjects, the absence of translations of these valuable works is construed by Europeans, as for instance Mr V A Smith, as indicative of utter absence of written works on several subjects of human interest and necessity.

As has been remarked on several previous occasions by me, the *agamic* literature is cyclopedic in its contents and painting forms one of the subjects dealt with in it. There are not wanting works on painting, sculpture and architecture in the vast field of Sanskrit literature: the brahmanas made very accurate study of these subjects and have left behind several remarkable treatises which have till now remained sealed books to even the Sanskrit knowing men, because, they happen to be technical subjects, to understand which a knowledge of the language alone is inadequate, and hence even the Sanskrit knowing people neglected the study of these special branches. The consequence was that the texts became very corrupt and in many places unintelligible. It therefore requires more than one copy of each manuscript to collate from them the correct form of the text. Such a laborious task has been undertaken in the present instant and the technique of the art of painting is attempted in the following pages with the help of the *Amsumāṇḍī*, *Agama*, the *Silparatna*, and several other minor treatises. What follows may be taken to be practically a translation of the chapter contained in the *Amsumāṇḍī* *Agama* and the *Silparatna*.

The word *chitra* implies not painting but sculpture and it is applied only to figures sculptured in the round. Sculpture in half relief is called *chitrārtha*, whereas pictures painted on well prepared walls &c., which produce on the eyes the effect of solid figures on a plane surface are known as *chitrābhāsa* and it is with this last class we are now immediately concerned. Paint-

ing is defined as the art of depicting all moveable and immovable objects found in nature in their exact form and in their true colours.

It is enjoined in the *agamas* that the walls of the houses of private persons, as also those of temples should be adorned with paintings. But in private dwellings figures of gods as described in their *dhyaṇa ślokas* (*mantra murtis* as they are called in the original) and happy events narrated in the Puranas and Agamas should be painted in proper forms and conveying the various sentiments (*rūpa rīti* and *bhāva*) and in different postures. Pictures of wars (as for example between *devas* and *asuras*), death scenes and other sad events and figures of naked ascetics (*nagaras*) posing in their freakish attitudes should not be depicted in the houses of private individuals. Pictures painted in due proportions and with proper colours produce happiness both to the painter and the master of the house. (We have to understand by this statement that the prestige of the painter is enhanced by his employer praising the talents of the artist to all his friends and thereby increasing the artist's popularity, and that the beautiful pictures produced by the artist is ever a source of pleasure to the householder.) But those executed in an untasteful manner produce bad effects alike to the painter and the owner of the house in which the pictures are painted.

The stone wall for painting pictures on is generally rough chiselled and when a thin coat of plaster is applied to it catches well very thin coat of plaster several centuries old is seen still sticking to walls in many temples. The frescoes of Ajanta are one of the few remarkable instances of the durability under proper conditions of Indian paintings. The recipe for making the plaster is given thus in the *Silparatna*: shells and conches are burnt with wood in kilns and slaked. The *chunam* obtained from this source is found to produce plaster which forms very smooth and highly shining surfaces. Four parts of this *chunam* are mixed with one of *mudgaka* *thalava* (?) and one of fine sand. The whole is soaked in jaggery water. With this are added the ashes of ripe plantain fruits, stirred well and allowed to remain for one month in a vat. After this the mixture is taken and *gr*

nicely—like butter—with jaggery water. The plaster is now ready for use.

The wall is cleaned free of dust and dirt and a coat of jaggery water is applied to it with a brush made of the husk of the coconut. When the wall is practically dry, the plaster is applied, very thinly with a polished, shining metallic trowel and the surface smoothened with it or with a perfectly plane wooden trowel. These trowels should be of sizes suitable for the purpose (see figures 1 and 2). The pre-

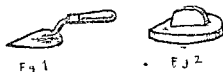


Fig 1 Metal and Wooden Trowels

paration of the surface should be proceeded with slowly, ensuring even and smooth surface. When the plaster is laid upon the wall and is somewhat dry the surface is given a wash with clean water with a coconut brush. When the water has been absorbed by the plaster and the surface remains still wet painting might be begun.

The plaster described above should not be used in the case of wooden boards when these latter are employed as the surface for painting. The preparation which is applied over the plaster and which is described below is the material which must be spread on wooden boards.¹³

WHITE WASHING THE WALLS

The plastered wall should be given a coat of white colour. This is obtained by mixing with the gum of the *alm* or wood apple tree nicely powdered unburnt conches and shells, or kaolin. This colour must be laid very evenly over the prepared surface of the wall, on wooden boards or on cloth with the bark of the *sakhota* tree or a brush made of the stalk of the *Actin* plant. Or, finely powdered lime (*chunam*) ground several times with the water of tender coconuts, may be diluted with hot water and applied on the plastered surface. (This latter preparation should not be

used on wooden surfaces and on cloth). The ground is thus made ready for sketching the outlines of the painting. That shell *chunam* produces a very highly polished surface, is a generally known fact as also that it is possible to obtain such a nice surface by the application of a thin coating of this material. Mr Griffiths, who spent over nineteen years in the study of the paintings at Ajanta, and who made extensive copies of them, has noticed this thin coating in Ajanta. Regarding the preparation of the surface for painting he remarks

'This first layer—which, according to our modern notions—promises no great permanence, was laid to a thickness varying from one eighth to three quarters of an inch, and on it an egg shell coat of fine white plaster was spread. This skin of plaster, in fact, overlaid everything—in mouldings, columns, carved ornaments, and figure sculptures—but in the case of carved details, without the intervention of the coat of earthen rough cast and, from what remains, it is clear that the whole of each cave was thus plastered and painted... Great pains were taken with the statues of Buddha, one in the small chamber to the right of the first floor of Cave VI is covered with a layer of the finest plaster one eighth of an inch thick, so painted and polished that the face has the smoothness and sheen of porcelain.'¹⁴

The application of a very thin coat of plaster is observed on the Gāndhāra sculptures also. Mr V A Smith remarks

The stone was frequently finished with fine plaster like the rock sculptures of Ajanta and many other localities of India and Ceylon, and the effect was heightened by the free use of colour and gilding, traces of which are still occasionally discernible' (P. 99)

MAKING PENCILS FOR SKETCHING OUTLINE DRAWING

A recipe is given in the *Silparatna* for making pencils used in tracing the outlines of the pictures. Pieces of old tile are ground into very fine powder and mixed with dried powder of cow dung, to this mixture is added gum water and the whole once again ground into a fine paste. This is rolled into sticks resembling brushes to the length of 2, 3 or 4 *angulas*. These pencils are called *litta lekhanis*.

The subjects of painting may consist of the figures of gods, men, beasts, snakes, birds, trees, creepers, etc., mountains and seas, these must be depicted exactly as one sees them or as one has heard of them. The sketching of the subject is best done

13. Regarding the surface of the silk or cotton fabric upon which paintings are executed, Mr V A Smith states that they may be painted either directly on the fabric or on a coat of plaster applied to it.

14. Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, p. 18.

The following other colours are also to be prepared and kept for use namely, for light red (*uridu rakta*), *sindura* (red lead) for middle red (*madhya rakta*) *arika* (*hari tala*)¹⁷ and for deep red (*atirakta*), *laksh* (lac dye) lastly, for yellow, *manassila*, orpiment or arsenic sulphide

Gurika should be ground with water for one whole day in a mortar and *sindura* for half a day, but *manassila* must be powdered dry and the powder soaked in water for five days and then ground with water for the sixth. These colours are mixed afterwards with the required quantity of the gum of the *nilu* tree before employing them for painting

Gold colour Pure gold is beaten into very thin leaves which are cut in small bits and put into a mortar a small quantity of fine clean sand is added and both gold and sand are ground till the gold is reduced to exceedingly fine dust. The paste thus obtained is luxuriated in a glass vessel (*kacha patra*) with water and the sand particles are removed by several washing. The highly triturated gold is mixed with glue and applied with proper brushes wherever required in the painting. After it is well dried on the surface of the painting it is rubbed gently with the tusk of the boar till it is highly burnished

Another method of applying gold colour is next described. Very thin gold leaves are cut of the required shape and wherever gold paint has to be applied the surface is first smeared with a thin coat of glue and the gold leaf previously cut to proper size and shape is stuck. When dry the surface of the gold leaf is burnished with a ball of cotton wool

For preparing glue bits of fresh hide of buffalo are boiled with water, when the water assumes the consistency of butter the matter is rolled into balls and dried. Whenever required, it is dissolved in hot water. This glue (*vya lepa*) may also be employed in the place of the gums of the *nilu* or the wood apple trees

MIXTURE OF COLOURS

Colour mixture A mixture of white (*sita*) and red (*rakta*) colours yields rose (*gaura varna*) colour, a mixture of white black (*krishna*) and yellow (*pita*) in equal quantities gives a *(tira*

chchhavi) white and black in equal quantities yield the colour of the elephant (*raja varna*) red and yellow, in equal parts, the colour of the fruit of *akula* tree (orange-colour), if twice the quantity of red is mixed with one of yellow it yields the *atirakta varna* (*ati pita* deep orange colour), two parts of yellow with one of white produces *pingala varna* (light yellow) two parts of yellow with one of black (*krishna*) gives the colour of deep water yellow and black in equal quantities is said to produce the colour of the skin of man (this must be evidently the colour of a dusky man) A mixture in equal quantities of *haritila* (chrome yellow) and *syama varna* (blue) make a fine green resembling the feather of the wing of the parrot. If black (*krishna*) is mixed with lac dye (*laksharasa*) the mixture is that of the fruit of the *ramba* (mauve or violet) A kind of red is obtained by a mixture of *lakshirasa*, *jatilanga* (vermillion or mercury sulphide) and white or *ingulika* (same as *jatilanga*?) may be substituted (for what, it is not stated) The colour of the hair of the head of a man is obtained by a mixture of black and blue (*nila*) By judicious mixture a very much larger variety of mixed colors (*sankhata varnas*) could be obtained and the skilled artist must be able to produce any desired colour. Colours ought not to be applied directly to the wall white washed with lime but on the same after coating it with krolin

The *Amsumadbhedhigrama* informs us that the white the red the yellow and the blue colours are of four different kinds each and gives us hints to recognise them. The portion of the text dealing with the four kinds of white colours is lost and so it is not possible to say anything about them

Red colour is of the four following kinds namely

- 1 *Aruni* which can be recognised as that of the blood of the hare
- 2 *Rakta*, which resembles the red of the shoe-flower,
- 3 *Sana*, that of the *kimsuka* flower, which has itself the colour of the beak of the parrot and
- 4 *Pitriti* which is the colour of the lac dye (*lakshirasa*)

The yellows are of four kinds, namely

- 1 *Sirana* which is the colour of gold
- 2 *Kapita* which resembles the *vyana* *sira* (?)

17 The original reads अतिरक्तम् (?)

3 *Pita* which is the colour of *haritāla* (chrome yellow), and

4 *Harita* which is that of the cat's eye. The blues are four in number, namely

1 *Nila*, which is the colour of the clouds,

2 *Syāma*, which is of the crow,

3 *Karala*, which resembles the colour of the neck of the peacock and

4 *Krishna* which is the jet black of the wings of beetles

These sixteen are known, according to the authority quoted above, as *svatantra varnas*

A passing mention of colours is made in the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, when it describes the painting of the faces of actors

Men of different countries are of different shades of colour to appear on the stage with proper skin colours a study of colours and colour mixture is necessary for these have to be applied to the faces to imitate different complexions. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* recognises four colours the white, the blue, the yellow and the red as the four primary colours (*svabhāva varnas*).¹ The product of the mixture of two colours is called a *upavarṇa*

A mixture of white and yellow yields the *pāṇḍu varṇa*,

A mixture of white and red, the *padma varṇa* (lotus colour),

A mixture of white and blue, the *kāpota-varṇa* (pigeon colour),

A mixture of yellow and blue, the *harita-varṇa* (green),

A mixture of blue and red, the *lāshaya varṇa*, and

A mixture of red and yellow, the *gaura varṇa* (?)

Many more colours could be obtained by the proper mixture of three, four, &c, colours at a time

Colours according to the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, are divided also into strong and weak colours. In mixing strong and weak colours the proportion of one of strong and two of weak colours should be employed. The blue is the strongest colour, therefore one of blue must be mixed with four parts of the weaker colours

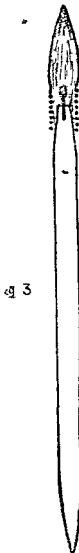
BRUSHES

Brushes required for painting are classed as of the fine, medium and large sizes

1. *Tarkasādhya* colours into seven kinds, namely, *sakla*, *rila*, *pita*, *rakta*, *harita*, *kāpota* and *śiṣṭa*.

(*sukshma*, *madhyama* and *sthūla*) The handles of the brushes are required to be six *angulas* in length whereas the hair of the brushes should be 6 *yavas* in length

The extremities of the handles of the brushes should be made either cylindrical or octagonal to about an eighth of their length. A metallic nail (*sanku sanda = sanku khanda*?) having a head shaped in the fashion of a *yava* (barley corn) is driven firmly into one end of the handle. For the *sthūla lekhanis* (large brushes), the hair in the ear of the calves should be used, for the *madhyama lekhanis* (medium size), the hair on the belly of goats and for *sukshma lekhanis* (fine ones) that of the tail of squirrel (*chikrōda puchha*). The above mentioned hairs must be secured firmly round the metallic nail either with lac (sealing wax) or with fine thread (see fig 3). The artist must provide himself with *lekhanis*¹⁸ (brushes) of the three different sizes made of the three different hairs in all nine *lekhanis*, for each colour. It is evident that the hairs of the calf's ear, of the belly of the goat and of the tail of the squirrel are of different degrees of flexibility or stiffness and yield brushes corresponding to the modern hog's hair brushes, sable brushes, etc



Longitudinal section of a *Lekhani*

SEVERAL POSTURES OF THE HUMAN BODY

The texts of the *āgamas* then proceed to describe the various postures of the human figure namely the *ryu*, the *ardharyu*, the *sachika* the *ardhakshi*, and the *bhittika sthānas*.¹⁹ Corresponding to these frontal

18. The word *lekhanis* conveys the same meaning as the ancient usage of the English word *pencil*

19. Marking the various *sūtras* before proceeding with the drawing of the picture is employed as far as it is ascertainable by the Indian school of painting wherever its influence could

postures are also dorsal postures also possessing the same names. The frontal postures are technically known as the *mukhya* and the dorsal ones the *para-vritta*. In the *rya sthāna* the full face of the human being is visible whereas in the *bhittikā* only one side of the face is said to be visible (that is the profile). The measurements of the various postures with reference to the medial line (*brahma* or *madhya sutra*) are given next.

The front side of a figure is called the *pūrva bhāga* and the back side the *para bhāga*. The line which is imagined as passing through the top of the *maluta* the middle of the forehead the tip of the nose, and the navel and terminating at the middle of the two feet is called the *brahma sutra* (compare this with the description of the *Uttama dāsa tāla* measure given in volume I of my *Elements of Hindu Iconography*). If the total height of a human figure is divided into 124 parts one of these parts is called an *angula* the other *sūtras* in the case of the front full faced human figure (*mukhya rjasthanā*) would be situated at distances of six *angulas* from each other that is the *mukha pārsva sūtras* (see fig 4) at a distance of six *angulas* on either side of the *brahma sutra* the *lakṣha sūtras* at six *angulas* away from the *mukha pārsva sūtra* and the *anṇa pārsva sūtra* six *angulas* from the *lakṣha sūtra* in this posture all the front features of the figure will be distinctly visible while none of the back will be visible the width of the ears then, would be one *angula* and the *sankha* one *angula* the width of the feet one *bhāga* (one part?) and the ... of the toes three *bhāgas* (?) here the text is corrupt and is therefore not quite intelligible.²⁰

In the case of the *ardharjya* posture the interspace between the *Pārsva sūtras* and the *brahma sutra* is ... One of the *pārsva sūtras* should pass from the root of

V A Sm ths History of Fine Arts describes the details of painting by modern Techniques under the heading Mechanical Methods on p 315

20 कथमाचमितामय वदन्ति विद्वद्भिः ।

पद्यो भागयो दशमद्वयविधायिका ॥

Regarding the descriptions of the various *sthānas* the text is not quite intelligible. I originally thought of making drawings to suit the description but had to abandon the task owing to the difficulty in understanding properly the original

laga pārsva sūtra
lakṣha sūtra
mukha pārsva sūtra
madhya sūtra
mukha pārsva sūtra
lakṣha sūtra
anṇa pārsva sūtra



Fig. 4

the great toe of the back leg to a little outside the nipple of the breast the distance of this *sūtra* from the knee being five *angulas* the other *pārsva sūtra* should pass between the middle and the fourth toe to (Here once again the text is unintelligible) The *brahma sutra* must pass through the middle of the brows the tip of the nose (ब्रह्म रेखि ?) a little outside the pit of the navel through the middle of the male organ and the heel of the back leg.²¹ The relative position of the various limbs should be delineated by the exercise of one's own imagination.

Sachika posture The distance between

21 ब्रह्मसूत्रकारीय भागवेदन दशतः ।

one *parsva sutra* and the *brahma sutra*, in this instance, should be ten *angulas* and that between the other *parsva sutra* and the *brahma sutra*, twelve *angulas*. One *parsva sutra* should touch the forehead, one side of the eye, the cheek (the shoulder blade perhaps in the *paravritta* or back view), at a distance of one *angula* from the nipple and one and a half *angulas* away from the navel, and be clearly outside the *vanaksha* (the joint of the thigh) and the *ani desa* (the part of the leg just above the knee) and the root of the great toe (परिदादु, दन्तु ?)

The *brahma sutra* should pass through the middle of the brows (विषोच ?), the centre of the nostril (अङ्गुष्ठं दन्तु वक्षत् ?), the middle of the navel, slightly outside the male organ, in front of the knee and by the side of the nail of the toe

The other *parsva sutra* should proceed from the back of the head (?), pass near the ear, the neck, (the joint of the shoulder blade in the case of the *paravritta* or back view), the nipple, at a distance of one *angula* in front of the waist (अङ्गुष्ठं दन्तु वक्षत् ?), two *angulas* away from the hip (अङ्गुष्ठं दन्तु वक्षत् ?) and behind the knee

In the *ardhakshi* posture, the distance between one *parsva sutra* and the *madhya brahma sutra*, is one *angula* and that between the latter and the other *parsva sutra*, eleven *angulas*. One of these *parsva sutra* must pass through the scalp (*kesanta*) the tip of the nose, the arm pit (*kaksha-mula*), the navel, the knee and the root of the great toe, whereas the *brahma sutra* (which seems to be known also as the *purva sutra*) should pass through the middle of the forehead (सोमन्त्र) and the middle of the brows and be removed by one *angula* from the *goji* (the hollow on the upper lip immediately below the nose), and should pass through the chin, the arm pit, the navel, the male organ, the part of the leg just above the knee (*ani*) and the tip of the great toe. The other *parsva sutra* should pass through the back of the head (?), the wrist, the index finger and the knee of the front leg (पूर्वभ्रमाङ्गु-वीरजत् ?)

The *Bhuttika* posture or the profile. In

this instance there would be only two *paksba sutras* (= *parsva sutras* ?) and the *brahma sutra* would vanish (?), that is, the *madhya sutra* would coincide with the *paksba sutra* ²². One *paksba sutra* would pass from the back of the head touching the shoulder blade, the elbow and the calf muscle, nothing is mentioned of the other *paksba sutra*

The distance between the scalp (*kesanta*) and the *brahma sutra* would be 3 *yavas*

The distance between the tip of the nose and the *brahma sutra* would be 2 *yavas*,

The distance between the *goji* and the *brahma sutra* would be 1 *yava*,

(The medial line of the *goji* should be below the rim of the *goji* by $\frac{1}{2}$ *yava*)

The distance between the chin and the *brahma sutra* would be 1 *angula*,

The distance between the junction ²³ of the neck with the chin and the *brahma sutra* would be 1 *angula*, and

The root and tip of the male organ must be tangential to the *brahma sutra*

The four *paravritta* ²⁴ or back views are identical with the four *mukhya* or front views but with this difference, namely, that in the one the features of the back view only would be visible whereas in the other would be visible only those of the front view. By combining the *mukhya* and the *paravritta* postures any number of mixed postures could be obtained and these are technically known as *sankara sthanas*. In these mixed postures, for example, the face may be *ryu sthana*, that below the neck another *sthanas*, that below the waist a third and so on. The mixed postures must be evolved by the imagination and artistic skill of the painter, no rules could be laid down to guide the artist

Having obtained a most accurate drawing of the subject of painting, the artist should proceed to lay in the local colours with a large brush (*sthula lekhami*). In doing this, the artist should avoid the formation of blotches by unskilful hand

²² Is the passage to be understood in the following manner when it makes sense? There would be only two *sutras* namely *madhyas tra* and only one *parsva sutra*, the *parvi sutras* being the same as *madhyas tra* is one *parsva sutra* vanishes.

²³ अङ्गुष्ठं दन्तु वक्षत् ?

²⁴ Of course the full back view is taken to be identical with the full front view so far as the disposition of the *Sutras* are concerned, hence the *parsva sutras* are said to be only four

ling of the brush, he should, by application of the pigment in increasing depth of colour, produce the effect of elevation and depressions (निम्नोन्नत) Various degrees of shade could be produced by the judicious mixture of colours, and light and shade (syāma and ujjvala) and their effect, namely the appearance of roughness and softness (parushya and mardava) could be brought out by the skill of the artist in manipulating colours²⁵

Painting is divided by the ancients into two classes, namely, the *rasa chitra* and the *dhuli chitra*. The former employs a medium for mixing colours in, (water-colour painting is an instance of *rasa chitra*) In the *dhuli chitra* which is employed for temporary decorations the picture is produced by the strewing of dry coloured powders on the prepared ground which is generally the floor (This art is known in Southern India under the modern name of *rangavalli* and corresponds to painting with coloured chalks or crayon)

The artist should portray vividly expressions and actions, this, in fact is the true function of art

Paintings must reflect, as in a mirror the exact likeness of persons and things it is not enough if the limbs and features are painted correctly, the pictures must depict accurately the *rasas* (sentiments), such as *srīngīra* (love) &c. Elegant paintings conveying to the mind of the onlooker various sentiments should be delineated on the walls of temples and houses so as to produce eternal pleasure to the eyes

The above is a more or less accurate rendering the contents of the *Āgamas* regarding the technique of the art of painting. How far these were actually followed by the artists and such other matters have to be examined from the specimens of painting existing in many parts of India and Ceylon

It might be remarked that in the above description the forms, for instance, of the various limbs of the human figure are not

given, no anatomical studies are prescribed. True, these descriptions are scattered practically over every page of literature and the authors of the treatises on the technique of painting have therefore not cared to reproduce them in their works. A very interesting article describing the parts of human body as depicted by Indian artists liberally illustrated by well-drawn sketches was published in this Journal by the illustrious artist Mr. Abanindranāth Tagore and the attention of the reader is particularly drawn to it as it gives an accurate idea of the Hindu notions of forms and proportions of the human body. Descriptions of facial expressions depicting various sentiments such as love, anger, etc., are found in the treatises on *Natya śāstra*, these are often minute even to tediousness and gave ample help to the artist in mastering the effects of *rasas* produced on the facial muscles

In the course of the above dissertation on painting in ancient India, in the paragraph on colour mixture, it has been mentioned that a mixture of white and red colours produce rose (*gaura*) colour. This colour is used to portray very fair skinned persons for example, *Siva*, *Haya-grīva* etc. High class ladies are painted in pale yellow colour. It is stated that a mixture of yellow and black in equal proportion produces the colour of the skin, this fact clearly shows that in Southern India at least the prevailing colour of the skin was dark, which was represented by a sort of grey green. The two different skin colours, namely, light yellow and greyish green are seen to be the skin colours of the life sized figures of females painted in the *Sigiri* Cave in Ceylon

In Malabar there is a school of painting which has a peculiar characteristic of its own and is distinct from other schools of painting. The public have had no access to the Malabar School of painting hitherto. Specimens of this school abound in the country and are often of striking beauty and skill. In these, one may study the *Āgamic* descriptions being carried out more or less accurately. The painters were often the leisured classes of the Nambūthirābrāhmanas of Malabar. A large number of temple of the East Coast of Southern India, also contain paintings of some antiquity. A portfolio of the choice pictures gathered from these sources,

²⁵ It must be specially noted here that Hindu artists cared as much for the effects produced by light and shade as the artists of the Western nations. It is wrong to contend that the Hindu artist did not want to employ light and shade as often as he desired to produce the same effect by his line drawing. Distinct attempts at shading correctly may be shown from many ancient and medieval paintings.

tracing the history of painting from century to century, is indeed a great desideratum and it is earnestly hoped that it will

be forthcoming in the near future and add to our small stock of already published pictures of ancient and medieval India

TRANSLITERATION V. INDIAN SCRIPTS

LET me begin by saying that I have always had a violent prejudice against the transliteration of Indian languages into Roman script. It is probably a mere prejudice and no more, simply due to the fact that just as "George Washington" and "Victoria" look ugly, somehow, when rendered as *জর্জ ওয়াশিংটন* and *ভিক্টোরিয়া*, so, shall we say *রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়* looks prettier, and is more agreeable to some subtle sense of fitness than even the respected and familiar "Ramananda Chatterji." Script and spelling seem as much a part of a language as an oyster's shell and its occasional pearls belong to the succulent mollusk which secretes them. All this is a matter of prejudice. But prejudice preconception, habit dominate us all in matters much more important than mere writing. I admit that I am prejudiced in favour of Indian scripts. They are beautiful, (especially the charming Bengali variety of the deva nāgarī script) and the Indian alphabets are admittedly completer and more scientific in their arrangement than the "higgledy piggledy" alphabets of European and Semitic languages, which jumble vowels and consonants together without apparent rhyme or reason.

But I feel bound to say, in mere honesty, that recent experience in teaching has taught me (there is no better teacher than the attempt to teach) that there are marked advantages in using a transliteration of Indian scripts for philological purposes. Such a transliteration makes the rapid apprehension of etymology remarkably easy. This is due to the convention by which the letter *a* is regarded as 'inherent' in consonants in India and is therefore not written and hence gives rise to the *ব্রহ্ম* which are a notable impediment to the graphic record of etymologies. It is exactly equivalent to the difficulties experienced in arithmetic before the discovery of the magic cypher

which has so transmuted and facilitated the art of calculation.

For take an Indian word and write it in Roman characters, leaving out all the *অব্যয়*. Take the word *পদমহাস* and write it without the *a*s. You will get "prmhms." Take *ব্রহ্ম*, and you get *c^rv^rl*. Take *ব্রহ্ম*, and you write *l^kl*. Take *ব্রহ্ম*, and there results *l^kl*.

This peculiarity is evidently an impediment to the graphic exposition of etymology. So again, is the otherwise charming and pretty convention—by which all but initial forms of the other vowels are written in visible combination with the consonants to which they are wedded in speech. For the philologist calls on the eye to divorce sounds wedded together by the tongue and the ear. In Bengali the letters *e* and *ai* and *i* precede their consonants, as some wives walk before their husbands, so fearful are they of being separated from them, and as for *o* and *au*, they actually twine themselves round their consonants and become wholly inseparable, so that it is difficult, for example to explain the *san dhi* in *সিন্ধু* except by oral enunciation and explanation. Now, in ordinary transliteration, (in which *a* is written, and in which the sign *ব্রহ্ম* is not required) etymology is made very easily apparent by the use of hyphens. Consider, for instance the signification calling for no elaborate explanation, of the writing down of the following words, in which the hyphens show where the component parts occur: an *ek*, *dhar-ya-a-chilam*, *sam abhi vy ā har e*, *tiro-bhūta*, *mano-har*, etc.

It is obvious that these graphic representations of the morphology of the words cannot be effected in letters so

compounded as in অনেক, ধর্ম্মাচ্ছিন্ন, সমষ্টি-
ব্যবহার, ত্রয়োবৃত্ত, বনোদ্য, etc

It may be said that the advantage thus gained by transliterating is a trifling one. Yet anything that tends to clearness and accuracy of thought and exposition is not to be despised. We humans, at best, are confused and prejudiced creatures, and clearness of speech and writing, small matters in themselves are a step in the direction of that utter honesty of thought and statement which is the very basis of what we call Science and so oddly enough, partition off from the ordinary affairs of life. Science surely, is merely the rigorously accurate, unprejudiced, and disinterested ascertainment and statement of all manner of facts so far as they are within our cognizance and competence.

Let us therefore confess even it be with a pang, that for philological purposes, our Indian alphabets, wonderfully complete and accurate as records of spoken sound though they be (far better than western and Semitic alphabets), are dot helped but hindered by the fact that there is no non initial symbol for অ কায়।

While I am about it I feel impelled to make a further admission to the advocates of Romaic Script. The বৃত্তব্যবহার is something of a trial to old eyes. This does not matter in the case of very common and familiar words, since the eye grasps the accustomed form, the picture as it were, of the whole word, and does not scan the component letters. But some admirable Indian writers make a free use of somewhat recondite Sanskrit *tat samā's*. In these, the compound consonants and the symbols [৳] and [৳] present real difficulties to eyes which no longer possess microscopic clearness of vision.

Having made all these (I trust generous) admissions, let me repeat that, while it is pleasant and easy to read good Bengali prose and verse in the beautiful Bengali script, it is not agreeable to read, say, one of Rabi Babu's charming odes set out as follows —

amār milan lāgi tumi
ās ca kave theke।
tomār candra sūrya tomay
rakh'be kothāy dhel e।

kata kaler sa kāl s'ujho
tomar caraṇ dhvani bāje,
gopane dut hrday mājhe
geche amāy deke.

The stanza has lost something of its grace and charm I know not how or why, and I feel inclined to apologise to the famous কবিবর who wrote these delightful lines. I suppose a similar result would follow if we were to write a stanza of Wordsworth or Tennyson in Bengali script.

I fear this is not a very helpful contribution to the Battle of the Scripts, being indeed a statement of the ideas of a benevolent neutral. I have friends in both camps, for whose opinions and motives I have a great respect. What I suggest is a temporary compromise; and one that cannot injure the prospects of either combatant. Let us keep the indigenous script and spelling of each language for literature, which must needs be the work of those to the manner born. That need not prevent any author who is so disposed from writing in Mr Knowles' Romaic script or in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (I shall be surprised if anyone avails himself of the opportunity!) I do not think that any eager and inspired writer in Bengali will even desire to write Bengali prose and verse in the cognate and almost equally beautiful deva nāgarī script.

But for such merely mechanical tasks, matters of routine or erudition, as dictionary-making or grammar writing, I venture to think that a transliteration into Romaic script has its advantages. You will notice that it is much used by Asiatic Societies and other such bodies all over the world. It is clear, easily read and possess the [৳] and the [৳] hyphen, which in philology are almost as useful as the 0 in arithmetic.

Perhaps I may be allowed to add that if ever Mr Jñānendramohan Das undertakes a second edition of his admirable and most useful and indeed priceless *Abhidhān*, he might consider whether it would not be well to give the pronunciations in the script of the International Phonetic Association now used very widely for that purpose. It affords a means of discriminating between all known sounds used in speaking and of correctly recording them so that men of any country can instantaneously recognize them. The phonetic script Mr Das has invented for his own use is good, but it takes a little time to

acquire and some effort to retain it in mind. Whereas the I. P. A. script is familiar to linguists everywhere. You will observe that, here again, I compromise. I do not propose the use of I. P. A. script for general use in Indian or European languages. It were vain to do so, for it is plain that the generality of men will not use it for correspondence or composition. But for a special purpose such as that of indicating to the eye in a dictionary the correct pronunciation of words written in conventional spelling, its value cannot be

denied, since it has stood the test of many years of experience.

I know that one who suggests compromise will not win the favour of enthusiasts of either side. Yet this compromise calls for a concession which may easily and painlessly be granted by the conservative, and one which will, in a measure, be valued by the most impatient reformer. It is with that thought that I make my well-meant and diffident suggestion.

J. D. ANDERSON.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF TAXILA

THE following account of the foundation of Taxila, which is taken from the Ramayana may be found interesting.

According to the Ramayana, when Rama ruled in Ayodhya, the Gandharvas used to live in the country on both the banks of the Indus.

अथ गन्धर्वविषयः प्रलम्बोपमोभितः
सिन्धोदभयतः पार्श्वे देशः परमपोषनः ।
तं रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वाः सद्यः पापं ब्रह्मोविदाः ॥

Ramayana, Uttarakanda,*
100th Sarga, Slokas 10 and 11.

Towards the end of his rule,† Rama, at the request of Yudhajit, King of Kekaya and maternal uncle of Bharata, sent an army for the conquest of the Gandharvas who lived in the "beautiful country on both the banks of the Indus." The army was led by Bharata who was accompanied by his sons, Taksha and Pushkala. On hearing their approach Yudhajit (whose kingdom appears to lie to the east of the Indus adjacent to the country of the Gandharvas) joined them with a large following. The valiant Gandharvas came out to fight when they found their country attacked. A terrific battle ensued which lasted for seven nights. Ultimately the Gandharva army (which was 30 millions strong) was totally destroyed by the prowess of Bharata. Bharata then built

two cities in the country which he conquered. The cities were named Takshashila and Pushkalavata, after the names of his sons Taksha and Pushkala, who were established in the two cities. The following slokas describe the beauty and the splendour of the two cities. They show that even in those early times ideas of town-planning were considerably developed in India.

हृतेषु तेषु सर्वेषु भरतः केकयीसुतः ।
निवेशयामास तदा सद्यश्च हे प्रसीतये ॥
तत्रं तच्छाशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते ।
गन्धर्वदेशे हविरे यान्धारविषये च स ॥
धनरत्नोद्यमंकोषं काननं हयमोषितं ।
अन्योन्य-संघर्ष-कृते खरंदागुचविहारे ॥
उभे सुहृदिभ्यो ब्रह्महारेरक्षितं विधेः ।
उद्यानयानसंघर्षं सविभक्त्यन्तरापथं ॥
उभे प्रवरे रम्ये विहारे हयमोषिते ।
गृहमुपयेः सुहृदिरेविमानेभ्युभिर्हते ॥
शोभिने शोभनीये च देशावतनविहारेः ।
तावत् तामात्रं शिवकोषं कुक्षं हयमोषितं ॥

Uttarakanda, 101st Sarga,
Slokas 10 to 15.

"When all those (Gandharvas) were killed, Bharata, the son of Kekayee, built two splendid towns (Takshashila and Pushkalavata). He established Taksha in Takshashila and Pushkala in Pushkalavata, — (the former town) in the beautiful Gandharva country, (the latter town) in the country of Gandhara. These two towns were full of riches and stones; they were adorned with

* The references in this article are to the edition of the Ramayana by the Nirnayassagara Press.

† Ramayana, Uttarakanda, 100th and 101st Sarga.

they vied with one another in beauty and splendour; both were famous for the honesty in the transactions of sale and purchase; they were full of gardens and means of conveyance, the shops were constructed at regular intervals; both the towns were beautiful and adorned with many things. They were full of big and fine houses and palaces of seven floors, they were adorned with many beautiful temples; and also with the trees called Tal (palm), Tamala, Tilaka, Bokula."

Of course the account given in the Ramayana would apply to the most ancient city which existed at Taxila. The remains of several cities have been found within short distances at Taxila. This is due to the fact that Taxila was invaded and destroyed several times, and generally after the destruction of the old city a new city would spring up.

It took Bharata five years to complete his work in the Gandharva country. He returned to Rama after finishing his work and left his sons behind.

The Gandharvas who are described as such good fighters were also famous as good musicians. Kalidasa refers to their musical talent when he describes the conquest of their country by Bharata in his *Raghuramsam*. Kalidasa's description is short but poetic.

महेश्वर गन्धर्वान् दृष्टि निजिंय देवदाम् ।
आरोवात् दादनामात् समञ्जालयदात् ॥

य वचदुच्छो द्रवो राजभामोददादामो ।
अभिदिशामिदेवार्ही रामान्तिदमाम् द्रवः ॥
Raghuramsam, Canto XV.
Slokas 90 and 91.

"There Bharata conquered the Gandharvas in battle and made them give up their arms and take only to their musical instruments. He installed his sons Taksha and Pushkala (who were worthy of being installed) in capitals of those names and again went to Rama."

The fact that the conquest of the Gandharvas is also referred to by Kalidasa would show that the passage in the Ramayana was not interpolated in comparatively later times.

The identity of Pushkalavata, where Bharata's second son was installed, does not appear to have been fixed yet. It will appear from the extract from the Ramayana given above that it was situated in the country of Gandhara as Takshashila was situated in the Gandharva country; A stray suggestion may be made that Pushkalavata was not far from modern Peshwar. Peshwar lies in the country formerly known as Gandhara; many ruins have been found in the neighbourhood and there is also just a similarity of names. It is of course for archaeologists to definitely establish the identity of the ancient place.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE.

THE SEER

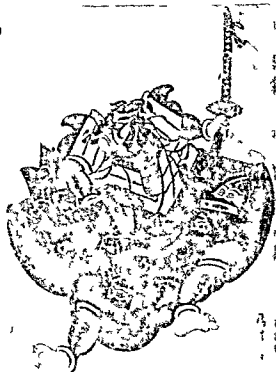
Ye know not why I stumble
through the street,
Children of sunrise laughter,—
How they have borne me,
these far-wandered feet,
Where none have been before
Nor shall go after;
How while ye slept your dreamless sleep

There came into my heart imperious word
Bidding me forth, that what I saw and
heard
Beyond your busy boundaries
Should bid your laughter cease,
And make your easy scorn a thing of shame
When ye have learnt to know your noble
name.
E. E. SPEIGHT.

GLEANINGS

Nigao-e

The *Nigao-e* is a picture painted to represent the characteristics revealed by the actor in a play. Most of these portraits bear some resemblance to the faces, but always in a highly embellished form so as to depict the ideal face. The *nigao-e* is painted often to emphasize the idea of an actor entertained by his lady admirers and other friends. The *nigao-e* of famous actors is usually sold as a color print, and finds sale chiefly among the friends of such actors.



Nigao-e by Torii Kiyotada

Just when this custom of printing and selling idealized portraits of actors first began in Japan is not known. In early days however when the life of the actor was regarded as low such pictures had little vogue and in their composition never commanded the talent of first-rate artists. The first painter of importance to give attention to such art was Torii Kiyonobu who died in 1702 at the age of fifty-eight.

Torii Kiyonobu had been associated with theatres from childhood through his father who painted theatrical posters. It was in this way that the son Kiyonobu became a skilled hand in portraying the faces of actors.

After Kiyonobu began to set out as an independent artist he showed the influence of his father's trade as well as that of Hishikawa Moronobu and the style of Kaigetsudo a noted contemporary. At first Kiyonobu made the face of Ichikawa Danjuro, a noted actor of the day his specialty. Danjuro was distinguished for a bold and voracious manner of acting and the portraits of him made for color prints by Kiyonobu were accordingly as agitated as they were exaggerated. Kiyonobu became as skilled in the portraiture of the real Danjuro as he was in painting his idealized or exaggerated likenesses. As there were no other artists to compare with him in this line of painting Kiyonobu became very popular and his color prints of actors were in great demand.

Between the years 1751 and 1763 there appeared another artist named Toriyama Sekiyen. His picture of the artist Kwannon presented to the shrine at Asakusa is famous. It was this picture which made the *nigao-e* of actors popular among the Edo folk.

Another noted painter of *nigao-e* was Katsukawa Shunsho who lived in 1768 and onwards.

After that many great artists tried their hand at *nigao-e* among which one of the foremost was Toshusai Sharaku who flourished between 1781 and 1794. Sharaku brought all the characteristic features of his remarkable skill with the brush into his portraiture of the noted actors of his day taking the utmost pains to be true to life. His half-length pictures of leading actors had a great vogue as they were wonderfully like their originals especially in regard to characteristic expressions. Perhaps he erred a little too much on the side of exaggeration, which made the picture seem unnatural to those unacquainted with the original, and often he was rather too true to life bringing out the defects of his subject as well as his virtues, and this did not tend to make Sharaku's pictures very popular at first. The public did not care to see the defects of their favorite actors exaggerated or made fun of in any way. Today, however people are ready to pay a fortune for a color print of Sharaku's as they are in great demand among European connoisseurs of Japanese art.

Such artist as Ippitsui Buncho and Okamoto Masafusa made themselves famous by painting *nigao-e*. Perhaps the most renowned of the *nigao-e* artists of this time was Utagawa Toyokuni the first of that name as he elaborated the process to something not before attained using very loud colors which caught the eye of the populace. Toyokuni had special rules for painting a *nigao-e*. He used to say that the artist should begin with the nose then the mouth and next the eyes after which the portrait will be naturally well drawn. He was accustomed to note carefully the peculiarities of his subject on the stage and incorporate them into the picture. While Sharaku endeavored to portray the peculiarities of expression revealed by his subjects on the stage Toyokuni tried to bring out their main characteristics in action. In the painting of a *nigao-e* Toyokuni did not make progress beyond a certain point, after which he seems to have lost interest and shrunk to formalism and vulgarity.

In the painting of actors

rehandling and erecting the slabs after they are cast which is the only item that would not be required if the houses were poured in place. The use of concrete casting platforms, granulated slag-cores for forming hollow wall-slabs and of a traveling erection-derrick, mounted on towers, characterizes the work.

The dividing walls between houses are hollow, while all other slabs are cast ribbed. The exterior slabs are set with the smooth face out and the ribs with wood inserts, form studs to which a lath and plaster wall is secured on the inside. The ceilings of the basement and the first floor are beamed, the smooth side of the slab being turned up. With the ceilings of the second floor, however, the ribbed sides of the slabs are turned up, leaving a smooth ceiling below. The window and door-openings are cast in the wall slabs but the window sills are cast separately. After the sills are placed wooden door and window frames are fitted.

The roof design is of timber framing with one inch plank sheathing on which a red tile roof is nailed. The gable ends are made with triangular concrete slabs. These red gable roofs on the white buildings are expected to give a very pleasing architectural effect.

The hoisting is done with wire rope slings and hooks which are hooked into eye bolts embedded in the concrete. The heads of these bolts come inside the form recesses being cast around them large enough to permit slipping in the hook. The floor slabs have four such rings so that they can be suspended level while the wall slabs have rings only in the top edge. The lighter pieces such as the chimneys and the window ledges are set by hand and hoisted in bundles with a sling. —*The Literary Digest*.

Shooting through a slot

A new kind of shotgun has the end of its muzzle broadened out and flattened into a slot to keep the shot together and make the sportsman's aim more accurate at long range. *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York) which describes the gun calls attention to its usefulness both in war and in sport.



SHOOTING THROUGH A SLOT
THE Muzzle of this gun is flattened out
And the shot issue in a horizontal line.

the principle, we are told may be applied to artillery as well as to rifle fire. To quote

From the time British sportsmen learned that hitting flying things was entirely possible there has been a hundred years of endeavor to make a shotgun fire its shot charges more compactly, to the end that the density of the pattern be sufficient to insure hits even at very long range.

Now comes an inventor with a device to make a shotgun spread its charge even more than the normal cylinder barrel, and not only to make it spread, but to produce a spread of a certain shape so as to increase the chances for a hit.

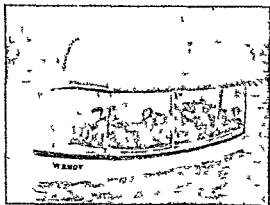
For war usage the inventor has produced for the shotgun a muzzle flattened horizontally, until it is nothing more than a slot of a width equal to the diameter of the buckshot to be used and of course running horizontally as the gun is held by the shooter. The result says the inventor is a pattern, made with twelve buckshot, fourteen inches high by eight feet wide at a distance of thirty yards. In other words at this range the gun shoots a horizontal line of round bullets not one of which is higher or lower than seven inches from the average all traveling in a line of skirmishers eight feet wide. Were men charging, the trench at yard intervals which is not now true, three or four of them would be hit with a bullet each. The device can be applied to cannon also, the load being changed to a charge of loose leaden bullets and the muzzle flattened out to allow them to pass out in a horizontal line only.

For game shooting what is needed is a little lever for quickly changing the horizontal position to a vertical one. Where the crossing duck or quail would have to run the gauntlet of a shot charge spread out, say, fifteen feet from east to west the walked up game rising suddenly or the soaring duck, would call for a vertical position of the flattened muzzle.

—*The Literary Digest*.

Gas Driven Motors.

Hundreds of heavy commercial motors light parcel vans cumbersome motor lorries, motor busses limousines runabouts and even motor-cycles and motor boats in all parts of England, are now successfully operating under gas power. The first experimental successes with gas fuel led to its being used practically in a few cities and, towns, conspicuously

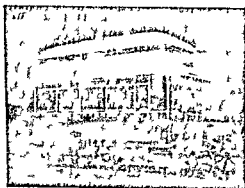


GAS DRIVEN MOTOR BOAT
The gas is carried in a collapsible bag.

us Manchester in Birmingham and a London itself and the innovator proved so successful in those centers that the rest was easy.

But the only real difficulty the British motorists see to have encountered has been with the device for storing the gas aboard the car. At first crude collapsible bags made of two-ply cotton sheeting thoroughly waterproofed that bulged out from the tops of the big motor buses when inflated and that flopped down over the roads as the gas passed out were generally used.

More recently there has been an increasing use of semirigid and rigid containers of various sorts, long narrow tanks like that fitted to the Vickers passenger gas-driven car being used in some instances. Bags of all sizes have been utilized during the various stages of the development of the new device but those holding from 300 to 500 cubic feet of gas have been the most common. From figures recently published it appears that English automobiles are operating on 300 cubic feet of gas as the equivalent of one gallon of gasoline.



GAS-DRIVEN MOTOR BUS.

The gas carried in the rigid container on top.

The conviction is gaining ground that the motor car operated by artificial gas has come to stay even after the war. More and more English experts are daily coming to believe that there will be no great drop in the price of petrol after peace is declared and that motor propulsion by artificial gas is based upon as a war time expedient as a development of lasting economic value.

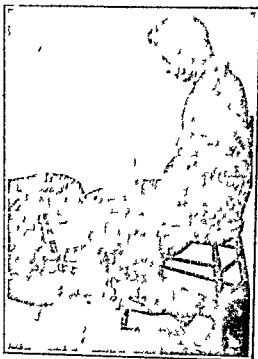
F. G. Bristow, Secretary of the Commercial Motor Users Association of Great Britain, has said of the motor-car propelled by artificial gas: "Its popularity is steadily increasing and most people who have given it a trial regard it as the obvious solution of the petrol problem."

—The Literary Digest

Writing with the Knee

Armless men have had to write when they have been able to write at all by holding a pencil between the teeth or toes. Both these plans involve much difficulty. What is asserted to be a much easier method has been devised by Dr. Arthur T. Blachly, now serving in the Medical Office of a Reserve Corps somewhere between the Pacific Ocean and the French front. Dr. Blachly's "knee writer" is described as illustrated in *The Scientific American* (New York April 13). Says the paper:

Those who have lost their hands or the use of them are aided with a little practice write legibly by a kind of the knee writer here illustrated. The clamps and clips fasten the leather sheath firmly to the knee and the pen or pencil to the leather. After a hold in



ARMLESS MAN WRITING WITH THE KNEE.

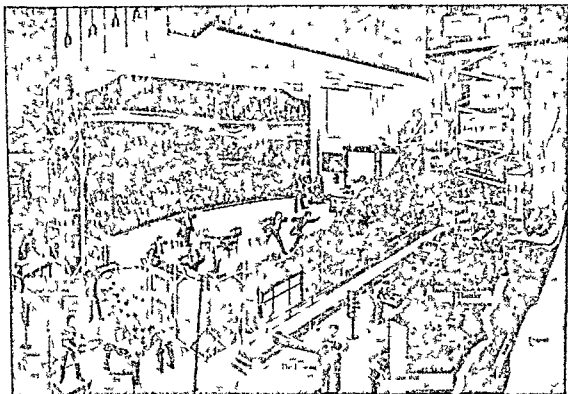
position before the knee on a little stand. The actual process of writing is not nearly so difficult as might seem. The heel is raised until the foot rests on the ball giving the knee quite a range of action combined with sufficient steadiness to insure proper control after a due amount of practice. There can be no comparison between this device and the writing by means of a pencil held in teeth or toes, which has heretofore been about the only resource of the armless."

—The Literary Digest.

A Stage Deluge

Some rather unusual stage machinery to produce the sounds of a violent storm and flood are described in *The Electrical Experimenter* in a play entitled *The Deluge*. The actors are shut in a room made water-proof by lowering iron shutters, and a flood caused by the bursting of a dam during a storm, strikes the building which is supposed to be about to collapse at any moment. These conditions are maintained practically throughout the action of the play and the busyness of the machinery is to preserve the illusion.

Back stage all the space available is devoted to



A STAGE DELUGE.

While the audience shudders and quakes at the raging of the terrible storm, nineteen men back stage are working wind machines rumbling cannon balls up and down a chute and a full size anchor chain is dropped forty feet upon a steel plate with a reverberating crash.

The miscellaneous apparatus necessary to produce the effect.

The innumerable cables brace stands, spot lights and maze of ropes would test most people's ingenuity, particularly those unacquainted with life behind the scenes.

In this production every available bit of space is utilized. The scene proper is what is known as a box set and is a permanent arrangement through the three scenes of the play.

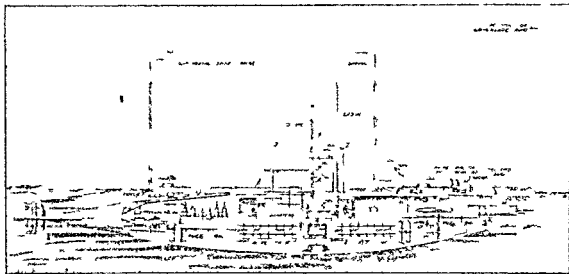
Details have been given strict attention and the lowering of the iron shutters to make the place water tight is a most ingenious arrangement the audience being able to see the shutters slowly descending as the ratchets and cranks do their work—noisily and dramatically. Now for the big stuff.

Seated at a keyboard provided with numerous telltale lamps the stage manager signals to the various men stationed in distant nooks and corners to produce whatever effect they have charge of at the critical moment or moments. Near each stage hand is set a signal lamp in series with a telltale lamp on the stage manager's keyboard and both work together. It requires nineteen men to produce the atmosphere of the deluge.

Some work large trays made of resinous wood and resembling the shape of a cheese-box cover with very small peas in the same. These trays are held in both hands and worked around in a rolling motion thereby giving the effect of light rain and may be seen being used by the men on the slightly

elevated stands or platforms. Next comes our heavy rain machine made of a stand in which is suspended a drum made of fine mosquito screenings and inside of the drum a few pounds of small peas are thrown, when the drum is revolved by means of a crank the sound effect of heavy rain is produced. The wind making machine is nearly the same as rain machine excepting that the drum is made of large chicken wire over which a strip of canvas is thrown weighted on one end so that it bears against the drum. When the drum is revolved the friction exerted against the canvas gives the effect of wind. For shrieking wind a large hand blower as is used by riveters and blacksmiths is utilized and the wind is sent through a number of chambers and then out through a large horn when the handle is turned swiftly a loud shrieky wind effect is secured. And now for our big slam—large wooden troughs are used for the rumble effect and are about ten feet long by two feet wide with zigzag slats on the bottom to bounce the cannon balls as they are rolled back and forth.

The mighty rumble of the dam bursting is made by having a similar arrangement of troughs extending from the top of the 'fly gallery' (about forty feet) down to the floor of the stage as shown in the picture which in this case, were attached to a zigzag stairway leading to the dressing rooms. When the thunder man is signaled he lifts a small door in a big case containing all sizes of cannon balls and permits a choice quantity of them to run down through the zigzag troughs with a resulting sound.



SUBMARINE EQUIPPED WITH BALLOON AERIAL FOR LONG DISTANCE COMMUNICATION

A sectional view showing the new telescopic collapsible masts supporting the radio antennae and motor driven windlass for reel ing balloon wire.

is available all the engine power required. All that would have to be done would be to connect up the high-capacity dynamo to these engines and then in turn to the special high power radio transmitter. Such a set including the dynamo, would not occupy such a large space as might be imagined off hand. Also the newer U-boats are veritable submarine-cruisers several hundred feet in length which of course gives a much greater space for the radio equipment.

The folding and other types of masts for medium and short range radio work on the submarine include a telescopic mast patented several years ago by an American Mr. Joseph Raes. In one type a continuous flexible metal cable is used. When a pull as produced by a motor is applied to the lower end it causes all of the sliding telescopic members to rise. In another mast the sections are raised and lowered by gears and shafts.

The author suggests in this connection a pneumatic mast similar in principle to the lifting cranes used in foundries etc. He goes on:

An ingenious collapsible radio mast was invented in Germany some years ago and several of them have been used in this country. It was perhaps the lightest ever designed thus far—possibly too light for submarine requirements—but it possessed the element of speed. It employed four flexible strips of metal rolled on drums at the base. These strips were notched on both edges and when the handle was turned the four notched strips of the steel intermeshed with each other making a lock-cornered square tubular mast about 8 inches square. It was found possible to raise a platform containing two men on it to a height of 50 feet for observation purposes when necessary. Two men could raise the mast in a short time by turning a geared crank handle.

The accompanying illustration of a modern submarine shows how the various compartments are arranged. It was prepared from official plans of such a craft. The location of the collapsible radio masts is given as well as the position of the motor-driven switch for hauling in the antenna balloons. An

interesting feature not generally known is that submarines are now fitted with submarine telegraph apparatus which operates by means of sound waves sent through the water from powerful electric vibrators mounted on the hull of the submarine. Sensitive microphones suitably mounted on either side of the hull enable the commander to tell when a ship is approaching even at a considerable distance by the sound of her propellers which is transmitted through the water.

Then there is the latest safety feature—the telephone buoy. If the submarine should sink and become unmanageable the crew can pull a lever which releases the telephone buoy, which rises to the surface of the water. Any craft passing in the vicinity of the sunken subsea boat can open this buoy and by means of the telephone inside it speak to the imprisoned crew. Submarines send out sound signals of distress through the water also which may be intercepted by another submarine or by a war ship or steamer.

—*The Literary Digest*

Is the Bee a Geometrician?

The wonderful ability of the bee as a practical geometer has been extolled by naturalists time out of mind. How on earth does the "little busy one" manage to construct cells of accurately hexagonal section which pack perfectly together with no waste space? According to Editor Bigelow of *The Guide to Nature* the bee does nothing of the kind. She builds roughly circular cells which being of plastic wax assume the hexagonal form when squeezed tightly together. The geometrical wonder here is physical law and not the brain of the bee. Mr. Bigelow admits that the practical bee-keepers do not agree with this view of the case. They cling to a belief in the bee as a hexagonal geometrician despite the fact that some of the older standard writers on bee-culture as quoted by Mr. Bigelow seem to have entertained practically his opinion. He says in substance:

In making the comb the honey bees never work

but purely the effect of a mathematical law, that makes the hexagon. As Cheshire told us years ago, "The geometrical relations which embellish the wax tracery of the bee are the necessary result of her mode of proceeding. And mathematics is *ho more hex-* endowment than it is that of the soap and water we have been considering. These wonders come because the whole creation is founded and sustained by the great Geometer, whose laws of weight and measure neither falter nor vary, so that, for the advantage of man, the experience and observation of the past make him the prophet of the future." And Cheshire proceeds to make it perfectly plain that a single cell made by a honey bee is always circular. The queen cell is an example of this. "It is circular—the typical form—in cross-section, because it is built alone, and is made to grow with the growth of the grub it contains."

"If a number of wax cups, such as are supplied by the manufacturers for queen-cell starters, are placed compactly together and then warmed until the wax is plastic, and into each one of these is thrust a small circular brush, so as to push out the interior, the cups will, by the pressure of the brush, become hexagonal in outline."

"The optical illusion hexagons on the surface of any growing honeycomb disappear the moment they are examined with eyes wide open. Take a collection of circular dots, or look at the ends of a pile of lead pencils with the eyes partly closed and looking through the eyelashes and immediately they all become hexagonal. The appearance is really all owing to imperfect eyes. It is an optical illusion. All growing honeycomb held at a distance or reduced by photography will show the thing dimly. Examine the comb with clear, strong light and under a pocket lens of an inch focus, and every one of those hexagons will vanish and the comb will become a plane of circles."

"I have examined hundreds of specimens of natural honeycomb made wholly by the beginning of artificial comb foundation, from the moment when the first masticated particle of wax was placed on the ridge, but without a single exception I have found that the bees worked circularly or spherically. In such cases, like comb built between the top of the frame where there is room for only one or two rows of cells, or on the edge of the honeycomb next to the attachment to the wadd, the cells invariably are circular in outline."

"The contention that bees make circular cells, which afterward become roughly hexagonal by mutual pressure, upheld by Edward F. Bigelow, has not met with universal acceptance. E. C. Beuflaker is of opinion that the argument that hollow cylinders under lateral pressure tend to take on hexagonal forms and that the hexagonal cells of the bee are produced in the same way, was long since advanced by Buffon, and long since found to be fallacious. At no point in the course of their construction, he goes on to assert, do the cells of the bee take the form of cylinders with intervening spaces, making their change of form through compression possible; while, on the other hand, the necessary lateral pressure is wholly lacking. He proceeds:

"Mr. Bigelow assumes that, because the thickened margins of the cells are often roughly circular, the cells were originally cylindrical. No assumption could be farther from the facts. The interior of the cell is at all points truly hexagonal in section; and as bees do not at all times, nor usually, work in

contiguous cells, the mechanical effect, so far as it is effective, would be to transform the hexagon into a circle rather than the reverse."

"But the astounding wonder in the architecture of the bee does not lie in the hexagonal form of the cells, but in the arrangement by which the cells on opposite sides of the comb are joined together at their bases. Each cell terminates in a low triangular pyramid formed by the intersection of three rhombs, or parallelograms, with equal sides and having angles of $109^{\circ} 28'$ and $70^{\circ} 32'$ respectively. Now a long while ago a celebrated mathematician named König, without having been informed what repeated measurements had shown these angles to be, was asked by Miraldi to determine what they should be to give the greatest capacity for the least amount of comb, and the figures which he returned were $109^{\circ} 26'$ and $70^{\circ} 34'$. As the result differed by but two minutes from the measurements made by Miraldi, it was concluded that the bee was not only a finished architect, but a wonderful mathematician as well. Later it was found that the bee was right and that König was wrong, an error having been made in his original calculations."

"Scarcely less wonderful is the instinct by which the bees working on opposite sides of the newly formed comb are enabled to so place the cells that each axis on one side shall exactly coincide with the intersection of three cells on the opposite side, with many bees working at the same time on different parts of the comb."

"The manner in which this is accomplished is no less wonderful. The bees on one side of the new comb dig a vertical channel and those on the opposite side two, one on either side of the first, and so accurately spaced that the axes of the cells on one side shall exactly correspond to the intersection of the walls on the other. And all in the dark."

"These are facts known to every one who has made a study of bees."

The editor of *The American Bee Journal* has this to say on the subject:

"The bees build their cells with the least expenditure of costly material, beeswax. Economy requires that the cells be built so as to fit closely to each other, and the six-sided shape is the most economical. On the other hand, the surface of the cells must be strong enough to carry the bees in their travels, so the bees make a heavier rim at the surface. When we uncap the sealed honeycombs we destroy the strength of the upper edge and uncover the hexagonal shape. But the bees, as soon as the comb is returned to them, hasten to give it the stronger surface by rounding the tops of the cells."

"Foundation mills used to be manufactured with a rounded cell. The Dunham mill, which was so popular thirty five years ago, made foundation with round cells. But the bees always excavated the surplus wax from the three cornered angles and used it in other parts of the comb. So, after all, comb foundation with hexagonal cell walls is not an error."

"But that the hexagons of the cells are not always perfect does not admit of a doubt. Neither need we doubt that, if the bees had plenty of material, they would probably build all their cells round, for their bodies are round."

On the other hand, in a later issue of his magazine, *The Guide to Nature*, Mr. Bigelow quotes letters from twenty three physicists, zoologists, and agriculturists, expressing agreement with his opinion.

—*The Literary Digest*

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE BARON)

IT is a common belief that Peter the Great founded a new Russia that he brought to her all that Europe had discovered and formed her into an Empire on which the sun never sets that it is to him Russia owes all her greatness

In reality, however all that he brought back after his stay in England and Holland was the art of building boats that could navigate the Russian rivers and the convenient way which the Dutch had of heating their houses Like an Eastern potentate he was so much above others that there was nothing for him to envy or imitate So he did not deign to transplant the refinements and splendours of the French Court but came back to his country, if anything rougher and coarser than when he left it

What chiefly impressed him were the German ideas so much so that he drew Germans to Russia in crowds allowing them to penetrate deeply into the country dominating the schools and even the court For this there was a special reason During one of his visits to Germany the Tsar Peter with his suite stayed the night at a village inn where he noticed a young and pretty servant girl who attentive observant and with a rare activity and skill charmed the illustrious traveller Peter with his habitually crude reasoning came to the conclusion that a woman who could manage her everyday affairs so cleverly would no doubt be well able to help him to regulate those of the State Whereupon without further formalities he took the girl to Russia and married her there She became Catherine I

We have heard of kings who have married beggar maids and thereby afforded food for romance But in the maid of the inn whom Peter raised to share his throne there turned out to be only a practical an who knew how to rule her husband Hence the predominance of German ideas in Russia She was so clever in her methods and had so great an influence over

Peter that she led him to dictate the will which proved the curse of his country The principal clause of this will was that Petersburg should henceforth be the capital of the Russian Empire and that the Tsarina of all the Russias should always be chosen from among the German Princesses

These directions came to be scrupulously carried out because though the Russian is impulsive and brutal he entirely lacks foresight Most of the men in power failed to realise where this would lead them Those who had the intelligence to foresee the future kept silence as good courtiers should Thus things were left to drift towards their destiny

Petersburg situated as it is at the mouth of the Neva, close to Finland Russia's enemy with neighbours who took no interest in Russian affairs fell an easy prey to Germany and was inundated both with the latter's ideas and products Under German influence Russia passed through a strange evolution in her manner of life, which was also to be seen reflected in her Art Byzantine gave Russia her religion and the perfect Byzantine taste should have dominated in the churches Instead of this the loud heavy German style imposed itself upon the oriental giving rise to an odd mixture It was the same with the soul of Russia The people childlike and wild succumbed indiscriminately to those who directly or indirectly became their rulers and educators

The result was unfortunate enough among the lower and middle classes, it was worse as regards the court and aristocracy the terrible depravity of the Russian Emperesses chosen according to Peter's will from Germany is well known, and they seemed to have bequeathed to each other traditions of the greatest perversity It is curious to reflect that while Queen Alexandra gave to the court of Great Britain a rare example of true womanliness and modesty her sister the Empress Marie Feodorovna wife of the brutal Alexander III gave free reign to all

her impulses and the Russian court has never shown less restraint or been the centre of baser intrigues than when she was in power. Of this the Russo-Japanese war has furnished us with abundant proofs.

The outstanding factors leading to the war are briefly as follows. The Grand Dukes, those curses of the Empire, claimed rights over the vast forest stretches of Korea and Japan which also had designs with regard to that country contested these rights. This was the time when ceaseless intrigues were going on in the court of Petrograd between the supporters of Marie Feodorovna the Dowager Empress on the one side, and those of her daughter-in-law the Tsarina on the other. The latter was detested by her mother-in-law an ambitious and despotic woman from whom, of course she had taken away all direct power. The Tsar torn between his mother and his wife and always a weak man, did not know which way to turn. The Tsarina had not been able to make herself loved by her new country, and not having provided an heir to the throne found herself a prey to countless attacks and annoyances. The Dowager, whose conduct like that of Catherine the Great, did not bear inspection had several convenient witnesses to it of whom she wished to rid herself. There were also generals whom she desired to help in their advancement. In short though the intentions of the Japanese were quite plain these court distractions prevented anything being done to protect the country. The situation resembled that in France in 1870.

On the declaration of war Russia summoned up some little enthusiasm from her pride. Little Japan daring to attack Great Russia! and Holy Russia! Could there be greater audacity! Those yellow monkeys would be swallowed up in one mouthful! (Sic)

I must mention as regards ourselves, that we, teachers living in Russia who had been able to judge the situation clearly, had no doubts as to the results of the war. We had not even a momentary illusion and the result proved us right.

The greater part of the Russian people understood nothing of the war. They only regarded it as brutal aggression on the part of Japan. But the true causes of the war did not escape the cultured minority

and they had no wish to be the tools of the grand dukes or to carry out the caprices of the empress mother. Three thousand two hundred young men went into exile rather than serve under the flag.

Much could be said about this war, but it would lead me too far. It is certain that while the armies of the Tsar were being beaten on the field of battle the grand dukes grew rich in Russia in the most disgraceful ways. Public enthusiasm grew cold before the disasters that could not all be attributed to a want of care on the part of the generals. Many of these latter were brave men and kind to their soldiers, the admirals also did their duty, but they were allowed no initiative. Those who were protected in high places did as they pleased and sent off wild telegrams on which the authorities at Petersburg relied and acted, although the senders knew nothing of the field of battle or the positions of the ships. Admirals cried like children for they knew that they were going to shame and death. They saw what they could have done to avert all this. But they must obey. Many died the deaths of brave and desperate men.

Amongst the more intelligent the discontent grew daily greater. During the time spent in camp and also the school holidays in Russia the young intellectuals taught the soldiers and the peasants. These latter understanding at last for what causes they were being sent so far from home to be killed refused to fight. They fired in the air when they stood face to face with the Japanese. They sold their kit as they marched along. They threw their rifles out of the windows of the railway carriages as they passed over the rivers.

I have seen all this with my own eyes to show their contempt for the government, ladies gave flowers to the Japanese prisoners at every station where the troop trains stopped.

During this unhappy war, the revolution of 1905 broke out. It paved the way for the one that is now raging.

I should say something here about the writers who influenced the younger generation and led them to think of progress and reform. The chief amongst them were Leonid Pouchkin, Tourgueniev, Dostoevski, Maxim Gorki and Tolstoi. The first mentioned confined themselves chiefly to fiction and to allegories full of ideas on reform. Others described more especially

the depravity of the Russian aristocracy. Maxim Gorki painted the wretched state of the working classes. Each new book excited the young men more and more.

Tolstoi was at first the most influential. He spoke with such ardour that he seemed to understand the soul of the people and all the sufferings of humanity. He became an idol but the worship did not last long. The feet of clay were soon visible and the people quickly realised how little his fine words agreed with his real life. The aristocrat gave up none of his privileges and his pride shewed itself in many ways. He was inconstant to his profession of faith and his writings verged on incoherence.

As he grew older Tolstoi continually changed his opinions. He thought that he had done a great deal and that he had brought himself in touch with the people by dressing as a moujik and making a pair of boots. It was Peter the Great with his boat all over again! He strongly advocated the sharing of properties but did he share his? He was a despot in his family and wished to impose all his opinions on his own people and force them to live according to his ideas which were always changing. The more advanced among the younger men soon rejected him. He no longer received any consideration at their hands. He is the true type of the Russian—impulsive, inconsistent and mutable as the waves of the sea.

All these writers had then led the youth of the schools and universities to new ideas. In one sense they had acted on them as Voltaire and Rousseau on France in the eighteenth century.

In order to explain the motives underlying the movement of 1905 the aims of the younger generation must be briefly stated.

The people had suffered so long under harsh tyrants that they were ready to follow any one who would lead them to something new. The young men moreover who attended the large universities did not find what they desired in the education they received there. Most of the professors submissive to the sacrosanct bureaucracy found ways of constantly opposing their pupils—for any act of revolt trivial or otherwise, they closed the schools and the students lost the results of years of study to their great detriment. Amongst the richer classes there were many merchants' sons. They could become

doctors, engineers and lawyers but they could only obtain very unimportant posts under government. Many of them would have liked to enter the army but the higher grades there were closed to them. These were reserved for the sons of noble men and the upper middle classes. They protested but in vain.

The discontented always drift together, and these formed a kind of league with the Poles. This race lived in a kind of perpetual excitement—often thinking themselves more persecuted than was really the case. There were also the Jews who formed the most intelligent part of the population. The Russian however, is above all a fanatic and the religious classes still retain the spirit of the middle ages with regard to Jews. These latter are hard working and they had a keen desire for education but the high schools and universities would only admit a very small percentage of them. More over no Jew had the right to live for more than ten years in the same town. However firmly his family was established, however prosperous his business might be, when the fatal term arrived he must go. One can imagine the terrible breaking of ties and hatred that this system caused. None the less the Jews were loyal subjects. All through the war they and the Poles fought the best. They hoped by these means to touch the heart of the Tsar and obtain favour for their race, but they were not successful.

The sufferings of the people increased during the war. Things became so dear and so difficult to obtain that the workmen found it hard to support their families. The heads of the revolutionary party determined to persuade them to try a peaceful appeal to the Tsar. Led by Pope Gapon in whom they trusted at that time the workmen from the factories of Portlooff and those from other work shops marched with their wives one February morning to the Winter Palace in order to set their demands before the Tsar and tell him of their suffering. Was he not the father of the people?

The crowd were unarmed and sang hymns as they marched. Gapon was in front cross in hand. The Tsar as every one knows not only refused to receive these delegates but that he caused them to be fired upon. The square opposite the Winter Palace was covered with corpses.

and the rest of the manifesters, or rather the suppliants were chased by the Cossacks with their terrible "*nagalkas*"

When the news of this dreadful butchery spread over all the towns in the empire, a cry of horror rose from all—the bureau crats of course excepted. If at that juncture there had been perfect unity in Russia, and a revolt had broken out everywhere at once, we should never have had to witness those terrible scenes that are now shocking the whole world. Moscow, Odessa, Kief, Varsoni and several other towns revolted, but it was not enough. Troops were sent down and there was a terrible reaction. At Dosen, in particular, the massacres were horrible. The Government required a pretext to justify these excessive acts of repression—it was easily found. The Jews, always the Jews! Entirely disregarding their admirable behaviour during the war, their loyalty and the devotion to duty shown by their doctors, the police, in obedience to orders from high officials, fomented revolts in order to be able to organize their abominable "*pogroms*"

This time it was too much. Seeing that nothing had been gained by straightforward methods and patience, the workmen of the factories and the large workshops went on strike throughout the whole of Russia. For more than two months each Russian town was isolated like an island lost in the middle of the sea. Not a train, not a post—no work of any kind. All was in a state of siege. The offices were guarded by soldiers. Men were shot and flogged on the slightest pretext. The normal course of life was stopped. No letters, no news except that brought by some brave souls who facing great hardships went over the frozen rivers in sledges, from town to town carrying it. The Government at Petersburg at last realized that it must come to terms. One fine morning the bells from all the churches rang out joyously to announce that a constitution had at last been drawn up for the empire. A Duma, charged to defend the interests of the nation, was to be instituted. It was a mirage,—it was too good to last! How could the aristocracy stoop so low as to work with the people, with those inferior beings, up till now absolutely subject to their will! It could not be—the joy caused by this proclamation was not unmingled—the people were

suspicious—but they wished to profit by this era of tranquility that seemed to have come to them. It was welcome after all their unhappiness!

It may interest you to hear how the day passed on which the great hope—the great illusion—was born. It was the same all over the empire.

I was then living at Ufa, on the slopes of the Urals—if not the most, at least one of the most revolutionary towns in Russia. Its governors were killed one after the other, with an unequalled enthusiasm. It was on the road to Siberia, near the mountains, and the large forests, and thus those who carried out the decrees of the revolutionary committee had every facility for escape.

I gave lessons amongst people who belonged to very different political parties. They included the highest government officials—naturally very reactionary in their views, the wife of the president of the revolutionary committee, and a young Countess Tolstoi, a niece of the writer.

The workmen were on strike, as all over the country. A terrible fusillade broke out every evening as soon as it grew dark. The town was in a state of permanent siege.

On the morning of that historic day, I arrived very early at the house of the president of the revolutionary committee, to give his wife her lesson. I found her very much excited.

"I cannot have a lesson to-day," she said, "the men on strike are going to march through the principal streets of the town, to lay their claims before the governor—I shall join them."

"I should like to go with you," said I. "Certainly, with pleasure, but I warn you that I shall march with the men and if there is any disturbance, I shall be in it!"

"I want to see everything from inside, I pleaded. 'I will follow you'."

"Very well, come along."

And we set off. In all the quarters through which we passed, there was not a soul and a death-like silence reigned. We felt that the drama was about to develop. The strikers must have been more than two thousand, not counting the crowd who accompanied them. We were surprised at not hearing the sound of this multitude on the march. Suddenly we saw people running in the opposite direction. We were still more puzzled. Then

the bells rang out. We were bewildered! Just then a lady who knew my pupil came up to us, and kissed us, with tears in her eyes.

"We have a constitution at last," she cried.

"Yes," said another who had followed her, "and it is now being read at the Zemstva."

"The Zemstva, my husband's office," said my pupil. "Quick, quick, let us go there."

It was some way off, and there was not a carriage to be seen. We started out again walking and reached the office just as a man standing on a table finished the reading of the document, and began to harangue the assembly. The expression of the faces raised towards him, was worth seeing. As he stopped, the whole crowd in formidable unison shouted "An amnesty, an amnesty."

"Brothers," cried the husband of my pupil, "the governor must be reading this constitution from the balcony of the palace, let us join the crowd, and be united in the peace that has come to us."

Everyone set out. We passed before schools, and the crowd snatched up the children and took them on. On the steps of a big girls' school they stopped, and in a vibrating voice all that mass of people chanted the terrible Russian Marseillaise, beside which our French Marseillaise is but a tender song for young girls.

We were near the place where the two crowds must meet to go to the governor's palace. I looked at my watch and said to my pupil—"I must leave you, I have another lesson to give."

"You are mad!" she replied. "Who will take lessons to-day?"

"Never mind," said I. "Since they have not let me know, I had better go there. If they do not want me I will come back."

I saw that she was displeased and that she thought I was afraid to join the strikers. As a matter of fact, the lesson was to the young Countess Tolstoi. On reaching her house, I found her dressing to go out.

"O surely you don't think I could have a lesson today!" she cried. "I am going to join the crowd."

"What a fine declaration of faith your uncle has made," I said.

"Do you think so?" I don't. The old man is mad!"

"I admire your respect for your family," I replied laughing.

We parted in the street. I wished to rejoin my first pupil. After walking for some time, I met her coming out of a chemist's shop, pale and angry, covered with blood. This is what had happened. The governor and the head of the police, knowing that the men on strike were to come to the government house, had ordered out troops to bar the road and to stop them by force. Once the constitution had been granted, this was unnecessary as the movement became pacific. This display of force was likely to provoke the people. The governor should have withdrawn it, or at least forbidden the soldiers to use their arms. He was, however, careful to do nothing of the kind. When the strikers and the crowd arrived, they were received at the point of the bayonet. Several were seriously wounded, and one of them fell into the arms of my pupil. She took him to the nearest chemist. The crowd was indignant at this treachery that recalled the ambush in the Winter Palace at Petrograd. A serious riot was imminent, but several persons devoted themselves to explain to the soldiers that they had been deceived and that no one wished the governor any harm. On the contrary they desired to hear what he was going to read to the people in the name of the Tsar. The soldiers had only waited for this to fraternize with the crowd, and they all went together to the palace which was quite close. Furious, however, and rightly so at the bad faith that had been shewn them, the people determined on revenge, and took it in a quiet but determined way. Just as the governor, papers in hand, appeared on his balcony, they made him come down, and led him to the public gardens. It was there, under the red flag, that he was forced to read the words of the Emperor to his subjects, and to hear the Marseillaise and the revolutionary song. It made him ill, and he was recalled.

I could tell you of other episodes, fiercer than this, that occurred, and increased the hate of the people for the reactionary party, and shewed them the falsity of the promises made by the Tsar and his government but it would take too long.

Let us now consider why the revolutionary movement of 1905 had no result. It was because it was chiefly a revolt of the lower middle classes, the students and

the proletariat. The peasants had little to do with it. For to these men ignorant and illiterate and to put it plainly drunkards, the Tsar was always the Little Father, who had come straight from God as His representative to His people. The students had certainly tried to teach the moujik and enlighten him, but he had been too long inured to suffering. With the usual fatalism of the Russian he made no attempt to break free from his bonds. But the words of the students eventually bore fruit.

Alexander II was well advised when he decided to free his people and to liberate the serfs. It seemed that Russia was to be happy at last. If he had lived he would have seen that his work was not complete and that the evil had perhaps increased. Doubtless his keen intelligence would have found some remedy for this. But the Russian does not reason—as I have already said he is impulsive and brutal. The nihilists were then at the height of their enthusiasm. They were not satisfied with the reforms of their ruler. A bomb flung at the carriage of the Tsar as he was leaving his palace destroyed the life that might perhaps have been so deeply useful to the country.

The peasants were now in possession of their liberty. No one had the right of life and death over them; it is true. But when they had been dependent on masters who were often very harsh at least they and their families were kept from want. The wretched little allotments of land that were given them after the emancipation were not sufficient. There were also the taxes, the village dues, the extortions of the priest and the persecutions of their old masters. They grew poorer and poorer and at one time it seemed that a jacquerie was imminent. There were partial revolts and risings so harshly suppressed that the people bore anything rather than risk, torture and exile. They gave up the struggle and sank back again into complete ignorance and indifference.

This wretched state of things was carefully kept up by the bureaucracy to whose interest it turned. They were powerfully aided by the monopoly of vodka—that terrible Russian brandy. They drove the moujik to drink—first because this increased the State revenues and then because when he was drunk he was no longer to be feared. The intellectuals understood

this well and they suffered in the debasement of their fellow countrymen. They did all they could to instruct the peasants, but the task was hard. The old cult of the Tsar, the submission to the priest and the web of superstition—all these had to be combated, in order to raise the moujiks from their age-long degradation. For if it was to be successful the revolution must have the help of the army and this army though recruited for the most part from among these moujiks was commanded by the nobility. The soldiers must therefore have the courage to rise against their chiefs.

Now in 1905 alcohol had been too powerful and education not widely enough spread in country districts. But after the disastrous results of the war, the soldier who had seen his comrades die around him without even realising why they had been sent so far from home was more enlightened. He took an interest in these Dumas that followed each other so rapidly and he learned to disbelieve the false promises of the man he had formerly revered as a god. The harsh repression exercised on those who had been compromised in February 1905—the treacherous denunciations,—the imprisonments in the fortress Peter and Paul and in the horrible dungeons of Schlüsselbourg, the deportations to Siberia and the cruel treatment of the exiles (especially of the women) during their severe journey by a soldiery chosen from the most brutal and detested classes—all this at last opened the eyes of the peasant.

The students gradually found their work easier and understood that the end was nearer. Finally in this present war, the soldiers seeing that they were led to slaughter without proper arms or ammunition did their duty bravely but during the forced inaction in the trenches in the discussions where the more educated could teach the ignorant, all these classes thrown together resolved to crush once and for all this oppression.

While they were fighting in the frozen marshes of Poland, ill fed and ill equipped, a careless Tsar and a mad Tsarina at Petrograd let matters slip into the hands of those who only desired the triumph of Germany. The Tsarina faithful to the traditions of the Russian empresses gave herself up in every way to the infamous influence of Rasputin. This is the most hideous page in Russian history. Religion

and morality were alike involved in the scandal, joined to a shameful political policy. It brought about the end.

The Russian people in sheer disgust at the state of affairs and weary of suffering, united at last in the sentiment of their rights and a consciousness of their legitimate ambitions, rose all together and drove out the puppets who had too long abused their power to the detriment of their subjects. They were sent in their turn to Siberia—the rulers for whom so many wretches had died in putrid jails, deadly mines, and icy steppes.

Delivered at last from her tyrants Russia seemed to be about to breathe freely and to turn to all that is noble and good. But the evil was still too deeply rooted to be so quickly cured. Revolutions that are to form a new nation, do not take place in one day.

What is now happening in Russia, is exactly what happened in France at the end of the eighteenth century. Russian revolutionaries have often said to me: O your revolution was nothing wait for ours!

They were wrong the two are alike. The founding of the Duma, the various difficulties it passed through before being definitely established are an exact repetition of the 'Assemblée Constituante'. I believe the same words were pronounced there in 1906. When the guards attempted to turn the members of the Duma out of the palace Tauride, where a sitting was being held, the latter replied—We are here, by the will of the people, we can only be turned out by force of arms.

The taking of the Bastille > Look at the capture of the fortress Peter and Paul and of the sinister dungeons of Schlüsselbourg, worse than any Bastille in the world and only to be compared to the cells of the Spanish inquisition. The reign of terror that now holds sway in Russia is that of Robespierre in France. The sack of towns and castles—they are common to both revolutions. Perhaps—who knows—the Guillotine will finally be set up in the land of the Tsars. The Russian people have suffered longer than the French, their vengeance will be longer and more terrible.

There is, however, one evil in Russia which we were spared. The men of the French revolution, whatever their mistakes, always had at the bottom of their hearts, the purest patriotism and the

most ardent love of their country. They desired a France great and respected both at home and abroad. Whilst the emigrés and the dying monarchy were appealing to the foreigner to come to their help, the revolutionaries decreed an appeal to arms in these simple words—*The country is in danger*. Men of all ages and ranks hastened to enroll themselves under the flag. The impulse was superb, the enthusiasm magnificent. The Marseillaise in all its first freshness electrified the crowds and ill-dressed, ill fed and shoeless they went to battle to defend the France that Bonaparte was soon to raise to glory before the eyes of an astonished world. These men moreover interested themselves in science. Nothing was indifferent to them. They set the finances right, established the metric system and reached the greatest intellectual heights. How did all this go on at the same time, and yet succeed? Because France through all the centuries has remained one. There has been no foreign imprint. The genius of the race has remained intact throughout the ages. In Russia, on the contrary, the nation is composed of heterogeneous elements very often little fitted to understand each other. The tyranny that weighed upon the people, naturally made them confound Tsarism with their country itself. It is for this reason, that in this vast land, patriotism has never shone with so bright a flame.

The will of Peter the Great brought his people under the yoke of Germany. It has had the most fatal results on this nation, forcibly brought together by the chances of conquest, and passively submitted to the most autocratic government the world has ever seen. Although the Russian is brutal, he has no strength of character and no constancy in his ideas. He can act on impulse, but it does not last. He needs a master, but does he know how to choose one? Does there exist a man who can save Russia, and who will be able to snatch her from the claws of Germany? She has need of the man who regenerated France, and who seems to have foreseen the present events with his eagle glance. Only a man of that calibre could restore the 'morale' of the Russian people, and give force and greatness to the country. We can only desire him for this unhappy people who have betrayed and abandoned the noble cause. Perhaps, however, they

are not entirely responsible. They have suffered so much for century and no one has ever understood them or been able to give them any lasting help.

PRANILA CHAUDHURI

THE TRADE IN VICE IN INDIAN CITIES CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

NOWHERE are the evils of economic and social settlement more glaring in the country than in the social phenomena of prostitution and traffic in minor girls of our urban life. Nowhere else is there manifest such a disparity between old conditions and new, but nowhere again is a shrinking acceptance of the social situation as 'inevitable' as an outcome of human nature more calculated to retard social advancement than here. The evil is alarmingly increasing and there is no cry for remedy for what is conceived to be a settled fact in human and social psychology. And yet in Indian urban life the evil is associated with certain unnatural economic and social conditions and circumstances and their removal in a scheme of well conceived and boldly executed civic and social enterprise will imply a control and even an arrest of the evil.

The statistics of prostitution of our two main cities Calcutta and Bombay are really appalling. The total number of prostitutes in Calcutta and suburbs is 16,000. Among women aged 20 to 40 one in every twelve is a woman of ill fame. No figures can be given for the female servants and cooks who lead an immoral life though their number is known to be not inconsiderable. It should be added that no less than 1,096 girls under 10 years of age are dependent on prostitutes and they are to be assumed as being brought up to the life of shame. It should also be pointed out that the majority of these girls are not the children of the women with whom they live but have been purchased or deluded by these latter. The houses of ill fame are managed by women who have agents in different districts who furnish them with fresh victims. These girls are given separate rooms for which they pay exorbitant rents and from little advances of money food, clothing or ornaments the manager and his procurers come to obtrude like octo-

puses their suckered limbs slowly and surely for the regulation of the details of their life from which there is no escape. This is especially true of the lower class of women who live in *bustis* paying rents or yielding a net profit to their keepers. In this transaction there are all the characteristic classes the capitalist or land lord the labourer who is paid in advance or gets wages and the exploiting middle man or procurer but what are purchased or sold are not goods and wares but the souls of our people and their bodies which are exhibited in the streets as goods in the market place. And when once in the market place they will always be there. Unemployment and starvation will come, but this market, this exchange and this traffic in minor girls are still growing in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay. In Bombay the spread of venereal diseases is alarming. In Calcutta also the danger is not less. The number of still births 1,101 or one out of every 17 births is very high. Ordinarily in western countries under the prevailing conditions of domestic life and of marriage such an excess of still births would lead to a suspicion of a widespread syphilitic taint among the people and this is the conclusion which has found favour with one sanitary authority. But in India under the conditions of infant marriage and repeated lactation and child births in conditions of relative immaturity this rate of still births cannot be accepted as establishing the taint in question until and unless direct evidences are forthcoming from medical investigations and hospital records. In this connection some light may be thrown by the relative rates of admission to military hospitals of Indian and British soldiers respectively for treatment for the venereal diseases. Venereal diseases are nearly 8 to 10 times as prevalent among European as among native troops.*

* Vide *In per al Gazetteer* chapter On the Army

In Bengal there were 69 681 patients treated for venereal diseases in 1914 71 032 in 1915 and 77 998 in 1916 of whom 16 574 14 648 and 18 459 attended the Calcutta institutions including the Voluntary Venereal Hospital Alipore and 53 106 56 384 and 59 539 were treated in the mufassil hospitals and dispensaries. It is impossible to say whether the increased attendance is due to an increase in the number of venereal patients in the province or to greater readiness in coming for treatment to the public hospitals. But there is some reason to believe that venereal diseases are on the increase. They are naturally most prevalent in large cities and towns and in rural areas they are more prevalent in those places which are in most frequent communication with the towns.* And yet it is not the Indian cities which ought to be blamed especially for the social evil. The number of prostitutes in Calcutta is 16 000. This indeed does not compare unfavourably with the European cities.

Cities	Total Population	Number of Prostitutes
New York	4 014 000	40 000
Berlin	2 033 000	40 000
Paris	2 714 000	50 000
London	4 654 000	90 000
Calcutta	1 013 300	16 000

But the fact that some big western cities are in a worse condition does not make our moral condition enviable or desirable. We ought to analyse the causes of prostitution in the city as a means of analysing how the evil can be met. The real cause of prostitution lies not in the girls who fall but in the economic and social conditions which make the fall easy. In the mills women work long hours for small wages and in the company of low men who live away from their families in a bad environment they are lured to vice by the lure of money or the desire for money. Where homes are distracted by wants and give no enjoyment, and streets are the only refuge where the social system encourages only an one-sided morality and education fails to cope with the demands of human nature distress and temptation are grave menaces to

purity and chastity. In Calcutta the analysis of the population throws great light on the social problem.

The most noticeable feature of the population of Calcutta is the large proportion of the immigrants. Calcutta is the birth place of only three tenths of its residents, and one tenth come from places in the 24 Parganas. A special return prepared of the ages and occupations of twenty six large and representative castes among the immigrant population yields some interesting information bearing on this question. The aggregate number dealt with is 290 000 and of the districts from which they are drawn 9 are in Bengal 9 in Bihar and Orissa 4 in the United Provinces and 2 in Khytputana. The figures are to be taken as typical of the immigrant population. There are only 2 female to every 5 male immigrants, over two-thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one fourth of the female workers and their number is equal to one seventh of the women of adult age. Altogether only 15 per cent of both sexes are under 15 years. Half the women and two thirds of the men are adults i.e. aged 15 to 40 at this age period there are three males to every female*.

Among some immigrants the disproportion between the sexes is very great. Thus among the Khandait who number 9 746 the number of females per 1 000 males is as follows—

All ages	15 to 20	20 to 40	40 and over
31	22	24	37

Thus between 15 to 40 there is nearly 1 female per every 20 males. Among Hindu immigrants there are only 2 women to every 4 men while among the Muhammedan immigrants there is only one woman to every 5 men. It is this lack of women in adult age that bears a great responsibility for prostitution†.

* O Malley—Census of the City of Calcutta 1911.

† This disparity in the number of the two sexes should not monopolise the sociologists' attention as in fact this has not. Even the lowest conditions in our cities were of an ideal character and all workers were in a peculiar position to live with their families. The married men with their wives and the married women with their husbands the state would improve but partly. The sociologist would still have to consider the case of the childless widows of

* Triennial Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries, 1914 1915 1916 by Surgeon General W. R. Edwards.

Employment and service attract men from Bengal and from India generally but they cannot come with their families, for there is a chronic house famine in Calcutta. The workmen, who form about 75 p c of the population, can afford but single rooms in slums and chawls where they eat and sleep and propagate, while the lower middle classes live in messes or partitioned houses and do not ordinarily bring their families with them. The class of population which brings its women folk to Calcutta is settling in the suburbs,* and not in the centre of Calcutta, in the centre we tend to have a population of single men, of the ever increasing crowd of labourers and traders who visit Calcutta only temporarily. The increase of population from 1901 1911 in Manicktola, Garden Reach and Cossipore Chitpur amounted to 32,000 males and 20,000 females—figures which contrast strongly with those for Calcutta where the increase was 38,000 males and only 4,300 females.

It is clear that the drift of an unstable and temporary floating population to the city for employment and for service when the families are left in their native villages bears responsibility for the striking disproportion between the sexes and for prostitution. This disparity between the proportion of the sexes in the total population of Calcutta has been marked ever since census operations have been undertaken.

	Males	Females	Excess of males as compared with Females.
1872	407,742	225,267	1.81 times
1876	388,766	223,018	1.74 "
1881	393,453	213,854	1.83 "
1891	447,162	235,143	1.91 "
1901	562,596	285,200	1.97 "
1911	607,671	288,392	2.11

The above show the number of males to be more than twice the number of females and this excess is steadily increasing from year to year. Another peculiar noticeable feature is the large floating population in the city. In his report for 1906, the Health Officer observed that

marriageable age bearing in mind that these women do not cease to be human as soon as they become widows. A very large proportion of prostitutes and of under-caste and lewd crows in Calcutta are persons of this description.—L. J. M. A.

* Mr. Bompu's Lecture Jan 2 1911

after making considerable allowances for defective registration of births, it would appear that we have an unnatural decrease, and that the population is maintained and increased by wholesale immigration from rural districts.* Rural standards and ideals, communal ethics and religion are thrown to the winds when a drifting, floating population is face to face with vice and temptation in the slums of a cosmopolitan city, and the broken homesteads in our deserted villages have their obverse in the crowded brothels of our unclean cities.

In Bombay also the general proportion of females to 1000 males is steadily decreasing with their attendant evils of the disintegration of the home, vice and prostitution.

	Proportion of Females to 1000 males
1872	649
1881	664
1891	586
1901	617
1906	595
1911	562

In towns in England, at the age 15 to 20 there are 107 females to 100 males. Females migrate to towns as domestic servants, leaving their brothers behind them. Between the ages 20 to 45 the excess of females is gradually diminished and the proportion is very nearly the same. In Calcutta as we have seen there are only 47 females to every 100 males.

We should also remember that in India, and especially in Bengal, the domestic feelings and sentiments are peculiarly strong. Family affection and infant marriage are potent factors in our domestic life, and no condition has been so unnatural, depressing and dehumanising as has been brought about in Calcutta by poverty and house-famine among the labouring and middle classes who are thus compelled to live single lives in the artificial city environment with so many pleasures to tempt, and so little of the touch with nature and communal morality to protect. Prostitution is a reaction against this unnatural situation. Apart from these the housing conditions have their influence on morals. P. Hirsch observes

A lodging fit for a human being is the first

* S. W. GOSWAMI—Municipal Calcutta

requirement for the bodily and mental welfare of the family is the prerequisite for a well regulated family life and for the rearing of the children to be moral men and women. The in proprieties resulting from the exigencies of insubstantial dwellings are innumerable and this condition is an inexhaustible source of crime, prostitution and vice of every kind.

Labourers come to Calcutta from the villages and live without family in over crowded bustis and *chawls* in rooms, dark, dingy and gloomy, without comfort and attractiveness. Such conditions destroy alertness of attention, deaden and stupify the intelligence, they substitute intense for mild pleasures, and produce a craving for unnatural excitement. They seek refuge in unwholesome recreation in wine or women. And the dramshop or brothel are places where there are also light and gaiety where there are comrades and other topics of conversation than the perpetual heavy cares of life and above for a little money they may procure there the means of forgetting for the moment in drink and passion the miseries of life. The squalor and the dirt promote the impulses of moral uncleanness on the one hand and on the other malnutrition and emaciation with the consequent nervous depression are apt to be followed by reactionary organic excesses and diminution of inhibiting power and such moral degradation can only be prevented by better conditions of housing and labour, healthy recreations and greater opportunities by a more humane and equitable treatment of these classes in accordance to the demands of social justice.

The whole problem of social hygiene is indissolubly mixed up in this country with the problems of poverty, of the revival of the village, of the reorganisation of our industrial and social system and of the conditions of employment of our girls. A working class that maintains infant marriage that eats and sleeps and propagates in the slums where the opportunity for brutal and bestial life is constant a poor middle-class that has to subsist with low salaries in a city where high rents compel it to live in messes and flats far away from the checks and influences of family and communal life and traditions, the total dependence of the woman for livelihood on her husband's earnings and the social and domestic conditions that make her independent living on her own earnings impossible a helpless widowhood that is no

longer able to subsist by domestic arts and is left disattached or unattached* owing to the disintegration of family ties and communal bonds the lapse of the older customary rights of *streedhan* which used to serve as an insurance against destitution and contumely, the system of employment of female labour in our jute and cotton mills under bad conditions and in a bad environment, the growing poverty and stress rendered more acute by a social ethics, which has not as yet been able to adapt itself to new economic conditions, the want of adaptation of the regulations of our sexual code to the new conditions of mixed labour in our centres of industry among the labouring classes, as well as to the demands of a freer intercourse between man and woman among our middle classes which modern social conditions imply—the solution of such economic and social problems must precede all attempts to solve the insistent problems of social hygiene and social purity in our cities.

In ancient India the modern European methods of regulation, were operative. There were licensing, taxation, as well as segregation of fallen women. Every public woman (*rupajiva*) paid every month twice the amount of a day's earnings. The Superintendent (*Ganadhikshaka*) determined their earnings, inheritance, income expenditure and future earnings. Extravagant expenditure was penalised. Every public woman supplied information to the Superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*), her income and the name of her paramour. When a prostitute against her will or a minor girl was outraged, heavy penalty was imposed. Public women could gain their freedom by paying a ransom, when they lost their beauty or became old they could be appointed as nurses (*matrika*) or in the store house or kitchen of the royal household. Medical inspection was not thought of as the curse which is imported from the West where it is so universal and relentless scourge has been unknown. This was perhaps introduced into India during the 16th century as the first mention of it occurs in the *Lilapratapasa*, which speaks of the taint as coming through the Europeans, especially the Portuguese.

* This factor required a more than casual mention—E. J. V.

In the continent the controversy as regards the social morality, hygiene and expediency of regulation had long been settled and the system of regulation has been accepted as an integral part of the social economy and hygiene. In Great Britain there have been alterations of policy and recently after the repeal of the licensing provisions under the Contagious Diseases Acts there has been a fresh agitation in militaristic camps in England as well as in India to re-introduce the regulation in the interests of the health and physique of the army. The general question of State revenues of the licensing of vice, and passion as well as the taxation of the earnings and profits of unsocial and anti-social trades and vocations and services developing from a more or less universal system of excise, gambling, racing, and lottery to stock jobbing and premium bonds of municipalities and nations of which the regulation and profits of sexual vice are a special case, is one which we cannot stop to consider here.

The registration system has proved its failure mainly for two reasons. First, it has mitigated or sought to remove the physiological penalty attached to profligacy. The interference with the natural punishment which does not work at the root causes may be a powerful incentive to vice. Secondly, an inherently unjust and outrageous one-sided social ethics and legislation, which discriminates against the female prostitute, with virtual immunity for the male cruet who lives upon her earnings, and complete immunity for the male prostitute, equally guilty and unclean, which shuts one door and leaves another door open in the arrangements for inspection and registration is bound to be futile so far as social health and clean living are concerned.

On the other hand, to leave the unfortunes to drift and shift as castaways in the muddy waters would be criminal on the part of a society, which by its male code of ethics and social justice as well as by its denial of economic status and of independent and honourable subsistence drives multitudes of women to trade on the only capital they possess, and thus make them succumb to the demands of the tyrant's passions, for, except in abnormal or morbid cases there is no woman in her natural and normal condition but would shudder at the thought of

the outrage on her body and mind which these conditions imply. Brothel keepers and procurers should be penalised and all the links of the dark chain broken. The recent prosecutions in Calcutta have served their purpose well. But the attempt at the regulation of the vice and its evils while it should be in the direction of segregation, penalising of keepers of houses, landlords, middlemen and procurers, should never go beyond the limits demanded by the inviolable sacredness of the body or person as the shrine of the spirit in woman and man alike. Humanity is brutalised and bestialised by all outrages on the person.

The remedies must be sought in other directions. These should be at once remedial and preventive and be directed to the removal of root causes of the social evil. We have already indicated a few of these originating conditions. They are the disparity between the proportion of the sexes in certain aggregations of population, bad housing conditions in dirt, squalor and destitution, the excessive work and nervous depression in conditions of life in the factory and the de-natured city, with the consequent organic reaction and excesses, the creation of an unattached or a disattached womanhood or widowhood without a healthy and secure subsistence, the flaunting evidences of the contrast between immoral prosperity and low wages as well as irregular employment of domestic servants and work women, unfavourable labour conditions of women, as well as of mixed labour generally, and the social injustice involved in making the descent easy and the return difficult for women under a social code in which their honour can more easily be ruined or tarnished than that of men and sometimes woman's dishonour counts even for man's honour.

The economic and social circumstances implied above have to be replaced in the cities of the future in order that social purity may be maintained. For example, in Calcutta and the Indian cities generally the excess of males over females with its consequences requires industrial re-arrangement, and municipal administration and enterprise in the opening out of new careers of independent or subsidiary character as well as domestic service, handicrafts and home industries which will attract a regular flow of woman labour, from the com-

try districts and thus restore the balance in a population of single men Tailoring millinery dress making basket making laundry, midwifery and nursing poultry keeping vegetable gardening and dairying in the near future, the varied household arts and industries and all other forms of human labour will naturally draw girls and women from villages which will correct the present disparity

The development of the variety of woman's occupations in the cities must also be accompanied by improvements in agriculture and arts and crafts which will also react on the conditions of man labour in villages and prevent wholesale immigration from rural districts The danger lies less in the relative increase of the urban population than in the ignorance and mistakes of those who naturally belong to the land and the home industry because of hereditary training inheritance as well as personal adaptability and who migrate to cities because of misunderstanding delusions and vain hopes or the absence of that degree of efficiency and enjoyment that scientific agriculture and handicrafts co-operative methods and improved education might easily afford in country life The error is more apparent in the case of woman labour especially of domestic servants who migrate to cities who have no place to sleep except in the *bustis* so full of opportunities for immoral life who have no friends or guardians to watch and warn when they are in danger but whose secure and honourable livelihood can easily be afforded by domestic and agricultural pursuits in the village*

As long as this disparity remains and the hereditary polyamous or promiscuous instincts of the male universal in every society a survival of the old polygamy and promiscuity are not eradicated by education and domestic institutions and morality it will be futile to expect that the social evil will cease and an artificial

arrest or repression in the absence of remedial measures may be accompanied by clandestine indulgences which will poison social and domestic morals

Much remains to be done here within these limits In Calcutta the policy at present adopted of clearing all disorderly houses from streets declared main thoroughfares although primarily not one of allocation would ultimately lead to the establishment of a fixed and definite quarter in which disorderly houses will be situated But no clear and well defined policy is systematically followed in the direction of segregation There is no control also of the traffic in minor girls who are made to prostitute themselves even from such early age as 8 or 10 no penalisation of the male cadet who lives on the income and fall of the women Even street solicitation is not sufficiently penalised In 1916 seventeen women were apprehended for soliciting in the streets one woman was prosecuted 39 times, and 5 others 38 29 27 26 22 and 18 times respectively The average sentence imposed on these women was a fine of Rs 5 or 8 days imprisonment The necessity for dealing with this evil in a more appropriate way is strikingly emphasised by the figures The present sentences act in no way as a deterrent

Such remedial measures will have also to be supplemented by positive educational and moral agencies the purity of life and uplift of sexual morality in man as well as women and physiological education of the young in the home pure and wholesome recreations and pleasure the raising of standard of wages and betterment of the conditions of labour of women the endowment and insurance by society for maternity and orphanhood

Above all it is only the balm of social sympathy which can heal the ulcer of woman's dishonour and misfortune No society can be said to discharge its primary responsibility to humanity which does not provide for the restoration to their due status and natural place the victims of an unnatural social arrangement which claims its hecatombs by thousands Maternity homes and hostels widows' shelters and refuges reformatories for minor girls conducted by municipalities and private social missions or charity organisations and all other methods educational and industrial which

* As the halants of Calcutta would cost too much to require maid-servants even after conditions had been improved in villages a tied rect on pointed out widows—the majority being comparatively young—would cost too much to migrate from the rural parts to the city It is the duty of the municipal and police authorities and of private philanthropic bodies to provide cheap and sanitary abodes under sympathetic and respectable supervision in a good surround and a healthy moral atmosphere It is not at all impossible to provide a dwelling given on a business basis—J. R.

have been adopted so successfully by the Salvation Army, will be protecting wings as it were by which the Mother Society will gather unto her bosom the unhappy and sorrowing brood of her wounded and

afflicted children, and hide them from shame and persecution,

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Archaeological Department

Two notes which appeared in the Modern Review for November show that the country is just beginning to take some interest in the working of the Indian Archaeological Department. Every Indian agrees with Mr S. R. A. when he says that it is therefore necessary for us to be accurate in our information before any wholesale condemnation is publicly pronounced. I have watched the growth and expansion of this department with great interest since its regeneration by Lord Curzon in 1902 but I find that many statements in Mr S. R. A.'s short note are not accurate. I hasten to put before the Indian public the information collected by me during the last two decades.

At the time of the reorganisation of the department in 1902 its cadre consisted of the following officers:

Name of the officer	Rank	Qualifications	Jurisdiction
H. Cousens	Superintendent	Draftsman and photographer, slight knowledge of Indian coins	Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, Nagasam Dominion.
D. R. Bhandarkar	Asst. Supdt. (temporary)	Epigraphist, Historian, Palaeographer and Sanskrit scholar	Do
A. Rea	Superintendent	Nil	Madras Presidency, Mysore, Travancore
V. Venkayya	Asst. Supdt.	Epigraphist, Sanskrit scholar	Do
J. P. Vogel	Superintendent	Slight knowledge of Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Buddhist Art	Punjab
J. F. Tucker	Do	Nil	N.W. Provinces
T. Bloch	Do	Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian scholar, Epigraphist	Assam, Bengal

appointment which no doubt had been created for him because he was the son of Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar and had been trained by him and therefore was able to supplement the work of the superintendent of the Bombay Presidency whose knowledge of the original materials of Indian history was exceedingly meagre. The first Indian who was admitted to the rank and privileges of the Superintendent of this department was the late Mr V. Venkayya. When Dr S. Konow, the Government Epigraphist, for reasons known to the Gods of the Indian Olympus who rule over the destinies of this department, resigned, Mr Venkayya was appointed to succeed him. The reason of this favour to dark-skinned scholar is not far to seek. Mr Venkayya was then the only man in India who could carry on the printing of South Indian inscriptions.

The first Indian who was made a real live superintendent of this department was Mr. Devadatta Bhandarkar. Very few people know about the determined opposition to his appointment in which all white members of this department combined, yet at that moment most of them were not fit to be even his pupils in Sanskrit scholarship and knowledge of Indian history. Prof. Bhandarkar has escaped the clutches of the despot who rules over the destinies of this department. As an Indian and a patriot he should publish the story of the struggle, his great fight with the Jupiter of the department and the result.

The history of the appointment of the remaining Indian Superintendents is very interesting. The next appointment was offered to Jupiter's personal benchmark who had appropriated him by his prolonged devotion. He superseded H. Krishna Sastri. Mr Venkayya's able successor in Madras whose knowledge of Indian Epigraphy is second to none at present Pandit Davaram Sawhney who has been rightly praised by Mr O. C. Gangoly, and a host of others all of whom were his seniors, both in service and in knowledge.

When Mr Vogel, who was Jupiter's mainstay in matters concerning Indian inscriptions, Coins and Archaeology, retired his place was given to an English gentleman named Harold Hargreaves who was engaged in imparting light to the children living in the darkness of the valley of the five rivers. This gentleman's qualifications, and his knowledge of Indian classics and history are a profound mystery to us. The reasons for which he was chosen to succeed a Vogel are even now known to the Jupiter of the department only. Tired of being the local antiquary and impelled by patriotic motives this self-made scholar chose to join the reserve of Indian officers. It was then that Pandit D. R. S. was thought of. Mr R. D. Banerji, who had

Only two Indians had the honour of belonging to this department at the time of its reorganisation. One of these Mr Venkayya was indispensable to the department because he and his assistants were the only people besides Dr E. Hultzsch who had any knowledge of old Telugu, Tamil and Canarese inscriptions. The other Indian held a temporary

to be a thorn in the sides of his superiors and whose un-Abdul like behaviour had been tolerated too long, was banished from the scene of his faithless activities as soon as an opportunity presented itself. Prof D R Bhandarkar joined the Education Department of Bengal and Mr Banerji was translated to the Western Presidency for his want of Zoroastrian loyalty. Mr S R A can assure himself that the last two appointments were offered to Indians because at that time no Europeans, literate or illiterate, were available. The recent appointment, that of Mr K N Dikshit, to the chair vacated by Mr D B Spooner, was one of necessity. At that time the war had not ended, so Europeans were not available. Besides this there was that ubiquitous Bihar who had made himself obnoxious by his supposed disloyalty (not to the Government but to his immediate superior) and therefore department policy demanded that he should be placed under one who is both his junior and inferior in all respects. This, Sir, is the history of the appointment of Indians as Superintendents in the Archaeological Department.

I am surprised to hear that poor Dr Thomas has been taken to be the Government Epigraphist for India. He is only a stopgap, keeping the throne warm for the chicken that is being hatched in Holland. Mr Krishna Sastri is the *Sikhanda* of this warfare. He is another stopgap who in official parlance is styled 'in charge of the current duties of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India'. In truth he is but a reader of proofs.

The work of editing Achaemenian inscriptions was at first entrusted to Dr E Hultzsch of Halle before the war. It has now been entrusted to an Indian because a German scholar is no longer a favourite and an English or Dutch scholar is not available. I hope we will not live to see the work being taken away from the scholar in question.

We wonder why Dr Vogel of all persons has been commissioned to manufacture a Government Epigraphist, out of a raw graduate, either Indian or European. In the first place, Dr Vogel's qualification does not fit him to be the requisite forger of an Indian Epigraphist. In the Republic of Letters a man is judged by his productions and not by his skin. I like Dr Vogel's Chamba Catalogue the Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, but his Epigraphical works? Ye Gods of Olympus, what are you not capable of!

If for departmental reasons, not entirely unconnected with the shades of dark grey, it was necessary to place a beardless boy with a thin veneer of Epigraphic love over the aged, erudite and universally respected Hoskote Krishna Sastri then why was not a competent Epigraphist like Mr D R Bhandarkar commissioned to manufacture one? I hope Mr S R A will now agree with me in thinking that the Archaeological Department has worked since 1902 with a decided leaning against Indian Workers.

Mr O C Gangoly has begun to take an interest in the working of the Archaeological Department recently and as he is a busy lawyer I believe he has not had time to study the work of the Department fully. If he takes the trouble of diving deeper he will come to the same conclusion as "X". Will Mr Gangoly enquire how much money has been spent by the Indian Archaeological Department since its reorganisation in 1902 excepting the cost of conservation of monuments and what is the total output of the Department up to date? Then he will be able to compare the Indian Department with the French or Dutch Commissions. As one who derives his

knowledge of Indo Chinese and Javanese Archaeological work from personal contact with men like Finot or Krom, I can assure him that the French or Javanese Commissions are not dumping grounds for Anglo Indian incapables like the Archaeological Department. They bring out capable honest scholars who do not work merely for the sake of their screws or to acquire sudden fame. I wish that Mr. Gangoly had waited to compute the cost of the Archaeological Department *minus* that for conservation as compared with the output before he started to enlodge the Zeus of the Indian Olympus.

The only man in the Indian administration who studied both sides of the ledger was Sir Harcourt Butler. When he proposed to abolish this costly but useless department in 1911 statistics both of the cost and the output were compiled. We have some vertebrate members in our Legislative Councils. Can they not be expected to put some interpellations at the next meeting? I am sure the information would cool Mr. Gangoly's ardour for Zeus.

I am going to overlook the minor points of Mr. Gangoly's note. Is he aware of the fact that the great Archaeological resolution of 1915 was really a good diplomatic move on the part of the present protector of the head of the Archaeological Department to whitewash a multitude of sins. It requires careful and detailed analysis. It will be done if desired. The whitewashing was necessary to do away with the after-effects of Sir Harcourt Butler's attack and exposure. Mr Gangoly hopes that an Indian will be appointed Government Epigraphist. I want to add another adjective, I hope a competent Indian will be elected and not a raw lad with a thin gloss of Epigraphy who will drown scholarship to shine suddenly as a celebrity. It will take a beginner a good quarter of a century to turn out the style of work that a Devadatta Bhandarkar or a Hoskote Krishna Sastri can turn out and therefore the Indian Government should consider the claims of competent men carefully before the Indian ratepayer's hard earned money is wasted on an Epigraphist that a man of J P Vogel's calibre can forge.

Is Mr Gangoly aware that the author of the Zoroastrian Period of Indian History has been translated to Olympus for his Zoroastrian connections? If anybody asks questions the Department will answer that a post has been created for him on account of his administrative ability. But the Indian ratepayer ought to know that his administrative capacity consists of 'Garib-parwari' and he ruled Bihar and Orissa by means of his favourites. One of them received the Chauth and Sardesamukhi of the Archaeological mango groves (mangroves in official returns) of Persepolis at Pataliputra near Patna. The second one thrives on the pluckiness for showering honours and office from the capital of the Imperial Mauryas and the third produced lists of archaeological objects in the province from his safe nest at Patna as Nuzamutmulik ruled the six subas of Deccan from Delhi. The last one was recommended for an Imperial scholarship but the news of a little incident of his Varsity days reached Olympus and bread was snatched up from his platter. Last year when the department was being conducted on Zoroastrian methods, the same celebrity was being fostered on Baroda as a museum expert, but the native Gods who have protected the Gaikwad so long did not fail him and Gujarat was saved from his clutches. So much for administrative ability.

15th, 1918, November

NOTES ON THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES OF BENGAL

(Up to 16th Century A D)

By NARENDRA-NATH LAW, M A, B L, PRECHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA

IT has been justly remarked by Sir W Hunter that from the earliest days, India has been a trading country. The industrial genius of her inhabitants, even more than her natural wealth and her extensive sea board, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands. In contrast with the Arabian peninsula on the west, with the Malaya peninsula on the east, or with the equally fertile empire of China, India has always maintained an active intercourse with Europe.¹ It will be seen from the following account that Bengal is entitled to a goodly share of the tribute of praise thus offered to India as a whole. The evidences collected here are of a diverse character, some testifying to its manufactured products, some to its raw materials in which trade could be carried on, and others, direct or indirect, to its internal or external commerce.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that of the articles brought as tribute to Yudhisthira on the occasion of his performance of the Rajasūya sacrifice, Bengal contributed 'elephants with large tusks and rich caprisons'.² 'Large elephants and horses, and much gold and curiously wrought seats and litters, and beds made of ivory and inlaid with gold and jewels, also suits of armour weapons of various kinds, war chariots hung with tiger skins and decorated with gold, different sorts of arrows and housings for elephants'³ were presented by the princes of the 'eastern tribes' which, according to H H Wilson, might include the people of Bengal.⁴ In the list of valuables in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the famous minister of Chandragupta

Maurya, we find mention of these fabrics of Vanga (Bengal) and Paundra (part of South Behar and Bengal).⁵ —(The white and glossy *Dukula* (very fine cloth made of the inner bark of *Dulula* plant*) of Bengal, and the black and gem like glossy *Dukula* of Paundra with five kinds of each of them, *Kshauma* (linen) and *Patroma* (cloth made of the kinds of fibres mentioned below in fn 3) of Paundra with their varieties⁶, *Kauskey* (silk) of the same place, and (*Karpāsika*) cotton fabrics of Bengal classed among the best that India could produce. Reference is made to Chinabhumija Chinapattas (a sort of Chinese cloth made in China) for Indian consumption⁷ hunting most probably at the Sino-Indian trade in silk fabrics alluded to by the *Rāmāyana*.⁸ I may mention that though China was famous from very early times for its silk, the silk-worm appears to be "as much an indigenous native of India as of China like several other products, and, among them that most vital one—rice". The *Karpāsika* (cotton fabric) mentioned above is also an indigenous manufacture of this country, India being, according to our knowledge its accredited birth place. In one of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, said to have been written fifteen centuries before our (Christian) era, reference is made to cotton in the loom, at which early date, therefore, it

¹ Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, under Paundra.

² See Monier Williams, 'op cit,' for the above meanings of *Dukula* &c.

³ The fibres for making *Patroma* are extracted from *Naga* (Mesua Roxburghii &c.) 'L. kuchi' (*Arto carpus Lacucha*), *Bakula* (*Mimusops Elengi*), and *Vata* (*Ficus Indica*) which give rise to these colours respectively in the fabrics, viz., yellow, wheat, white, and fresh butter.

⁴ *Arthashastra*, *Kosaprayasya-ratna-pariksha*, pp. 80, 81.

⁵ *Rāmāyana*, *Kishkindya-kānda* ch. 40, *silka* 23. Cf. *Kālidāsa's Sakuntalā*, I, 9 and *Kumarisam bhavan* vii 3.

⁶ *Rājanvaś Ved c Ind a*, p. 42. Cf. J. A. S. H., vol. vi T. W. Hefler, 'On the Indigenous Silk Worms of India', p. 40.

¹ Hunter's *Indian Empire* 3rd ed. p. 638.

² J. R. A. S., vol. 7, H. H. Wilson, 'Notes on the Sabha Parva of the *Mahābhārata*', p. 144. See Mbh., Sabha Parva ch. 52, *silks*, 18, 21.

³ Corresponding to Mbh loc cit *silks* 17, 33.

⁴ J. R. A. S., loc cit pp. 144, 145. Cf. R. L. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans* vol. I p. 172. Cf. Vaidya uses the passage in his *Epic India*, p. 238 (ch. xi on trade and industries).

must have acquired some considerable footing". To return from this digression the *Arthashastra*¹ mentions *Gaudikam mpyam*, i.e., silver from Gauda the central part of Bengal as one of the varieties of the metal then prevalent. The use of the precious metals provided important industries in the times of Chandragupta Maurya² and earlier,³ and from this it is reasonable to infer that the silver mines of Gauda might have supplied a field for the investment of Bengal labour and capital.

To these should be added the consideration that there is every possibility, as Mr Monahan⁴ says "that from an early date in the Maurya period, the administration the laws, and the general state of civilisation of the greater part of Bengal were the same as those portrayed by Megasthenes in his description of Chandragupta's empire" and corroborated by Kautilya. The significance of this statement lies in the application of the more or less same economic conditions as those depicted in Megasthenes and specially in Kautilya to the greater part of Bengal regarding, for instance, the state supervision of the agriculturists, cattle rears, manufacturers, artisans, traders, money lenders, functional castes, and others upon whom depended the economic welfare of the country, the state regulation of the market, the amount of private enterprise at work and the encouragement it received from the state, the guilds, the concessions to foreign merchandise for fostering foreign commerce, the hold of customs upon the people's economic activities and so forth. There are two other considerations which have a bearing upon the economic situation of Bengal. The first, which is practically certain, and must have contributed to the importance, wealth and civilisation of Bengal under the Maurya empire and its close connection with the capital of the empire, is that the river Ganges, which flows through Bengal before reaching the sea, must

have been one of the principal channels of the sea borne commerce of the empire"⁵ and the second that trade routes⁶ running east and west through the Maurya empire facilitated the commercial intercourse between Bengal and the imperial capital or other part of the empire.

1ST CENTURY A.D.

It is stated by Macpherson⁷ that Egyptian vessels sailed to Patala (in Sindh) and a few traders went as far as the Ganges in 14 A.D., most probably by the Royal High Way that extended across the country from the Indus to the Ganges.

Our information regarding Bengal in the latter half of the first century A.D., is comparatively detailed, supplied as it is by the *Periplus*. From the market towns Tyndis (probably Pontani), Nelcynda (Kottayam in Travancore) &c., were exported large quantities of silk cloth and Gangetic spikenard (*Nardostachys jatamansi* valued for its aroma)⁸. According to Mr W. H. Schoff, the former was the exclusive manufacture of China⁹ but, as we have seen above,¹⁰ it was as much a production of Bengal, though of course the latter might have differed from the former in quality. The Gangetic spikenard was brought from the Himalayas to the market town of the same name as that of the river Ganges and situated on its bank, i.e., Gänge (*Saptagrāma*)¹¹. Muslins of the finest sort called Gangetic, pearls and malabothram

¹ Mr F. J. Monahan in 'Bengal Past and Present', 1916, p. 55 (with some changes for adaptation to the present context).

² Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, vol. 1, pp. 69-70 (on the authority of Kautilya).

³ D. Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce' (1803), vol. 1, p. 139. This passage forming part of a simile in the *Milinda Panho* (S. B. E.) Pt. II, p. 269, is interesting owing to its reference to sea voyage to Bengal. "As a ship owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to 'Vanga', or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate."

⁴ The *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea, Schoff's ed., p. 45 text.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222 (notes).

⁶ Vide supra, the evidence of the 'Arthashastra'.
⁷ Schoff, 'op cit', p. 47 (text). It is identified with Tamralipta in his notes, p. 255 but Saptagrāma (modern Satgaon) is a more probable identification (Mr N. L. Dey in 'J. A. S. B.' 1910 pp. 614, 615, 'History of the District of Ilugh').

¹ 'J. R. A. S.' vol. 17 (1860) J. A. Mann 'On the Cotton Trade of India', p. 347. P. T. S. Iyengar's 'Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras', p. 27.

² 'Arthashastra', 'Akshasahasam Suvarnadhyaksha', p. 86.

³ & 4. See my 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity', vol. 1, pp. 311, and P. T. S. Iyengar, op. cit., pp. 28, 29. In the former Megasthenes has been quoted.

⁵ 'Bengal Past and Present' (Early History of Bengal) by Mr F. J. Monahan, I.C.S. 1910, pp. 53-54.

(Bengali Tejpatā) were also carried to the town and exported thence.¹ The Muslims, in Mr Schoff's opinion, were the producers of the Dacca District and most delicate of all the fabrics of India, so much so that their test lay in drawing them through a finger ring. For this fineness, the Romans called them *Ventus textilis* or *Nebula*.²

The Gangetic pearls were of an inferior quality, being small, often irregular, and usually reddish.³ Gold mines are said to have existed in a place near the aforesaid market town.⁴ Mr Schoff infers that the place was probably none other than the Chota Nagpur plateau.⁵ Gold was also brought from Assam and Northern Burma through Tipperah (in Bengal).⁶

1ST AND 2ND C. A.D.

Pliny speaks of the metal and precious stones of Bengal. "As touching rivers that afford precious stones, Acesines and Ganges are the chief, and, of all lands, India is the principal." Diamonds were produced, according to Ptolemy's testimony in a locality situated on the Ganges, considered by Prof V Ball to have been probably Chota Nagpur.⁷

Of the commercial towns of note in Bengal in those days, we get the names of Gānge⁸ and Tamalites.⁹ These were great emporia of trade and centres for export and import of merchandise to and from other places in India as well as foreign countries. There were necessarily several trade routes both by land and water for their inter communication.¹⁰ In the language of Pliny "when ye are over Ganges, the first region upon the coast that you set foot into is that of the Gangarida. . . . Some apply themselves to tillage and husbandry, others set

their minds upon martial feats one sort of them practise merchant's trade transporting their own commodities into other countries and bringing in foreign merchandise into their own."¹¹

3RD C. A.D.

There is no substantial notice,¹² so far as I see of the commerce or industries of Bengal in the third and the fourth centuries A.D. From the *Jatakas* belonging to the 5th century A.D.,¹³ we have vague references to caravans going east or west, of which probably a larger portion went in the latter direction. Traffic in the east was largely effected by water down the Ganges to Champā (Bhagalpur) and perhaps further. It is suggested by the *Mahāyāna Jataka* (VI, 32-35, Fausboll's ed.), that the Ganges was navigable from Champā up to the sea.¹⁴ Tāmralipti continued to be a sea port.¹⁵

7TH C. A.D.

It was at Tāmralipti that the famous Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang found wonderful articles of value, and gems in abundance, from which he inferred its people in general to have been very rich.¹⁶ Samatata was regularly cultivated and was rich in crops, flowers and fruits.¹⁷

9TH C. A.D.

The Arab merchant Sulaiman who made several voyages to India in the middle of the 9th century A.D., speaks of a place called Ruhm (the locality of Dacca according to Sir H M Elliot) where "a stuff was made not to be found elsewhere, so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet ring. It is made of

1 Pliny's 'Natural History', vol 1, p. 176 (translated by Philemon Holland) Cf W Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients, vol 11, p. 460

2 Only Tāmralipti, for instance, is mentioned in the Divyavamsa (III 33)

3 Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, pp. 200, 201

4 J.K.A.S., 1901, pp. 870, 871, Mrs Rhys Davids, 'Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India' It also contains a list of specimens of manufacture mentioned in the Jatakas

5 J Legge's 'Fa Hien' p. 100. Varaha mihira in his Brihat-samhita (6th C. A.D.) speaks of diamonds of Bengal found on the banks of the Vena and in Paundra, the former being very pure and the latter grey (J.R.A.S., vol 11, N.S. 1875, pp. 123, 126)

6 Beal's 'Buddhist Records etc.', Vol II p. 201. I think came here in 673 A.D. Takakusu's ed. of Tsiang's 'Record etc.', VII, XXXIII, XXXIV.

7 Beal, op.cit., Vol II, p. 199

1 Schoff, op. cit., p. 47 (text)

2 Ibid., notes, pp. 256ff., containing many other details regarding muslins.

3 Accord to Dr Taylor's 'Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus' in J.A.S.B., Jan 1847, pp. 23, 24 as quoted in Schoff, op. cit., notes, p. 256

4 Schoff, op. cit., text, p. 43.

5 Ibid., notes, p. 258.

6 Ibid., notes, p. 259.

7 Hsien's 'Natural History' (translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1631), vol. II, p. 632

8 'Indian Antiquary', vol. 13 (1884) p. 235

9 & 10. Ibid., pp. 364, 365, and Periplus

11 E.g. Schoff op. cit. notes, p. 272, Ind. Ant., vol 12, p. 351, & J.K.A.S. 1901, p. 871

p. 29

cotton, and, we have seen a piece of it. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *Samara*, of which *madabas* are made.¹

10TH C. A.D.

Ibn Khurdadba, an Arab Geographer of the beginning of the 10th century A.D., also mentions Rahim (Ruhmi) as the place producing cotton cloths and aloe wood.²

13TH C. A.D.

Chao Ju Kua, a Chinese traveller, who collected his notes about India in 1211 A.D., records that the country of Pingkala (Bengala) 'produced superior double edged sword blades, cotton and other cloth'.³

Bengal about this time underwent a change of sovereignty, its Hindu rulers having submitted to the Muhammadans. The Muslim religion, according to Robertson, contributed greatly towards the increase of commercial intercourse by land with Mecca where an annual fair was held and hosts of pilgrims from distant lands flocked to the place in obedience to the Prophet's injunction. The manufactures of India formed a capital article in the transactions and caravans returned thence loaded with the *muslins* and *chintzes* of Bengal together with various other Indian commodities to disseminate them through every part of Asia and Africa.⁴

Marco Polo informs us that the people of Bengal 'grew cotton in which they drove a great trade, and also spices such as spikenard, galangale, ginger, sugar, and many other sorts'.⁵

14TH C. A.D.

Ibn Batuta refers to Bengal as an extensive and plentiful country and says that he had never seen a place where provisions were so cheap.⁶ By the Blue River', he adds, one would travel to Bengal and Laknauti. Upon it were gardens, *mills* and villages which it refreshed like the Nile of Egypt.⁷

15TH C. A.D.

A goodly piece of information regarding

1. Elliot's 'History of India' (ed. by Prof. J. Dowson) vol. I, p. 5 and Appendix x, p. 361.

2. Elliot, 'op. cit.', vol. I, pp. 13, 14.

3. 'J. R. A. S.' 1896, p. 499; Chao Ju Kua's 'Ethnography &c.' by F. H. 11th, Pl. D.

4. W. Robertson's 'Historical Disquisition on Ancient India,' Sec. III, para. 53.

5. Yule's 'Marco Polo,' vol. II, p. 115.

6. Lees's 'Travels of Ibn Batuta,' p. 194. Ibn Batuta was at Muhammad Tughlak's court in 1334 A.D.

7. Lees, 'op. cit.', p. 197.

the kingdom of Pang kola (Bengala) is furnished by the Chinese compiler Mahuan in his account written at the commencement of the fifteenth century. He speaks of it as [an extensive country with abundance of products and a numerous population professing the Muhammadan religion. There were the rich built ships for carrying on commerce with foreign nations. Many were engaged in trade, a good many in agriculture, while others in arts and crafts. The country yielded two crops of rice a year, and a peculiar kind of the same staple with long, viry, red grains, wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, *brinjals*, vegetables of several sorts in abundance, many kinds of fruits such as plantain, mango, pomegranate and jack fruit. Sugar-cane, granulated sugar, white sugar and various candied and preserved fruits are also available. Three or four kinds of wines were manufactured, the cocoanut, rice, tarry, and kadjang. Guests were offered betelnut instead of tea. The streets were well provided with shops. There were manufactured five or six kinds of fine cotton fabrics (muslins), one of which called *Pichih* was of soft texture 3 feet wide and 56 or 57 feet long. A closely woven, strong, ginger-yellow fabric called *Man-cheti*, about 4 feet wide and 50 feet long was also produced. Another fabric called *Shanakiel* was 5 feet broad and 20 long, while *Hinpei tung tali* was 3 feet by 60 feet, with gauze like appearance, and meshes of its texture open and regular. It was much used for turbans. *Shatauri* 2 feet 5 or 6 inches by 40 feet or more resembled the Chinese *San-so*, while *Mohei-Meli*, 4 feet by 20 feet or more, had a facing on both sides four to five tenths (presumably of an inch) thick (wide).⁸

The silkworms and mulberry tree were found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel guns, knives, and scissors were all to be had in the place. White paper smooth and glossy like a deer's skin was manufactured from the bark of a tree. The king fitted out ships and sent them to foreign countries to trade. Pearls and precious stones were sent as presents to China.⁹

The reputation of Ormuz as a great sea

8. 'J. R. A. S.' (1895), 'Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengal' by George Phillips pp. 59, 53.

port dates back to the first centuries of the Christian era and that it had commercial connections with many distant lands like Bengal is a matter of inference Abdur Razzak expressly mentions that merchants of seven climates made their way to the port, and those of Bengal among other countries arrived here with their rare and precious articles¹

16TH C. A.D.

The account left by Varthema who visited Bengal in the first decade of this century represents [it as] abounding in grain flesh of every kind, sugar, ginger, and cotton more than any country in the world. Richest merchants assembled here and fifty ships were laden every year with cotton and silk stuffs (*Barran, Namone Lualu, Cianter Doasar and Sinabaff*) which were taken to all parts of India as also to Turkey Syria, Persia, Arabia, Felix, and Ethiopia. The traveller came across jewel dealers of diverse nationalities and Christian (Nestorian) merchants who had brought silken stuffs, aloe wood, benozin, and musk for sale from Sarnau.² Mecca imported a very large quantity of cotton and silken stuffs from Bengal, and many Muhammadan merchants were engaged in commerce between Bengal and Calicut.³

The manufactures of Dacca⁴ on the authority of Vertomannus "were exported to Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Persia, and fifty ships laden with cloth of Bombasin and silk were despatched annually to the aforesaid countries."⁵

Barbosa who visited Bengal about a decade after Varthema gives us a description of the commercial activities of Bengal that corroborate his predecessor in several points. [Many Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, says he, came here for trade. These merchants were owners of large ships with which they traded to Coromandel, Malabar, Cambay, Pegu, Tenasserin, Sumatra, Ceylon,

Malacca, &c. Bengal was rich in cotton, sugarcane plantations, ginger, and long pepper, and manufactured many kinds of stuffs extremely delicate, coloured for home consumption, and white for export. The stuffs were called *sarawati* excellent for women's head dress, and used by Arabs and Persians for caps. Many ship-loads of white sugar of very good quality were exported, packed up in raw hide bags. Good preserves of various kinds of roots and fruits growing in the country attracted the notice of the traveller as they had done that of the Chinese visitors in the fourteenth century as recorded in Mahuan.]⁶

Abul Fazl furnishes us with information about Bengal under the emperor Akbar from which [the Sarkar of Ghoraghat appears to have produced silk and a kind of sackcloth, Sarkar Barbakabad a fine cloth called *Gangajil* (Ganges water), and Sarkar Sonargon a species of very fine muslin in great quantity. The mats were often made so fine that they resembled woven silk. There were iron mines in Sarkar Bazoha, a diamond mine at Harpah in Sarkar Madaran producing chiefly very small stones. Emeralds, pearls, cornelians, and agates were imported, as also diamonds.]

The historian speaks of the fertility of the soil of Bengal which could produce three crops of rice of various kinds a year without any injury to itself. Long pepper grew in Mahmudabad. Salt was brought from long distances.

In Sarkar Satgaon, there were two ports Satgaon and Hughli,⁷ one mile apart. The latter began to eclipse the former in commercial importance in the latter half of the sixteenth century owing to the silting up of the Saraswati that had maintained her high position from the Pauranic age. Chittagong was now an excellent port and the resort of Christian and other merchants.]⁸

Abul Fazl adds that in every part of Akbar's empire, ships were numerous, but in Bengal, Kashmere and Sindh they were the pivot of all commerce.⁹

The excellence of the rich cloths and manufactures of Malda and Bengal received

¹ R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century* [Hakluyt doc. etc.] (henceforth abbreviated into 'Hak. Soc. doc.') 1867 p. 6 also Elhot op. cit. IV, p. 95. Commercial intercourse between Bengal and Ormuz is also noted by Barbosa (Hak. Soc. publication 1866, p. 4.)

² Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, (Hak. Soc. 1863), p. 212.

³ Travels of Ludovico di Varthema p. 151.

⁴ Vertomannus (1503) as quoted in Layor's 'Topography and Statistics of Dacca,' p. 183.

⁵ Barbosa (Hak. Soc. vol. 1, pp. 179-180)

⁶ Found by the Portuguese in 1537

⁷ Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett's transl.) pp. 121-125

⁸ f. n. 2

⁹ *Asiatic Researches* (Blochmann), p. 279

a deserved recognition by Sher Shah who singled them out for presentation to Shaikh Khalil when the latter came to him on an embassy from Humayun.¹

The voyager Linschoten gives us a glimpse of Bengal commerce and industries of the eighth decade of the century in his account which notices the production of much fine cotton then exported to all the eastern countries and Portugal a kind of excellently wrought yellow yarn from which coverlets, pavilions pillows, carpets, mantles &c were made and sugar in plenty. He refers also to the export of civet rice in ships to foreign countries, and the brisk traffic between Chaul and Bengal.²

[I tch on of the first three merchants to visit Bengal in the eighties of this century came to Satgāon from Agra accompanied by 180 boats laden with salt opium, asafetida lead, carpets and diverse other articles. Sonargāon produced the best and finest cotton cloth and Bengal supplied rice to all India. Ceylon³ legu Malacca Sumatra and many other places.]³ He mentions some other commercial places of Bengal viz. Taida Bacla, Sripur Sandwipa. The city of Gaur was perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal at this time.⁴ One Saikh Bhik a cloth merchant of this place, is said to have sailed to Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths of which two were wrecked near the Persian Gulf.⁵

[Commerce between Bengal and Cochim as Lancaster tells us supplied the latter with various kinds of fine woven goods for re-export to Portugal. Achen (in Sumatra) had also commercial connections with Bengal.]⁶ This Bengal Achen commerce is also mentioned by the navigator John Davis (1599).⁷

This century is an important one in the commercial history of Bengal in as much as

it saw the opening of its first regular commercial relations with the Portuguese.

Since 1518 Chittagong was annually visited by a Portuguese ship for purchase of merchandise for Portugal but Hugli was their first and Chittagong, was their second settlement.¹ [During Akbar's reign, the Portuguese merchants used to come here from various parts of India for selling the goods they brought and buying those found in the province. Their wares were taken mostly from the Malaccas, Sumatra, Borneo &c, with the exception of cowries from the Maldives, conchshells from Tuticorin and Tinnevely pepper from Malabar, and cinnamon from Ceylon. Of the above mentioned imports, the principal were worked China silks such as brocade, brocatelles cloth, velvets, damasks satins taffetas, taffissirias, escommillas (muslins) in every variety of colour excepting black. The Portuguese were also carriers of many articles from China, viz., porcelain, all kinds of gilt furniture such as bedsteads tables chests, writing desks, boxes and curios and pearls and jewels of great value made in the European style but with greater skill and cheapness. They imported likewise white and red sandal wood in great quantities from kingdoms of Solor (?) and Timor (?) cloves nutmegs and mace from the Malaccas and Banda, and camphor from Borneo. All these articles specially the more valuable were taken by sadagars (Bengal merchants) to the Imperial Court at Agra.]²

EVIDENCE IN BENGALI LITERATURE (10TH TO 16TH C.)

A search of the early Bengali literature can yield names of raw and manufactured products that formed articles of Bengal-commerce, and give an idea of the trading voyages made by the merchants. The *Sunya Purāna* (10th to 11th c.) has reference to the cultivation of cotton for the manufacture of cotton cloths³ while the *Song of Mānik Chandra* (11th to 12th c.), speaks of the sale of chalk and hemp-stalks as a profit.

¹ 'Cal. Rev. v' (No. 143, 1881, vol. 72) p. 113. "Notes on the Early Commerce in Bengal" by Peary Chand Mitra.

² Manrique in Bengal (transl. by Rev. L. Cardon S.J. and annotated and edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.), a Bengal in Past and Present 1916, pp. 286-287.

³ Lyrical Selections from Old Bengali Literature by Ka. Shaheb Unesh Chandra Sen pt. I p. 112.

¹ Elliot IV p. 371 (Tarkh Sher Shah).

² The Voyage of Linschoten to the E. Indies (Hak. Soc., 1885) vol. I pp. 94-95.

³ Purchas His Pilgrims (ed. 1905) vol. 10 pp. 175-184, 185.

⁴ Dr. Mookerjee's Indian Ship pp. 119, 220, 221.

⁵ Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal vol. VII p. 95 as quoted in the Indian Statistical Review.

⁶ Lancaster's Voyage to the E. Indies (Hak. Soc. 1877) pp. 15-16. Lancaster was in India on the netes of the 8th century.

⁷ Purchas His Pilgrims vol. I p. 312.

able concern.¹ There are references also to jute *pachhadī* (i.e., khesa a kind of cloth),² *Sitalpatī* (a fine sort of mat),³ Indra-blanket,⁴ jute-sādi (jute cloth for use by ladies),⁵ &c. The *Manasa mangalī*⁶ (12th c.), by Kanā (one-eyed) Hari Datta speaks of Chānd Sadāgar's gains of commerce as amounting to fourteen boatfuls of precious stones. This may be a poetic hyperbole but yet testifies to the high place that commerce occupied in the estimation of the people as a source of profits. The *Padma Purāṇī* (or *Manasa Mangalī*) by Vijaya Gupta written in the last decade of the fifteenth century gives a graphic description of Chand Sadāgar's commercial voyage to Ceylon with his fourteen boats full of various articles interesting for the present purpose. They included precious stones, coarse cotton and jute cloths, and various roots, fruits, drugs, grains and live stock. The bartering of these articles at Ceylon fetched him conchshells, precious stones, gold, pearls, corals, metal utensils, cinnamon, grapes and other fruits, plants, live stock, elephant tusks &c.⁷ A different work on the same theme as above but by a different writer, Dvija Vamsidāsa a contemporary of the aforesaid Vijaya Gupta, gives us in his account of Chānd's sea-voyage to Ceylon and the bartering that followed at the place, a list of articles many of which do not appear in the previous enumeration, such as canopy, mosquito-curtain, carpet, bed, camp, shamiāna, sheet, &c., all made of jute, and oil, ghee, narcotics, spices &c.⁸ We shall conclude with borrowings from Mukundarāma's realistic description of the merchant and artisan castes who were compelled to leave their hearths and homes destroyed by an inundation, and settle in another place. No treatment of the commerce and industries of the Hindus is complete unless it puts in a

standing background the various crafts and commercial activities that a caste-system allocating to certain castes those functions always implies. Some of the Vaisyas are represented as engaged in agriculture, some in cattle rearing, some other in money lending. The traders among them make cheap purchases of goods at the proper seasons for selling them with a large margin of profits. Some travel from place to place and town to town for selling their diamonds, sapphires, pearls and corals. Some equip their boats with merchandise for journeys to various towns and bring back conch shells, chowries and sandalwood. They buy and sell one or other of these, viz. blankets made of long hairs of the Tartary bulls and cows, horses and elephants with their trappings, young camels, *pattisars* (spears with sharp edges) and coats of mail. There settle the *Pottars* making earthen vessels and earthen frames of musical instruments, hundreds of *Wavers* weaving *dhunt* (i.e. sādi or cloth for ladies), *dhutikhdā* (small *sātis*), and *grās* (i.e. sheets), *Blacksmiths* forging spades, axes, ploughshares, hoes, coats of mail, and spears, the *Tels*—some engaged in agriculture, some expressing oil out of seeds with the *ghu* (oil pressing machine), while the rest buying and selling it in the market, the *Gopars* with their homes filled with wheat, sesamum, pulses, mustard and cotton grown on their fields, the *Santha vants* cutting conch shells, *Mani vants* selling precious stones, *Agars* pursuing their own occupation (e.g. agriculture), *Modats* making sugar and sweets, *Gauṭha vants* selling such articles as spices, &c., incense, the *Malis* vending gardens among other wares special to them, *Bāris* growing betel, *Tmbitis* selling betel leaves dressed with betel nuts, the *Braziers* making various kinds of brazen articles, and so on with the various other castes which space does not permit me to enumerate. Suffice it to remark that the numerous castes and sub-castes ministered to quite a number of industries enough for meeting the limited material wants of the people of those days. The work also names a number of Muhammadan communities with their peculiar industrial or commercial functions.⁹

1. Typical Sections from Old Bengali Literature by Rai Shabab Dinesh Chaudre Sen Pt. I, p. 19.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 43. The 'Ramayana' of Krittavā (Ibid. p. 47, 14th c.) has majari (a kind of mat) and 'udā (a kind of sheet).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

7. 'Padma Purāṇa' (*Manasa mangalī*) by Vijaya Gupta, ed. by Pandit Tāprasanna Ghose V. 3, 1 mode pp. 124-125, 131 & 147.

8. Vamsidāsa's 'Padma Purāṇa', ed. by Messrs. Ramakrishna & Dinesh Chandra Chatterjee pp. 32, 37, 38, 39, 387.

9. 'Hav kanzana-Chandī' by Mukundarāma Chakravarti, (Varanasi ed.), pp. 87-91. See also 'C. Rev. ed.' vol. 93 (1881) 35. d. 'Guru Pro' A Glimpse of Bengal in the 15th c., p. 17.

FAMINES IN BUDDHIST INDIA¹

BY PROF. KISHORIMOHAN GUPTA, M. A.

THE economic life of the people during the Buddhist period, unlike the Vedic, was disturbed by occasional outbreaks of famine sometimes these were of terrible nature. The Buddhist Pali literature abounds in reference to such famines the realm of Benares seems to have been specially subjected to these calamities.²

CAUSES AND NATURE OF THE FAMINES

There were two main causes that brought about the distress. In the first place the regions along some of the rivers were subject to occasional floods, and secondly, failure of the monsoon was calculated to give rise to drought in comparatively high regions. As an instance of the former we read in the *Gabapati Jātaka* 'All the grain had been carried away during the rainy season and there was a famine' (*tadā pana antovasse vijesu nihatesu chātaka ahoṣi*). The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* describes the famine and pestilence that broke out in the city of Dantapura in the realm of Kālinga (*tasmin kāla kalingaratthe dantapurā nagare . . . devo na vāssi, tasmin avassante sakalaratthe chātakam jātam, abhāvapaṭṭiyanca manussānam rogo udapaditi dūvuttthibhayam chātakabhayam roga-bhayānati tīna bhayāni upajimsu*). In the *Divyavadāna* is given an account of a famine that broke out in Benares owing to drought and that lasted for twelve years. We are incidentally told that there are three kinds of famines, namely, the famine called *Caṇḍu* or *Box*³, the *Swetāsthi* or white-bone famine, during which people collect bones, boil them into stew and drink it, the *Salākavṛtti* or

rod using famine, during which people collect rice and molasses from holes (of ants or rats), boil them and drink the beverage. Now in Benares all the three kinds of famine broke out during the reign of King Brahmadatta.⁴ The *Saṁtiparva* of the *Mahabharata* describes a terrible famine that brought in a fearful state of cannibalism at the close of the *Treta*, and the beginning of the *Dvāpara* age.⁵ This account of the famine is in no way less harrowing than that of the Bengal famine of 1770.⁶

4 *Divyavadāna* (Cowell) page 131-2. *Vaṛaṇasīyāṃ nam itikar dvādasa vārsikānāvṛttir vyakṛtā trividham durbhikṣaṇaṁ bhaviṣyau—caṇḍu svetaṣṭhi salākavṛtti ca; tatra caṇḍu ucyaṭe samudgale, tasmin manussā vāḥni prakṣipyāṅgate satvāpeksayā sīhāpanti mṛtgnām, anena te vyākṣyam karisyanthi idaṁ samudgaleṇ baddhā caṇḍu ucyaṭe, svetaṣṭhi nāma durbhikṣam—tasmin kāle manussā aśṭhiny upasamhṛitya tavat kvāthayanti yavat tānya aśṭhīni svetaṇi samvṛjanti tatastat kvātham pivanti, idaṁ svetaṣṭhi durbhikṣam ityucyaṭe, salākavṛttināma—tasmin kāle ma usyā bhala vilebhyo dhanyāgudakāni salākajaksyī vahudakasthāyām kvāthayitva pivanti, iyaṁ salākā sambuddhātī geṣṭhā kvātvittuntiyucyaṭe . . .*

5 Chapter 141. *Ucchanna kṣīgoraksanivṛtta viparāṇāṃ nirritā upasambhāṇa vipranasta mahot-savā 19 aśṭhivancayasaṁkīrṇānābābhi utarāṅkalā, sunyabhuyistānāraḍagdhagrāmanivesaṅga 20 kvā-citghoraṇi kvācicchasthāni kvācīdṛyabhinātorāni, parasaṁbhāṇayā cchaya sunyabhuyisthanirjāna 21 gataḍarvatasamasthāni vṛddhalokaurāṅkṛtā, gojāvi mahābīṇa parasaṁbhāṇā 22 hataviprahātaraṅga prauṣṭausadhisancayā sarvabhūtatarapṛajā vābhava vasu-dhā tadā 23 tasmin prauṣṭhaya kāle kṣate dharme yudhi sthira, vābhuvah kṣudhig maritjāni khādamanāni parasaṁgam 24*

Mahāvagga (VI 23) tells us that during a famine people ate elephants' flesh, dogs' flesh etc.

6 'The husbandmen sold the cattle, they sold their implements of agriculture, they devoured their seed grain, they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found, they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field, and in June 1770 the Resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead. Day and night a torrent of famished and diseased stricken wretches poured into the great cities. At an early period of the year pestilence had broken out. The streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and dead. Interment could not do its work quick enough, even dogs and jackals became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude

1 A chapter from the writer's *Economic History of Ancient India from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan Conquest* (in preparation).

2 *Viraka Jātaka* (no. 204 in Fausbøll's edition); *Gabapati Jātaka* (199), *Maccha Jātaka* (75), *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (2, 6), *Collavagga* (VI 31) speaks of a famine at Rajagṛha. Also *Mahāvagga* VI 19 2 and VI 31 3, also refer to scarcity.

3 I have not been able to make out the meaning. The original is given below.

The Rājataranginī describes a famine of similar character, that broke out during the reign of Tunjina I, owing to the destruction of rice crop in consequence of a heavy snowfall. In weighing the causes of famine in the Buddhist age another factor should be taken into consideration, namely, the pressure of population since the Vedic age. In the Buddhist period lands comparatively exposed to inclemencies of the seasons had to be taken up.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST FAMINES

Of the preventive measures against drought we notice, in the first place, various methods adopted for the purpose of irrigating the land. Dams were constructed with a view to check the flow of water from rivers or lakes. Says Kunāla Jātaka "The Sakiya and Koliya tribes had the river Rohini which flows between the cities of Kapilavattha and Koliya confined by a single dam and by means of it cultivated their crops. In the month, Jetthamula when crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from both the cities assembled together. Then the Koliyans said, 'Should this water be drawn off on both sides it will not prove sufficient for both us and you. But our crops will thrive with a single watering give us then the water'". The Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (c 150 A.D.) speaks of the two famous Maurya emperors as bestowing immense care on the lake Sudarsana in maintaining its dam for irrigation purposes. In the second place canals were constructed to ward off difficulties arising from a failure of the monsoon. Referring to the public administration of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes says (c 4th century B.C.) "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it".¹¹ Kautilya, too, refers

to canals (kulyavāpānām),¹² many of which were no doubt constructed by Chandragupta. He also speaks of the sluices referred to by Megasthenes and of the rules regarding the maintenance of the flow of water. "Persons letting out water of tanks, etc., at any other place than their sluice gate, shall pay a fine of six panas, and persons who recklessly obstruct the flow of water from the sluice gate of tanks shall also pay the same fine".¹³ "Persons who obstruct or make any kind of mischief with the flow of water intended for cultivation shall be punished with the first amercement".¹⁴ There was a royal injunction that "all permanent houses shall be provided with a dunghill (avaksara), water courses (bhrama), and a well (udapanam)".¹⁵ The Maurya Emperors not only constructed canals, tanks, lakes, etc., at their own expenses, but also encouraged private enterprises in this direction. Says Kautilya "In the case of construction of new works, such as tanks, lakes, etc., taxes (on the lands below such tanks) shall be remitted for five years. For repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water works, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on the lands below such works shall be remitted for two years".¹⁶ We may now thus enumerate the various methods of irrigation as adopted in Maurya India.

(a) Irrigation by manual labour (hastapṛavartimam)

(b) Irrigation by carrying water on shoulders (skandhapṛavartimam)

(c) Irrigation by water lifts (srotayantapṛavartimam)

(d) Irrigation by raising water from

¹¹ Arthashastra (Sastri's translation) Bl. II, ch. XXIV, p. 143.

¹² Arthashastra III, 9 p. 217. The original runs thus: Setubhyo muncata stoyamapare satpana damah pare vā toyamanyesam pranādenoparundabatah.

¹³ Arthashastra III, 10 p. 217. Megasthenes speaks of rivers and Kautilya of tanks. There is no doubt that both the writers mean to include both tanks and rivers.

¹⁴ Arthashastra (Sastri's translation) Book III, ch. 3, p. 211.

¹⁵ Arthashastra III 9 p. 216.

of mangled and festering corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens. —Hurter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, 26-27.

7 Rājataranginī taranga II.

8 Fausboll, *Jātaka* no. 536.

9. See Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III or *Fl. graphia Indica* Vol. VIII 36.

10. Megasthenes (McCandless), *Fragment* XXXIV (Box. III).

rivers lakes tanks and wells (nadisaraṣ tatakakupodghāṣam) 16

The first two methods were crude. In the last two methods were probably employed chainpumps which are referred to in the *Rig Veda*,¹⁷ and undoubtedly bullocks and wind power (*vātaprāvartī manandi nīvandhāṭana*)¹⁸

PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST FAMINES

At one time probably before the establishment of the Maurya autocracy the tribal chief or the village headman was undoubtedly responsible for the protection of his people. In the *Gaṇapati Jātaka*¹⁹ we are told that during a famine caused by a flood all the villagers came together and besought help of their headman saying 'Two months from now when we have harvested the grain we will pay you in kind so they got in old oxen from him and ate it. Kautilya enumerates the various duties rendered by the king during a famine. In the first place he had to remit taxes²⁰ and had no doubt to advance loans of grains cattle and money.²¹ The officer who discharged this royal function was called *Koṣṭhagārādhyakṣa*. Superintendent of the Stores. He had to help the people with stores in times of calamities half of the whole provision having been reserved for such emergencies.²² The king is also directed to distribute the hoarded wealth of the rich among the poor,²³ or seek help from his friends among

lings.²⁴ Or he may adopt the policy of taxing the rich by exacting excessive revenue (*karsanam*) or causing them to vomit their wealth (*amanam*).²⁵ 'Or he may remove himself with his subjects to sea shores or to the banks of rivers or lakes. He may cause his subjects to grow grains vegetables roots and fruits, wherever water is available. He may by hunting and fishing on a large scale provide the people with wild beasts, birds elephants tigers or fish.²⁶ Lastly the king is advised to emigrate with his subjects to another kingdom with abundant harvest.²⁷ The *Divyāvadāna* tells us that when a famine broke out in the realm of Benares the king directed those of his people who had enough sustenance for twelve years to stay in the kingdom, and those who had not to migrate to and settle where there was peace and plenty, till the bad times were over.²⁸

THE STATEMENT OF MEGASTHENES REGARDING THE ABSENCE OF FAMINE EXAMINED

From the above it is clear that the Buddhist India was much disturbed by occasional outbreaks of famine and that elaborate measures were adopted to check them. Megasthenes remarks 'In addition to cereals there grows throughout India much millet which is kept well watered by the profusion of river streams and much pulse of different sorts and rice also and what is called *bosporum* as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.²⁹ The fact probably is that the famous Greek traveller visited India at a time when the land was flowing with milk and honey and the memories of famines had almost completely died out. This material prosperity was due partially to the Mauryan system of Government,

16. *Arthashastra* II 24 p. 144

17. X 93 13 the reference is directly to ghatyanta. The original runs thus *vavarta yesam rayā yukasaṁ līlanyay nēmadhā na paumsya vriheve v slāmā*. (Sayana comments *vistām ā vyapāva anā vriheva yatha ghatyanta mla tad ad yarthah*). In another passage we come across the *kucakra* which according to Zimmer (Alt indisches Leben, 137) implies a wheel for raising water from a well. The *Vedc* text runs *hus par vriheva pat vidyamānatp pyānā kucak ena s tēana esa sṣā c drathya jāyema sumangalam s navadastu slām*. *Rg Veda* A 102 11

18. *Arthashastra*, III 9 p. 216 Compare also *Collivagga* I 13 2.

19. *Fausboll, Jātaka* no 199 *tadā pana an ovasse vesu nīha esu chātakam ahoṣ sas anām gāv āga lānakalo jāto sakalaṁ āma s no 10 māsad ayena sassam uddharit ā vīm dassamā i phato hut ā gamabbhayanakassa bahihato cka i jaragonam gahetvā mamam khād msu*.

20. *Arthashastra* II 1 p. 52

21. *Arthashastra* II 1 p. 52 IV 3 p. 262

22. *Id* II 15 p. 115 I IV 3 p. 262

23. *Id* IV 3 p. 263

24. *Arthashastra* IV 3 p. 63

25. *Id* IV 3 p. 263.

26. *Id* IV 3 p. 263

27. *Arthashastra* IV 3 p. 263

28. *Divyavadāna* 133 *yesam to dvadasavars kam*

bhaktam as tāh sthātabyam yesam nāst te yathes tam gacchantu, — *i gatadurbh kṣabhayā subh kṣe punarāpya upagām syāt*

29. Megasthenes (McCordle) Fragment I p 31 32

and partially, as Megasthenes says, to the "usage observed by the Indians which contributes to prevent the occurrence of famine among them, for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the

soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."³⁰

30 Megasthenes (McCrindle), Fragment I, p. 33

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

1 **MAN AND MACHINE POWER IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION**, by Capt J W Petavel, R E (Retd) with a Foreword by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C. S. I. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1918

This book is the outcome of a series of lectures on the subject of educational colonies delivered by Capt. Petavel in the Calcutta University under the auspices of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who introduces the subject to the public in a brief Foreword. Through the untiring and self-sacrificing efforts of Capt. Petavel and his English colleague, Mr J B Pennington, the general idea of such colonies has now become pretty familiar to the educated classes of all countries. The plan is to found self-supporting educational institutions aiming at giving theoretical *cum* practical training in the different branches of industry, beginning with agriculture and allied industries. At first the colonies would have to be subsidised as they would admit only the younger members of the community, whose labour would be easy to manipulate though not economically remunerative but by and by as the colonies became self-supporting and proved their utility they would draw to themselves adult members of both sexes.

Capt Petavel is of opinion that most of the evils of the present economic order—such as unemployment, cut-throat competition, and consequent low wages and a low standard of living—result from the demand for commodities not keeping pace with the enormous productive power of modern industrialised communities. The remedy lies in the workers ceasing to produce for the market as they have been doing under the existing individualist regime, and producing all the main necessities of life for themselves in co-operative associations of the educational colonies type. Thus they would combine the best points of socialism and co-operation and make sure though slow progress towards a more rational order of things. A more opportune moment for the realisation of this scheme when the question of the profitable employment of millions of demobilised soldiers—many of whom are skilled workmen and would make excellent teachers in the educational colonies—is racking the brains of statesmen in all countries would never arrive. In fact the author

boldly prophesies that unless some such constructive scheme of reform is adopted without delay, the whole of the present unstable social order is bound to come tumbling down like a house of cards in the face of the active hostility of the working classes to whom the war has acted as a great eye-opener.

The colonies are intended primarily for the benefit of the so-called working classes. They will not exercise any direct influence upon the problem of middle class unemployment which has become so acute in many parts of India today. There are also likely to be difficulties in the way of their successful application to the working classes. The analogy of the Swiss colony, whose example the author is never tired of citing does not seem to us to be generally applicable. The colonies will require large working capitals to start with which will have to be subsidised privately, in many cases without hope of immediate or adequate return, and what the author considers to be a most essential feature of his scheme, viz., that the colonies should as a rule admit only boys and immature persons at first, is itself sure to militate against their economic success and stability. Whether they can ultimately become so prosperous as to be able to wipe out the deficits of the early stages of their growth remains to be seen.

2 **A PROPOSAL FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY**, by Anukul Chandra Ray, Manager, Ward's Estates, Comilla

The author's thesis is that the establishment of co-operative credit societies has given the ryots access to cheap money, but they do not know how to utilise it. The Agricultural Department cannot reach the individual ryot. So the establishment of Agricultural Associations all over the country for the improvement of the economic, moral, educational, and sanitary conditions of the agriculturists' life is a great desideratum. For the useful work of these Associations sufficient funds could be obtained from local cesses supplemented by subscriptions, subventions from the Government and District Boards, and other local sources of income such as pound and ferry fees, etc. Such associations exist in many countries and are doing very useful work.

3 **THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL INDIA**, being the report of an article by S. Indrasimhaiah,

M.A., B.L., from the 'East and West' of July, 1918

The author argues that while industrial conditions everywhere are undergoing rapid transformation demanded by time, India alone continues to live her life of unchanged old world simplicity and ease. But the days of simple living and high thinking are gone, never to return. In rural as in the order of the day, and if India wants to live and thrive in these days of hard competition and world strife she must do as the progressive nations of the world are doing. Agriculture can no longer give adequate or secure subsistence to her large and ever increasing population, as the war has clearly demonstrated. A great industrial revival has become a *sine qua non* for her continued existence. If proof were needed of her capacity for such a development it is offered by the history of her past industrial greatness. What she lacks to-day is the will to develop and the people lack this will as much as the Government.

Mr. Ambravaneswar is, like the majority of Indian economists a follower of the German economist List. He believes in Protection. "Free trade is suitable and beneficial only when a certain stage of industrial development has been reached and until then protection is necessary and justifiable," he says. State aid is also necessary for the supply of a properly trained labour force, expert entrepreneurs, adequate and cheap transport, proper banking facilities and an acceptable and automatic currency system. An industrial revival need not lead to the total disappearance of cottage industries if care is taken to improve them by the establishment of Co-operative Societies among the cottage workers.

4 DEBT REDEMPTION AMONG THE URBAN LABOURING CLASSES by Gopal Krishna Devadhar, M.A. A Paper read before the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference, 1914.

Till recently, the Co-operative Credit movement in India has been confined to the rural classes. Little or no attempt was made to extend its benefits to the working classes of our great industrial centres, though their need for cheap credit is no less acute than that of the majority of our agricultural population. A welcome departure in this direction has been made in the Bombay Presidency and a number of Credit Societies has been started by Mr. Devadhar of the servants of India Society and a few other public-spirited gentlemen. Though the movement is still in its infancy it already shows great promise of success. A strong committee has been formed to supervise the work and Mr. Devadhar is the Organising Secretary. The pamphlet under review records the progress made up to August, 1914. We heartily support the author's appeal for funds (for which a high rate of interest is paid) and personal service, which such a movement fully deserves.

P. C. BANERJEE.

ELEMENTARY PHYSICS AN EXPERIMENTAL COURSE FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS. By H. E. H. Pratt, M.A., I.E.S., Inspector of Science Teaching in the Bombay Presidency, 1918. Cr. Sto., 180 pages. Price Rs. 16.

The author tells us in the Preface that "experimental work in science presents special difficulties in India. Very few schools have either good laboratories or sufficient apparatus. Neither have they the money to spend on these things. Yet elementary science,

worth teaching at all, must be taught experimentally. In the following pages the aim of the author has been to provide a simple experimental course financially within the reach of any school." We agree with the author in his remarks regarding the necessity of experimental teaching in physical science, and the pecuniary difficulties which confront the majority of our schools. It is said that Bengal lags behind the other provinces in introducing physical science in schools, because it cannot afford the money needed. In the opinion of the author "for about a thousand rupees enough apparatus can be provided for every boy in the school for classes of twenty to be taken at a time and for every boy to work separately when necessary." Though this sum is too large for many schools it is not money but the correct educational ideal that is wanting. For, given a teacher of the right type and facilities in the way of accommodation and time table, much experimental work may be carried on even in remote village schools at an almost nominal cost. The author recommends, for instance, a balance worth about Rs. 7, capable of weighing up to 50 grams with small loads and standing the rough handling by school boys. If every boy has to be provided with a balance of this type, the cost for a class of twenty will amount to a pretty large sum. One way of reducing the cost is to supply half the number. But this will certainly hamper the general work of the class unless the teacher is fully competent to distribute it. The other way is to have still cheaper balances. The writer of this review in his younger days converted an apothecary's hand scale costing Rs. 2-8 (with weights) into a good serviceable balance on a pillar of brass rod, capable of weighing up to 500 grams. The suspending stirrup was soldered to the brass rod, and a thin brass strip carefully notched at equal intervals throughout the whole length was attached to the ends of the iron beam with solder. There was also a long index of brass wire. The whole balance was the work of three or four afternoons. Messrs. Gallenkamp and Co., of London sell what they call Grace's attachment (for rider) made on the same principle. It appears possible to have similar balances made by scientific instrument makers sensitive to one hundredth of a gram at a cost, say, Rs. 60 per dozen. The fact is, very few teachers bestow any thought on devising cheap yet substantial apparatus for students' use, because finished articles of European manufacture though expensive are ready at hand.

A glance at the contents of the book shows that the author has described in as few words as possible 135 experiments covering the whole range of elementary physics except sound and statistical electricity. Many experiments are adaptations of those usually found in books written as practical guides, but some show ingenuity. The notes on the fittings and the management of a school laboratory are no less instructive. The book will serve the purpose of a hand book on practical work and will be found useful to teachers. The Bombay Presidency is to be congratulated upon having an enthusiastic Inspector with ideas who considers it a part of his duty to devise ways and means and undertakes to show how science teaching in schools may be made efficient.

At the same time we cannot refrain from asking the question whether the author has not attempted to teach too much, and whether he has sufficiently realised the language difficulty of our boys. The Syllabus of Studies prescribed for schools in the Bombay Presidency is not before us. Nor do we know whether a course of chemistry, albeit shorter, is

included. There are certainly other subjects which the boys have to learn. In the circumstances it is questionable how far this course of physics has been judiciously framed. Allowing two years for this course, 135 experiments requiring perhaps 135 hours appear to us too many. They are no doubt easy but time limit is an important item in schools. Besides, it is the *experimental method* and not so much the facts themselves which are educative. The British people have not been able to discard their old unscientific system of measurement, and the Indian boy has to learn this as well as the metric system which has no practical application in life except in higher studies. He cannot, however, ignore the indigenous system which serves him in daily life. Think of the mental toil of the young boy who is forced by circumstances to be acquainted with the three systems! It no doubt sharpens his mathematical intellect but tends to make his knowledge unreal. What a tremendous sacrifice he makes when he has to thread his way into the domain of knowledge through the insuperable barrier of a difficult foreign tongue. The false analogy of English boys learning a great deal more than our Indian boys has wrought many a mischief in the school and college curriculum of this country. We hope the learned author who is fortunately also the judge will kindly tell us how far his book practically meets with success.

J. C. RAI

THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA, by V. A. Smith. *Seventh Edition Revised and enlarged, with 14 maps and 34 illustrations (Oxford)*

The book written and published in 1908 was designed as mentioned in the preface to the 7th edition, 'primarily to meet the wants of students preparing for the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University'. Though the scope of the book has been extended far beyond that limit, the volume should be judged as a text book meant for Indian students of the age of 15 or 16. How far our students of that age have the capacity of assimilating such a bewildering variety of concrete facts as we find in Mr. Smith's book, is a question which has not yet troubled the omniscient syllabus makers of the University and we cannot expect Mr. Smith to bother his head about it. But the fact remains unchallenged that Clio, the Muse of History is losing her votaries year after year and History is gradually becoming a positive horror with the examinees. For that sublime achievement we must also congratulate the august examiners, ploughing students with relentless justice reflected from the numbered papers of essential points supplied by the Head Examiner! No wonder that the poor examinees prepare tabloids of possible questions and pillules of the mangled limbs of Clio to overcome the enjoyable examination *ague* of March.

Such an abnormal state of historical study would have been cured had more emphasis been laid on the general development of the Historic Personality of India rather than on the detailed enumeration (and compulsory memorising) of isolated events. The students now can recapitulate the points in one breath but they miss the historical perspective totally. The surfeit of the concrete is narrowing their mind, ruining their human appetite and crippling their historical imagination. The best cure for it would be a healthy stress on the biological rather than on the morphological aspect of history. That presupposes a synthetic vision of the entire history

of a nation in the author of the historical text book and genuine sympathy with the people. Some Indian scholar, like Mr. K. P. Jayaswal should take it up. Mr. V. A. Smith is an ideal compiler and as such he has managed to bring forward an ideal text book of the morphological school. Here he is easily the first in the field and other rival matriculation text books simply pale into insignificance by the side of its wealth of detail, lucidity of style and thoroughness of presentation.

THE INTERMEDIATE TEXT BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION by Prof. A. D. Dhopsharkar, M.A., LL.B. (Karachi)

This compilation proposes to cover the Intermediate History syllabus of the Bombay University. The scope of the syllabus we suppose, is the slow and, at the first stage, almost impenetrable infiltration of the West in the soil of Indian history and the consequent growth of a new polity, new culture and new atmosphere in the course of four centuries starting from 1002 when Pope Alexander VI constituted the King of Portugal Lord of Navigation, Conquest and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India. This stupendous phenomenon of Indian history requires very delicate handling. The records are so copious and authorities so conflicting that mere enumeration or compilation is sure to produce a highly narrow and partial interpretation unless checked at every step by the regulative idea of organic historical evolution. That is the thing which we generally miss in a compilation like this and here the craftsman is not so much to blame as the inherent limitation of his tools. The author is very painstaking and up-to-date utilising every state record down to the Lingtong Commission Report and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. But his attitude is thoroughly mechanistic. Hence he describes and not without justification, the New Polity as a magnificent machine forged for the administration of the country. We totally miss the redeeming features of the delineation of the New Culture and the New Atmosphere which are no less important to young students of history. With the exception of certain occasional and rather unfortunate excursions into the domain of historical generalisations, it is a good compilation and should be used as such by students.

KALHAN

AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, by Pandurang Damodar Gune, M.A. (Bombay), Ph.D. (Lip-ig), Professor of Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona. *Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 13 Shukra var, Poona City, 1918. Price Rs. 3*

This is a book which will be given a cordial reception by all interested in philological studies, as it removes a long felt want. Comparative Philology has been introduced into the curriculum for some of the language examinations in the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Students of Indo-Aryan Philology in this country were put to great difficulties through the want of a good hand book on the subject. Barring the Wilson Philological Lectures of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, which have been published in book form only in 1914, there was no work to meet the requirements of our students most of whom study Comparative Philology as part of their Sanskrit course. The standard works of Beane and Hoernle are on the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and as such they have only a special appeal

Besides they are rather antiquated. The results of recent investigations into the history of language, particularly of the Indo-Germanic languages, are enshrined in works in German and other continental languages for which reason the study of Philology is beset with difficulties for the average Indian student. There are a few excellent books on general Philology and on Indo-Germanic Philology in English too, but these are with reference mainly to the languages of Europe modern and classical and thus considerably diminishes their value for the Indian student when he is not studying Teutonic or classical Philology. In his Foreword Dr Gupte sufficiently indicates the need of a book like the present one. The publication is extremely opportune, and the author deserves the thanks of all students for it.

The work under review is in five parts—Part I on the general Principles of Philology, the more important of which are discussed with as fulness as the narrow margin of 80 pages permits. The author undoubtedly was handicapped by considerations of space; but a more thorough treatment of the principles of Phonetics and of the more important Phonetic Laws would have added greatly to the value of the work. In Part II the different linguistic families are considered, together with the main points in the linguistic paleontology of the primitive Indo-Germans. Part III is taken up with the Indo-Iranian or Aryan group. The Vedic is compared with the Avestan and with the classical Indo-Germanic speeches of the other branches in its phonology and its morphology. The results of the latest researches in Indo-Germanic Philology are brought for the first time before the Indian student in a very convenient form. Part IV presents a very well ordered resume of the linguistic history of India in the early Prakrit period and gives a good account of the peculiarities of the other Prakrits—Pali and the dialects of the older inscriptions. The last Part is in two sections—(1) the Literary Prakrits and (2) the Vernaculars. The plan of this part is necessarily on the model of the treatment of the same subjects by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, but we wish there was some account of the Apabhramsa dialects in Dr Gupte's book. The section on the Modern Vernaculars is rather meagre, as these are disposed of in only 30 pages. It seems that this part has been rather hastily done. But that is immaterial, as the broad lines of linguistic development are sufficiently clearly indicated and the student who specialises in vernacular philology has Beames, Hoernle, Trumpp, Kellogg, Bhandarkar, Grierson, Tassitori, and others to fall back upon. The importance of Dr Gupte's work lies in the fact that it is the first up-to-date hand book on Indo-Aryan Philology, which includes a treatment both of the general principles of Linguistics and of the special lines of development of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India from the primitive Indo-Germanic. A work like this should be speedily recognised by our universities by being prescribed as a text book.

There is room for improvement however, as there is in every work when it is published for the first time. We would suggest that a note on the pronunciation of the Avestan and Old Persian, Greek Latin and Gothic words be given in the next edition for the benefit of students who receive no tutorial assistance. This could be advantageously treated under Phonetics. Again, Greek words might be given in roman characters—the practice of printing them in Greek characters has nothing but usage to recommend it. Hopp used Devanagari, Avesta and other characters. Wright in his Comparative Grammar of

the Semitic Languages employed a variety of alphabets—Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic. One alphabet, the roman has now been fully substituted for all these in philological works, there is no reason why we should stick to the Greek letters especially when the roman ones are so similar. In the Greek words as printed in Dr Gupte's book, the medial form of the lower case sigma has been used for the final one—a very inelegant typographical deviation which is perhaps due to the want of proper types, but which it may be hoped will be removed in the next edition, if the Greek characters are retained. In that case a table of Greek letters with roman equivalents will be desirable. A few misprints in the vernacular words require to be corrected in the next edition. Otherwise the printing and general set-up are excellent, and the author and the publishers are to be congratulated for having brought out so useful a work in such a handsome shape.

FOLK ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE: A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIO-RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN HINDU FOLK INSTITUTIONS. by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., assisted by Hemendra Kurar, B.A. (Bhawanin). Longmans Green and Co., 1917.

The scope of the work, as the author tells us in the Preface, is mainly a study of the relations between Shaivism-Shaktism and Buddhism, both descriptive and historical obtaining among the Bengali speaking population of Eastern India. The title of the work therefore does not suggest the actual subject treated in it—it would seem somewhat to mislead the reader. The author gives a descriptive account of the popular Shaiva festival of Gambhira or Gajan, which is current among the Hindus of Bengal and attempts to trace the origin and history of that festival. The connection between the decaying Mahayana Buddhism and the vigorous Shaiva and other Puranic cults, which gave birth to neo-Bengal Hinduism the influence of a transformed Buddhist Dharma in modelling the present-day folk religion of Bengal the result of the early impact of the Bengali mind with Islam, and the social life of the people of Bengal when a new Bengali speaking Hindu nation was in the making—these are among other topics dealt with in the work. Much of it however looks like a *rechauffe* or at the best an English adaptation of a valuable monograph, in Bengali on the Gambhira by Babu Haridas Palit, acknowledgements to whose labours are made by Mr Sarkar himself. Works by other Indian scholars in English and in Bengali have been amply drawn upon, and the author takes care to mention on them in his preface and in footnotes. Mr Sarkar brings in his own speculations regarding the historical aspect of the question, and regarding the inter relation of the different cults which have been welded into one form by the people of Bengal under the inspiration of Puranic Hinduism. The author has laid stress on the scriptural religions—Mahayana Buddhism and Puranic Hinduism—rather than on the ethnic side—the real folk aspect of the question. Bengalis of the present day, like most peoples are a mixed race, which is composed of Dravidian, Koli and Moniher, Tibeto-Burman and Aryan elements. Much that is in Hindu culture—much of the 'folk-element' in Hindu culture—necessarily had its source in ideas and institutions which were current among the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples—ideas and institutions to which the key is now lost and which have been sought to pass for Aryan by Hindu and Buddhist labels being put on them. A study of Hindu institu-

tions with reference to the non-Aryan question can only be properly designated a study of the folk element in them. But so far only a few books on the folk or indigenous element in Hindu religion have been written, mostly with reference to the Dravidian element. We may mention Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India* and W. T. Elmore's *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*. In Bengal we shall have to consider the contribution of the Tibeto-Burmans in the Northern and Eastern districts, and of the Kols in the Western districts besides that of the Dravidians, if we are to study the folk-element in our culture at its roots. A mere description and comparison of the derived cults, in their transformed and Aryanised shape do not go deep enough nor does an attempt at reconstruction of their history in the light of Sanskrit scriptures. But this is a new field and workers with proper equipment there are few or none, to unravel the mystery of Bengali origins racial, linguistic, social and religious. We require first a number of scholars like Sarat Chandra Roy who is so great a student of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, to turn their attention to the contribution of the various Aryanised non-Aryans towards the evolution of the modern Bengali culture and modern Bengali society, before a study of the true 'folk element' can be taken in hand.

Mr Sarkar's work runs to over 300 pages of which some 50 are taken up with two very detailed indices. It seems he tends to be a bit prolix and rambling too, occasionally and his anxiety to impress his reader with a feeling of reverence for India and Indian institutions makes itself apparent even though it is under restraint. As I have said before, much of the book is a *resume* in English of the views of Indian scholars on these topics. But it is a very good *resume*, eminently readable and informative and a great deal of the information it gives to the non-Bengali reader is not to be had elsewhere in English. As such, every student of our social and cultural history should do well to read this work. Mr Sarkar following Mr Palit and others has attempted to reconstruct the social and religious conditions of the Bengali people of the time when Buddhistic, Brahmanic and other ideas were in the melting pot—to be compounded and crystallised into the modern Hinduism of Bengal, with its various sects and its numerous gods and goddesses. There are books on Bengali social history in the vernacular, which are mostly collections of traditions which the compilers have sought to illumine with the light of their imagination. Mr Sarkar and his co-authors may be said to have attempted to indicate the broad lines of Bengali life and thought in their formative period, and their basis is rightly enough the old literature and the folk institutions and cults of the land. I think this is the first systematic attempt of its kind in Bengal. Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen of the Calcutta University is engaged on a series of papers on the *Forces in the Development of Early Bengali Life and Literature* which will form the subject of his lectures as Ramanuj Lahiri Research Fellow next year. The material at the command of a veteran scholar like the Rai Sahib is undoubtedly greater than what Mr Sarkar, working outside India, could gather, more so when Mr Sarkar has not considered the Vaishnava cult and its vast literature. We shall see with interest how far Mr Sarkar and Mr Sen will be in agreement with each other in their views regarding the social and religious life of the Bengalis when they rise for the first time as a nation with a speech and a mentality of their own. The question

of the folk element in Bengali society and religion is of ethnological interest and importance, and it will be done by scholars yet to come.

Mr Sarkar has appended an elaborate list of works relating to India and Hindu Culture which, though not exactly of the nature of a bibliography relative to the topic, will give them who are interested, especially foreigners an impetus to know more of our country, and will act as a valuable guide in formation of a good Indian library.

S. K. C.

SANSKRIT.

SREEMAD BHAGABAD GEETA. *Published by Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras. Cloth bound Annas 12 only.*

This neatly printed and well bound volume contains the original slokas of the Geeta with a full index of them. This edition will be of great help for reference work, as the index has made it an easy task to find out any sloka if one can but remember the first word of it. We are really very glad to have it and so shall be every one who ever will buy a copy.

C. B.

BENGALI.

HERPHER—A NOVEL, by Babu Charuchandra Bandyopadhyay. *Published by Babu Sarosh Chandra Banerji. Price Re 1 12 1/2*

Since the days of Bankimchandra Chatterji, we have had quite an enormous output of romantic novels in Bengali literature. The tendencies of this form of fiction are still ahead—the highly coloured, rhetorical cast of style, the ceaseless melodrama full of the stagiest clap-trap, the unpsychological presentations of human character, the frothy foam of impassioned lyric expressions, the amorous-sentimentalitudinising moods—but happily, the realistic impulse in the art of fiction is bringing about a reaction against the above tendencies of romanticism. Among the successors of Rabindranath Tagore the writers of fiction who are coming into the forefront, are now distinguished by the more enduring qualities of fidelity to truth, psychological insight, absence of rhetorical devices and melodramatic attempts. They may be less 'catching', but certainly more enduring by the one great quality they possess—the sense of the real. Babu Saratchandra Chatterji and Babu Charuchandra Banerji are the two realistic writers of fiction noteworthy in spite of all limitations and faults for having given our literature some narratives of actual life, of the abiding interest underlying the trivial details of everyday life raised into dramatic possibilities. Sarat Babu has given forth a richness and a variety thrilling with life. He is coarse, but coarse like the earth, lacking indeed in refined subtleties but plunging headlong into the seamiest sickenest life. Charu Babu is less rich and varied, more inclined to the portraiture of 'higher' life. But at the same time, his sympathies are thrown with the squalid and the miserable sides of life. He discovers wonderful pathos and tenderness, dignity and forbearance, in a world where poverty and misery might have crushed out these finest flowers of the human mind for good and all.

'Herpher' is a realistic novel—taken from the student life of Bengal and showing in the character of the hero, Sisir, the possibilities of sturdy manhood and of pathetic tenderness in the midst of tragic pain.

that might be found among the poverty stricken, unhappy life of the student living in constant indignities. His tender relations with the women—the wife and the mother of his friend and afterwards enemy, Rajat, the rich fellow-student, and with the daughter of a harlot with whom he fell in love—have been depicted to be the real forces that led to his soul uplift, the sturdy forbearance of his character. The dramatic possibilities of some of the women characters, especially of the two, Sandhya the wife of his friend, and Bidyut, his beloved woman have been left in the lurch. Consequently, the character of the former has been a little unnatural while of the latter a little over romantic. Sandhya might have been another 'Diana of the Crossways' of Meredith in an eastern atmosphere and colouring while Bidyut might have been an 'Elena of Turgenev' more complex and subtle and less melodramatic. But these defects do not mar the impression of the book which is refreshing, delightful and animating all throughout. I hope the reading public will give it a warm reception which it eminently deserves.

AJIT K. CHAKRAVARTY
GUJARATI

NAYAN LOKE GIT (नयन लोक गीत) by Mulji Dullji bhaji Ved published by Mrs. Devkibai Mulji Ved Bombay Pp 13 Paper cover Unpriced (1918)

This little pamphlet contains little songs in which the writer sings of the duties of Indians, their patriotism and their awakening. Some of them are very well adapted to collective singing and in that way impress with greater force on the minds of the hearers the commendable sentiments they express.

BIL SHIKSHANA (बिल शिक्षण) by Mrs G K Upadhyaya published by the Bhagini Samaj Bombay Paper cover pp 95 Price Rs 6 (1918)

Originally a prize essay and being written by a woman it very well sets out the chief parts in the education of a child. It is divided into thirty seven chapters and each one of them bears on some phase of child life regarding which useful instructions have been given.

SEOTASWINI (सोतास्विनी), by Damodar Khushaldas Boladkar, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Paper cover, pp 122 Price Rs 12 (1918)

About six years ago a collection of poems called सोतास्विनी brought into publicity the merits of Mr. Boladkar. The present collection marks an advance in so far as the ideas expressed in the poems appear to be maturer. To one who has raised himself from a school teachership by means of self-culture to the position of a poet, esteemed and admired by many friends (vide his preface), the situation is no doubt worth congratulating oneself upon. The poems themselves breathe sincerity in every verse; there is no artificial slant about the sentiments nor their expression. He expresses what he feels, and he expresses that with a directness which leaves no room for misapprehension. On the whole the collection invites perusal, and as a result of the perusal is bound to give pleasure.

LALIT NAI KAVYO (ललित नायक कव्यो), published by Ramanyaram Govardhanram Tripathi, Bombay

Cloth cover, with a photograph of the poet: pp. 136 Price Rs 1.

'Lalit' is the nom de plume of Jasmashanker Mahashanker Buch, whose poems and songs have so long delighted the people of Gujarat and Kathiawad. While reviewing the first edition of the collection of his poems, which have reached in this book a second edition we have already remarked on their sweetness and innocence, and above all, the delight that they radiate, particularly when sung by the author himself to the accompaniment of the little pair of brass cymbals he carries with him. His poems, even when they do not relate to Bhakti or a cognate subject, always remind one of the Bhajans sung by the wandering minstrels of Kathiawad, on account of their language, and a certain inimitable trick of provincialism special to natives of Kathiawad. 'Lalit's' performances are sure to live long.

GI LAXGIRI NO GUJAR (गुजराती गीत) by Mrs. Vimala Selalwad published by Ramanyaram Govardhanram Tripathi, Bombay Cloth bound, illustrated, pp 245. Price Rs 2-0-0 (1918)

This book and the preceding one owe their publication to the enterprise of young Mr. Tripathi, who has shown an admirable public spirit in thus encouraging their authors in these war times. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin needs no introduction and Mrs. Vimala's translation certainly does not detract from the deserved merits of the original. Accompanied as it is with the life story of Mrs. Stowe and good illustrations, we are sure that the book would find many readers. The translation is not a slavish adherence to the text or a word for word one but a judicious reproduction of the ideas of the original writer in simple Gujarati, and in that respect a model one. We think there is no need to have a literal translation of the book after this, for it seems that the present translator considers that to be a desideratum.

SRASHTI NI UTPATTI (स्रष्टीची उत्पत्ति) by Kallianrai N. Joshi, B.A., published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Bhandal Committee. Thick card board slightly illustrated, pp 222, Price Rs 14 (1918)

Prof. Robert MacMillan's 'The Origin of the Word' published by the Rationalist Press Association is the basis of Mr. Joshi's book. The subject is interesting and the translator being himself a science man has been able to conserve the interest, which alone can attract a lay mind to instruct itself in such matters. We think the book well written.

K. M. J.

MARATHI BOOKS.

1. THOR VIBHUTINCHYA SURAS KATHA (थोर विभूतिंच्या सुरस कथा) or Pretty Tales of Heroes, by Mr. N. A. Oke M.A. Teacher, Training College for Men, Poona and Ed. Pp 100 Price Rs 10

This is a free rendering into Marathi of Miss Charlotte Young's well known English book of Golden Deeds, which has run into several editions. The Marathi translation too is an interesting reading and is an altogether creditable production. The author can easily find a sufficient number of striking

and instructive stories of Indian heroism to fill a volume, I hope he will write such a volume. We should not be guilty of any omission which may create in the minds of young Indian readers a false impression that there is nothing in Indian history comparable with the noble deeds recorded in Miss Young's charming book.

2. HINDUSTANI BHASHA SHIKSHAK (हिंदुस्तानी भाषाशिक्षक) or 'the Hindustani Teacher' by Mr S. W. Paranjpe, Pp 64 Price As 6

The growing desire of Maratha youths to learn other Indian vernaculars besides their own is a healthy sign of the growth of India's unity. We have had till now books affording facilities for learning Bengali, Kanarese and Gujarathi. A book

professing to teach Hindi or Hindustani through the medium of Marathi was a long felt want. It is supplied to some extent by the present book. It is however a very meagre production. Such books should be so planned as to embody all the requirements of beginners so as to enable them to dispense with the aid of teachers. Little in this direction has been attempted in this book. Besides it is full of mistakes grammatical and otherwise. For instance even a beginner of Hindi knows that in the conjugation of Hindi verbs *दे* in the plural is written *दे*—a rule so simple and well known that it is always accompanied by an *anuswar* and is a wonder how a person professing to be a teacher of Hindi could ignore it.

V G APTE

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Art and Literature in Bengal.

In the course of a very ably written article appearing in *Arya* for October dealing with the renaissance in India, the literary and artistic progress of Bengal has thus been estimated:

Bengal has already a considerable literature of importance, with a distinct spirit and form, well based and always developing, she has now a great body of art original, inspired, full of delicate beauty and vision. Especially the art of the Bengal painters is very significant, more so even than the prose of Bankim or the poetry of Tagore. Bengali poetry has had to feel its way and does not seem yet quite definitely to have found it, but Bengal art has found its way at once at the first step, by a sort of immediate intuition.

Partly, this is because the new literature began in the period of foreign influence and of an indecisive groping, while art in India was quite silent,—except for the preposterous Ravi Varma interlude which was doomed to sterility by its absurdly barren incompetence—began in a moment of self recovery and could profit by a clearer possibility of light. But besides, plastic art is in itself by its very limitation, by the narrower and intense range of its forms and motives often more decisively indicative than the more fluid and variable turns of literary thought and expression. Now the whole power of the Bengal artists springs from their deliberate choice of the spirit and hidden meaning in this rather than their form and surface meaning as the object to be expressed. It is intuitive and its forms are the very rhythm of its intuition, they have little to do with the metric formalities devised by the observing intellect, it leans over the finite to discover its suggestions of the infinite and inexpressible, it turns to outward life and nature to find upon it hues and colours, rhythms and embodiments which will be significant of the other life and

other nature than the physical which all that is merely outward conceals. This is the eternal motive of Indian art, but applied in a new way less largely ideal, mythological and symbolical, with a more delicately suggestive attempt at a near, subtle, direct embodiment. This art is a true new creation.

Poetry and literature in Bengal have gone through two distinct stages and seem to be preparing for a third of which one cannot quite foresee the character. It began with a European and mostly an English influence a taking in of fresh poetical and prose forms, literary ideas, artistic canons. It was a period of copious and buoyant creation which produced number of poets and poetesses, one or two of great genius, others of a fine poetic capacity, much work of beauty and distinction. Its work was not at all crudely imitative, the foreign influences are everywhere visible, but they are assimilated, not merely obeyed or aped. The quality of the Bengali temperament and its native æsthetic turn took hold of them and poured them into a mould of speech suitable to its own spirit. But still the substance was not quite native to the soul and therefore one feels a certain void in it. The form and expression have the peculiar grace and the delicate plastic beauty which Bengali poetical expression achieved from its beginning, but the thing expressed does not in the end amount to very much.

That period is long over it has lived its time and its work has taken its place in the past of the literature. Two of its creators, one, the sovereign initiator of its prose expression supreme by combination of original mentality with a flawless artistic gift, the other born into its last glow of productive brilliance, but outliving it to develop another strain and a profounder voice of poetry released the real soul of Bengal into expression. The work of Bankim Chandra is now of the past, because it has entered already into the new mind of Bengal which it did more than any other literary influence to form, the work of Rabindranath still largely holds the present,

but it has opened ways for the future which promise to go beyond it. Both show an increasing return to the Indian spirit in fresh forms; both are voices of the dawn, seek more than they find, suggest and are calling for more than they actually evoke. At present we see a fresh preparation, on one side evolving and promising to broaden out from the influence of Tagore, on the other in revolt against it and insisting on a more distinctively national type of inspiration and creation, but what will come out of it, is not yet clear. On the whole it appears that the movement is turning in the same direction as that of the new art, though with the more flexible utterance and varied motive natural to the spoken thought and expressive word.

Women—What They Can Do.

It is quite possible women understand more about themselves than men, and as such, the following observations on the true sphere of work of women, made by an Englishwoman in the pages of *East and West* for November are well worth our attention.

We must no longer talk of women as being weak and helpless, they are not so unless they wilfully take that position. They are on the contrary a great power for good or evil. Though they may elect to remain in the background they are often the motive power of great undertakings, they prompt and suggest and encourage. There are many who prefer thus to work out of the glare of the limelight, but they are none the less workers for man's betterment. Their unseen influence is enormous and to them is largely due the tone and colouring of the thought of the world in which they live, if they have the will and the wisdom to unite in the necessary effort, and know how to demonstrate that which they advocate, and are also tactful and reasonable, they will inspire others to help and develop themselves, and thus become starting points and fresh centres for a more rapid advance in man's evolution towards perfection.

Intellectual cleverness, much book learning do not appeal to a large number of women. It strikes chill on the heart sometimes, does it not my sisters? We want to feel the warm pulses of life, to pour love into the cold hard world, to apprehend the unspoken word—the whispers of the soul, to perceive the hidden troubles of the heart and administer the comfort of comprehending compassion, and it is just by these spiritual attributes that women wield their greatest power. It is because they are sensitive to atmosphere and vibration, because love backed by innate wisdom looks beneath the surface of men's lives and can touch wounds with gentle fingers, that women who have learnt to control their own particular weak points, may become most valuable assistants to men in the organisation and management of big reforms.

Tact and intuition which are supposed to be woman's prerogative and which are the outcome of a loving and sympathetic heart, whether in man or woman, will roll away more opposition and difficulty and be a greater force for good and finer progress than any amount of intellectual cleverness.

Things Are Not What They Seem.

The analogy of dust is brought forward whenever anything valueless mean or contemptible is mentioned. Insignificant as dust—that is a common saying. But this statement has no foundation on actual facts as the following extracts from an interesting article contributed to the *Educational Review* for September by F. D. Murad, will amply prove.

Cleanliness is a relative term, you can never have anything absolutely clean. There are always particles of matter—most of them barely visible to the naked eye while others are of microscopic and ultra microscopic dimensions—floating about in the air.

Ordinarily when we talk of very small dust particles, we do not judge how immensely big they really are as compared with the ultimate particles of matter called molecules. Imagine a tiny drop of water magnified to the size of our globe (the earth is as big as a sphere of 4000 miles radius) and its smallest particles or molecules also magnified proportionately, then these molecules in their immensely magnified condition will not be bigger than tennis balls. The smallest particles of dust visible to the eye must contain billions upon billions of such molecules and thus it is clear that there can be hosts of dust particles always present in the air which are permanently invisible to the eye on account of their extreme smallness.

We always talk of germs—the invisible microbes—as being very small, and indeed most of the germs are too small to be seen with the naked eye. But now that we have discussed the size of a molecule it is easy to realise that the ordinary microbe—invisible though to the naked eye—is still a gigantic object as compared with the individual numberless molecules of which it is composed. These germs are always present in the air of our rooms, floating about freely in our nostrils and mouth. The only sure means of escaping from them is to let them settle down on the floor. Now dusting a room with a broom or a napkin simply stirs up these invisible dust particles and spores ready to enter our breathing apparatus, hence paradoxical as it may appear, dusting a room with an ordinary broom is practically no good—a vacuum cleaner which simply sucks in the dust particles is much better.

Vast is the kingdom of dust! Unlike terrestrial kingdoms, it knows no limits. No oceans mark its boundaries, no mountains hem it in. In number, form and variety, they transcend all conceptions of the human mind. In shape, they comprise all possible forms. In position, they include every substance that is material. In condition, they are solid, liquid, vaporous and gaseous. They are with us in the quiet seclusion of our homes, in the busy streets and marts of commerce, on the sunlit crests of the snowy Himalayas—in short they are to be found everywhere. They come to us enshroued in the beautiful snow crystals and every drop of rain carries with it from the upper strata of the ocean of air some of these tiny subjects of the mighty kingdom of dust. The snow fields far above the snow line are always found covered with a coating of dust particles and it is the presence

of these tiny dust particles in the upper reaches of the atmosphere that gives us our beautiful azure skies. But for our atmosphere and the vast kingdom of dust we will have nothing but the deep darkness of space above our heads—there will be no sky and no celestial blue colour. The sky and its blue colour are simply optical phenomena depending upon the distribution of infinitesimally small particles scattered in the upper reaches of the atmosphere.

Every conceivable substance enters into the composition of dust. Have you ever pondered over the loss of nails and pins that are dropped on the ground and are never found again. Surely the earth does not swallow them. They are there, until their particles are scattered away by the slow but steady processes of abrasion and disintegration. Thus in street dust may be found bits of iron and steel from the tyres of wagons, horse shoes and the nails of our own footwear, links of leather from harness, fragments of wood, cotton, silk, gold, silver, copper, clothing, wool, hair, animal excreta and filth of every kind, papers, clay, sand, bacteria—in fact everything under the sun.

The amount of dust that falls is enormous. It has been calculated that the amount of dust that fell on the house tops of London in February 1891 amounted to more than a hundred and fifty maunds per square mile. This constant imperceptible shower of fine dust particles gains enormous proportions in the vicinity of active volcanoes. The volcanic dust that flew up into the upper regions of the atmosphere after the famous Kara Kato eruption, was so abundant that for several months afterwards the twilight (depending as it does, upon the presence of fine dust particles in the atmosphere) was exceptionally impressive and rich.

Millions are spent annually as a ransom to this mighty kingdom of dust, in order that its unwelcome ambassadors may take wings and fly away from our carpets, our books, our windows and our streets. Unfortunately they do not fly far, but settle down comfortably after a stirring sojourn with the duster, broom or other cleansing agent. The fight against dust is a continuous one, and must be fought over and over again.

The Ideal of Female Education in India.

The above theme has become a matter of constant discussion now a-days, and well it might be. What is unfortunate is that the discussion is carried on usually by men folk who, by the very fact of their being men, are not in a position to pass the final judgment on such a vital problem on which the advancement of our women depends. The education that is necessary for Indian women, the form and the method and everything connected with it, must be decided by women and women alone. Self-determination is the greatest message of modern times and Indian men who have so long played the overlord in all matters relating to women must no longer arrogate rights which do not belong to them. The only part that they can play in the matter of the education of women is very correctly set forth by Mr. Chamupati Rai in the course of an article contributed by him to the *Educational Review* for October. Says he:

Men of to-day have no right to dictate functions to the women of to-morrow. Any the greatest superiority in judgment that our brethren may claim over their unlettered sisters, will not enable them to make a correct estimate of the capacities of a sex whose very existence is cloaked in mystery. From the advantage we enjoy of an earlier start, our sisters will, for some time to come, be in a state of tutelage to us. After that, they must judge for themselves. Woman married institutions are bound to be a feature of the future age—institutions woman dreamt and woman worked. To us, the education of women is a temporary trust. Our present ideal should be to train our sisters to a comprehension of their own problem. Such curricula should be introduced as will extend their mental vision, while a tone may be given to their institutions which shall help them in realising the immense power which woman wields.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of India

Under the above heading *The Times* (London) discusses in its columns the joint report of the Secretary of State and Viceroy of India regarding constitutional changes in the administration of India. After paying a fine compliment to the authors of the Report by saying that "no

more able State Paper has been submitted in our time to the people of this country in regard to Indian affairs," *The Times* gloats over the fact that

It does not disguise either the magnitude or the difficulties of the task—the profound ignorance of the enormous majority of the population whose horizon is confined to the village fields whence they draw their penurious livelihood, the deep lines of

racial, religious, and social cleavage, the traditions of inherited hostility, still dangerously explosive between the different communities especially between Hindus and Moslems, the political inertia of all but the numerically very small classes that have been drawn within the orbit of Western education; and, on the other hand the potency, for good and, unfortunately, also for evil of the ferment which Western education has introduced.

All these vital factors in the problem are set forth on the whole very fairly. Nor is any attempt made to cast the blame for the more disquieting features of the situation upon the system of government or upon its agents, whose efficiency and integrity and high standards of duty receive full and well deserved recognition. The whole structure and machinery of government and administration are reviewed with great insight and full appreciation of the admirable results achieved. It is not in any definite breakdown of the system, nor in the vain hope of stirring the masses out of their quiescent conservatism nor in the mere expediency of disarming by reasonable concessions the growing unrest among an educated minority, that the authors of the report seek the justification of the far-reaching constitutional changes embodied in their proposals. Our reason they say frankly is the faith that is in us. They claim to have been able to show how step by step British policy in India has been steadily directed to a point at which the question of a self-governing India was bound to arise how impulses at first faint have been encouraged by education and opportunity, how the growth quickened nine years ago—when the Morley Minto reforms were enacted—and was immeasurably accelerated by the war. It is in this spirit, we believe, that the British people will be most inclined to study the report and to assent to its general conclusions.

The jingo paper then sums up with this oft repeated cant:

The report clearly shows and states emphatically that, while self government must henceforth be the goal of British policy in India it can only be reached by gradual and experimental stages. The transition from a form of government which, however paternal, has been essentially autocratic to a popular form based on representative institutions must always be difficult and, unless cautiously initiated, dangerous, especially in such a country as India to whose history and traditions and social conditions democracy is in most respects thoroughly foreign.

The German Social Democratic Party

In view of the termination of the war and the German Revolution in which the Social Democrats are taking the leading part the following extracts from an article contributed to the *Budapest Dispatch* by Dr. Sigmund Rubinstein will be found interesting.

This last revolution which has set in in the form of a monstrous war is preparing a new world. It is liberating unprogressive England with the violence of a thunder-burst. England is getting an even more fundamental experience of the workings of revolution on the present scale than is Russia because she was the most backward in her social

system. Concentration of shattered industry, the overthrow of established methods of working through the suspension of rules applying to corporations, organization of capital for industrial use with government assistance for the purpose of acquiring foreign markets, the beginning of the coordination of the Empire's governmental and customs policies, vast preparations for the control of all industries essential to the continuance of the war and their necessary raw materials, are separate chapters in this remoulding of England.

In war the British Empire is undergoing a process of rejuvenation, the centrifugal power of which is impressive. The social upbuilding of a new England will be the most significantly revolutionary fact among present happenings. Indeed, the new era does not open upon a prospect of peaceful times, but rather upon bitterer struggles for the ruling of the world. The adoption of the German system in an English world dominion protected by tariff walls would give British capital employed in foreign enterprises a far vaster field of operations than she has in little Germany. The capital of the British Empire strengthened by the gigantic profits of its great domestic market, would be hurled with unheard of weight on the foreign markets. The world a danger of war would increase. If England retains the conquests which she had made in this war, she will be, especially through the weakening of Russia, lord in Asia and Africa. The world will be so thoroughly dependent upon her that the other nations (including Japan, which is dominated by American influence), will be virtually for hire by Englishmen.

With her strong and educative force of universal compulsory military service and school attendance, with her highly developed social legislation, Germany can become the nursery of a labor movement which should not merely achieve a far solder political position of power than the Socialism of England or France but should also produce in its intellectual, cultural and economic creations a 'Labor Kultur' which would stand without parallel in the world. Under the influence of the political struggle of the laboring class, on the other hand, the German government has been socialized. It was able to accomplish this in advance of the countries to the west, because an executive power has developed in the German people which proved their vigorous independence of the privileged classes in the bureaucracy. The indirect socialization of the state administration and its saturation with the social spirit which characterizes the German government, was denied the western countries because all powerful individualism kept the state impotent. The English aristocracy and the French plutocracy based their power on a broad electoral franchise because in these countries labor, permeated with the individualism of their middle class, did not understand how to use the government as an instrument of socialization. French Socialism was never anything but petty bourgeoisie. The English workman strove after privileges. England and France are lands of 'mechanical democracy'. Germany has the progressive 'organic democracy'. State Socialism will be the development of the future. Organization of political economy in place of the anarchic system of individualistic economy of earlier capitalism, is in progress. Whether the organization has a plutocratic or a social character will depend upon the nature of the state. The state the socialization of which has progressed farther, will have the sounder national life. Hence, not the so-called democratic

governments of the western countries, but Germany, which has been reviled as reactionary, is the model for the future. When the German Reichstag secures control over the bureaucracy, and self government is developed, Germany will be on the way toward the complete realization of the union between state and people. German democracy will grow, not by retouching the English or French individualistic model but by developing the characteristic features springing from an historically German foundation.

John Drinkwater gives us a pleasing and laudatory account of

The Poetry of Francis Ledwidge

in the *Edinburgh Review*, who came from Irish peasant stock and for some time lived so that his publisher could advertise him as 'The Scavenger Poet,' joined the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in 1914, and was killed in Flanders in 1917, at the age of twenty-five, leaving two books of poems and the material for a third, which has since been published. [*Songs of the Fields* (1916); *Songs of Peace* (1917); *Last Songs* (1918).]

Every poet, if he is to do work of any consequence at all, has to find himself through tradition, that is an unescapable condition of his function. Native wood notes wild are no more of the most natural lynch's untutored sounding than is the bird's ecstasy unaware of the generations, and almost invariably the personal ease of the young poet's song depends upon the degree of intimacy with the poetic resources of his tongue that he has acquired unconsciously by natural inheritance and early association.

In *Songs of the Fields* we have the first work of any personal character. And from this through the three volumes nothing is more notable in the poet's external habit than his certain progress from a manner heavy with self-conscious discovery of English poetry, through which his genius struggles often but brokenly to its own gesture, to clear deliverance from this tardy constraint, when he writes of his own simple and lovely world with no touch of untutored circumstance, but in the sweetest and most delicate tradition of English song.

In *The Wife of Llew*, he wrote what seems to me, if the arrangement of the book is significant, to be his first delicate masterpiece:

They took the violet and the meadow sweet
To form her pretty face, and for her feet
They built a mound of daisies on a wing,
And for her voice they made a lute slung
In the wide poppy blowing for her mouth.
And over all they chanted twenty hours.
And Llew came singing from the azure south
And bore away his wife of birds and flowers.

It is fragile, a thing partly of the fancy: it has not the vivid and intimate contact with reality that was to make some of the later songs of such fine bearing in their little compass, but it is a lovely device, surely made. There are three other poems in this first volume that may be chosen for their rounded achievement as distinct from occasional excellence:

The Coming Poet (though the first stanza is hardly good enough for the second), *Evening in February*, and *Growing Old*, with its perfect conclusion:

Across a bed of bells the river flows,
And roses dawn, but not for us, we want
The new thing ever as the old thing grows
Spectral and weary on the hills we haunt.
And that is why we feast, and that is why
We're growing odd and old, my heart and I.

Ledwidge's first encompassing of profound lyric mastery was effected in the poem:

He shall not hear the bitter cry
In the wild sky, where he is lain,
Nor voices of the sweeter birds
Above the wailing of the rain.

Nor shall he know when loud March blows
Thro' slanting snows her fanfare shrill,
Blowing to flame the golden cup
Of many an upset daffodil.

But when the Dark Cow leaves the moor
And pastures poor with greedy weeds,
Perhaps he'll hear her low at morn
Lifting her horn in pleasant meads.

It is a poem of that limpid austerity that comes only from minds slowly but irresistibly disciplined to truth. Its inspiration is a quality that, while it is immeasurably precious to those who can perceive it, escapes the sense of many altogether. It has mystery, but it is the mystery of clear modulation and simple confidence, not that other mystery of half-whispered reticence and the veiled image: it is at once lucid and subtle, and it has the repose of vision, not of fortunate dream, it is of the noon, not of the dusk.

Of the poems in *Songs of the Fields* that "are written with assured lyric maturity and highness" the following is a notable example.

Had I a Golden Pound.
Had I a Golden pound to spend,
My love should mend and sew no more.
And I would buy her a little quern
Easy to turn on the kitchen floor.

And for her windows curtains white,
With birds in flight and flowers in bloom,
To face with pride the road to town,
And mellow down her sunlit room.

And with the silver change we'd prove
The truth of Love to life's own end,
With hearts the years could but embolden,
Had I a golden pound to spend.

Ledwidge died heroically: that I can reflect with deep reverence; that he died for me I can remember only in *forlorn desolation and silence*. But his poetry exalts me, while not so his death. And it is well for us to keep our minds fixed on this plain fact, that when he died a poet was not transfigured, but killed, and his poetry not magnified, but blasted in its first flowering. To those who know what poetry is, the untimely death of a man like Ledwidge is nothing but calamity. There are indeed poets who, dying young with what seems measureless promise unrealized.

Led, we may yet feel to have so far outrun the processes of nature in early achievement that the vital spirit could no longer support the strain. Keats was such a one. But nothing of this can be said of Ledwidge. His development was slow and, while it was certain enough, it moved with no remarkable concentration nor to fierce purposes. He was cultivating his glowing lyrical gift with tranquil deliberation to exquisite ends, and nothing is clearer than that when he died he had but begun to do his work. His future was plainly marked. Already he had come through the distractions of imitation to a style at once delightfully personal and in the deepest and richest traditions of English lyric poetry.

His own September of the year came in his life before spring had well gone.

Still are the meadowlands, and still
Ripens the upland corn,
And over the brown gradual hill
The moon has dropped a horn.

The voices of the dear unknown,
With silent hearts now call,
My rose of youth is overblown
And trembles to the fall.

My song forsakes me like the birds
That leave the rain and gray,
I hear the music of the words
My lute can never say.

The Ideals of a Newspaper

The *Outlook* informs us that the following interesting lines are inscribed on the

walls of the new building of the *Detroit News*. The President of the News said: "These inscriptions are not hidden in the foundation to be forgotten, but placed where they are ever before the eye of all, a reminder of service rendered and those ideals we are all pledged to attain."

Mirror of the public mind, interpreter of the public intent, troubler of the public conscience.

Reflector of every human interest, friend of every righteous cause, encourager of every generous act.

Bearer of intelligence, dispeller of ignorance and prejudice, a light shining into all dark places.

Promoter of civic welfare and civic pride, bond of civic unity, protector of civic rights.

Scourge of evil doers, exposé of secret iniquities, unrelenting foe of privilege and corruption.

Voice of the lowly and oppressed, advocate of the friendless, righter of public and private wrongs.

Chronicler of acts, sifter of rumours and opinions, minister of the truth that makes men free.

Reporter of the new, remembrancer of the old and tried, herald of what is to come.

Defender of civil liberty, strengthener of loyalty, pillar and stay of democratic government.

Uplifter of home, nourisher of the community spirit, art, letters and science of the common people.

FINIS

The girl moon weeps
through smoke black mesh
The stars turn away
To flash their laughter
on another planet
The cold fingers of the hill mist
Bruise the bosom of the lake
The song chokes
In the slender throat of the brook
The longing leaves faint and fall
Crushed by the sneer in the voice
of the wind

You no longer need my love

GERIE BARON.

. BIRD-SONG

A bird is singing somewhere
His morning carol
Straight into my heart
Magical strains that guide
the darkling thoughts
Beyond the years, beyond all dynasties,
Beyond red battle and the storm
of death
That sweeps the world
Once again
Men too shall sing
The blessedness of life,
And in their songs deep undertones
of sorrow
Shall tremble into chastening memory
B E SPLIT

THE SURVIVAL OF HINDU CIVILISATION*

IN "The Survival of Hindu Civilization" Mr. Pramathanath Bose demolishes, with convincing wealth of reasoning, the favourite official theory that India is prosperous, and exposes the hollowness of the so-called indications of increased prosperity, e.g., the absorption of gold, expansion of trade, rise in wages and prices of food grains, elevation of the standard of living and industrial development, urging, by way of contrast, the increasing frequency of famines, the increasing indebtedness of the people and the increasing virulence of diseases as sure signs of decaying prosperity. The remedy he proposes are industrial organisation (positive), abstention from foreign luxuries and the saving of capital (negative) to prevent the foreign drain, the stupendous magnitude of which has been proved to demonstration in these pages. In "The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and Indian Nationhood" he shows that "communal representation would be the surest way of killing what national life there still is in India, and of making true representative Government an impossibility." Since Mahomedans must have communal representation, the best compromise, in the interests of national unity, would be to fit the number of Mahomedan and Hindu representatives, but they should be elected by Hindu and Mahomedan voters jointly. In this way Hindus will be compelled to seek Mahomedan votes, and *vice versa*. The paucity of voters in one community as compared with another, which is the only possible objection to this scheme, may apply to small communities like the Sikhs for instance, but does not hold good of the Mahomedans. In "The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme," Mr. Bose holds that "more food and more nourishing food is the most urgent need of ninety per cent. of our people. The

Montagu-Chelmsford scheme not only does not hold out any prospect of their being able to attain it, but, on the contrary, as it is likely to lead to largely increased taxation, it is calculated to add to the heavy load of their misery," Mr. Bose takes too pessimistic a view of the situation, but we must admit that the arguments by which he attempts to prove his point contain ample food for reflection. We do not also agree with all the deductions he draws from the rise in the standard of living, but we admit that wages have not increased in proportion to the rise in prices, and that while certain luxuries have become all but indispensable, some necessities, e.g., pure milk, have become both dearer and rarer.

The introduction to the 'Survival of Hindu Civilisation' which forms nearly half the book, is taken up with the question as to whether it is possible or desirable for us to try to assimilate western civilisation, and in this connection Mr. Bose falls foul of 'neo-Indians' as he calls them, of whom Sir S. P. Sinha is taken as the type, and he questions their knowledge of history in language which does not err on the side of elegance (p. xxv). In Mr. Bose's opinion, "the tendency towards rise in the standard of living after the western fashion" must be checked and "this tendency cannot be checked until our people cease to hold the view that western civilisation is superior to theirs." It is easy to demolish an adversary by putting into his mouth arguments which he never advanced. No 'neo-Indian' worth the salt would say that western civilisation is 'superior' to Indian civilisation in all respects. It is superior in some respects, and inferior in others, and it is only in those respects in which it is superior that he would like to see it assimilated by Indian nationalists or (since Mr. Bose disclaims the title, p. xvi) free-lances. While admitting that 'it is possible to adopt western methods to some extent in the repairs which the eastern structure needs periodically,' Mr. Bose is convinced that 'the incorporation cannot be compassed

* I. The Survival of Hindu Civilization. II. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and Indian Nationhood. III. The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. By Pramathanath Bose, B.Sc. (Lond). Calcutta, 1913, Newman & Co.,

without demolishing the latter and build ing anew "If Hinduism is to survive at all, it must survive as a distinct entity. Attempts at so called synthesis would only convert it into a non-descript mongrel variety of western civilisation" &c Elsewhere, in the introduction, he says that we cannot take the supposed roses of western civilisation without its thorns, and adopt the western methods of commercial exploitation and material aggrandisement but avoid the concomitant evils of industrialism and militarism.

But we do not want to exploit other nations commercially—we want to provide ourselves with the manufactured goods we require, our incapacity for which has formed the burden of so many pathetic patriotic songs. India is a vast country, and it will take generations to supply all its needs. Even Mr Bose in spite of his sentimental regard for cottage industries admits that they have had their day and perceives the necessity of 'industrial regeneration on improved methods'. No civilisation, he says truly, 'can long be supported by agriculture alone. The evils of the factory system are now thoroughly recognised, and are being increasingly provided against. As for Hinduism surviving as a distinct entity, if it means the total exclusion of foreign ideas and institutions, the absurdity of the proposition at this time of day will be manifest to the meanest intelligence. For good or evil, the possibility of such a state of things has disappeared for ever, and the question now is, not whether Hinduism can survive by ignoring the West, which it cannot, but how far it is possible to preserve its genius and individuality by adjusting itself to the new moral, intellectual, social and political forces and conditions brought into being by its impact with the west.

Mr Bose in his second pamphlet says —

Indian nationhood was specially weak in one point. The village self government was not mixed up with the central government. This was a very serious defect, to which may be attributed many of the ills that have befallen India.

This is tantamount to saying, as Sir John Seeley has said, that Indians had no patriotism but village patriotism and one reason of the self-sufficing character of the Indian village organisation. As Sir Theodore Morison has shown in his *Economic Transition of India*, lay in the poor and unsafe communications of

medieval India. Every European country has passed through the same phase, and in India it is just beginning to pass away and with it the sense of nationhood is growing.

The example of Japan, in the opinion of Mr Bose, does not really prove that India can assimilate European civilisation, for Japanese civilisation is young and plastic. This is no explanation and is merely begging the question by taking an entirely superficial view of the mighty civilisation of Japan. Our cultural life need not be turned upside down to accommodate the West. We must imitate in so far as this may be necessary for our self preservation, and we may accept western science *in toto*, without our deeper life springs being in any way affected thereby. The fear of wholesale Europeanisation is a bogey called up only by those who do not intend to budge an inch from their orthodoxy, though even they find it necessary in actual practice to make a thousand and one compromises with their conscience in order to make existence possible in these days. No one has arraigned European nationalism with greater severity than Sir Rabindranath Tagore, but he admits that "the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of truth. Therefore if it be true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm it is nevertheless scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we become able to assimilate in our life what is permanent in Western civilisation we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds." Again, "The East has instinctively felt, even through her aversion, that she has a great deal to learn from Europe, not merely about the materials of power, but about its inner source, which is of mind and of the moral nature of man" (*Nationalism*). Once more, in a very recent article quoted in the current *Prabashi* he says —

It won't do for us to cut off all intercourse with the rest of the world or be boycotted by them and sleep away our days after swallowing an extra handful of rice. We can be men only by adopting a policy of mutual give and take with the whole world. The race which will refuse to do so cannot survive in these days. Our food and wealth rely on and activities knowledge and thought, must all be made fit to bring us in touch with the entire globe. That which will merely pass current in our own family or our own

village simply will not do. The whole world is knocking at our door, crying, 'I have come. If we do not respond to the call we shall be accursed none can save us. There is no passage left by which to go back within the ancient parochial bounds.'

Mr Bose truly says that 'spiritual progress signifies but little in a society except in so far as it leads to ethical development.' And so long as the people are sunk in poverty, there will, as Prof Seligman says in his *Economic Interpretation of Human History*, be hardly any opportunity for the unfolding of the higher ethical life. Wealth is necessary to set the spirit free from the carking cares of daily life, from the domination of matter. When Mr Bose boasts of the *Sattrik* equipolse of our civilisation, it may be useful to remind him, in the words of Sir Rabin Dranath, that "the educated community of India has become insensible to her social needs. They are taking the very immobility of our social structures as the sign of their perfection—and because the healthy feeling of pain is dead in the limbs of our social organism they delude themselves into thinking that it needs no ministration." (*Nationalism*)

Mr Bose deplors the decay of amity and concord between the different castes of Hindus and also between Hindus and Mahomedans. Formerly, 'the blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindus.' It is doubtful, however, if the following reflections of Colonel Malleon (*Decisive Battles of India*) had ever lost their validity:

"It is strange just as the bigoted Aurangzeb has left a far deeper and more lasting recollection in the minds of the Muhamadanans of Northern India than his infinitely greater ancestor—the wise and liberal Akbar—so in Southern India the memory of the cruel narrow minded and bigoted Tipu Sahib is revered much more than the memory of his able and liberal minded father. The reason is not far to seek. Akbar and Haider were very lax in their religious practices. The descendant of the one and the son of the other were narrow minded bigots. Bigotry rules the Muhamadan world. And though the bigots lost the empires which the far-sighted and liberal ancestors had won, the Muhamadan world has pardoned the temporal loss, and whilst it pays no heed to the qualities of the founders still venerates the piety of those who undid the founders' work."

The social conservatism of the Moslems has however been rightly ascribed by one so well able to speak of them as Sir Theodore Morrison (see extract at page 287 of *A Vision of India* by Sidney Low) not so much to religious fanaticism as to

'a quasi patriotic feeling of which they themselves were only dimly aware, and to which they would have found it difficult to give articulate expression.' In their conflicts with other religions, Christianity for instance, the cross and the crescent have become symbols not merely of two different religions but of two distinct and rival social systems.

The followers of both religions being habituated to look upon each other as natural enemies, had emphasised those social customs in which they differed from each other and had come to regard with peculiar fondness those habits and manners which might be regarded as distinctly Islamic or Christian Practices which were neither good nor bad in themselves became lovable and praise worthy when they were recognised characteristics of the followers of the true faith, and bigots would be inclined to view with an indulgent eye even the bad practices of their own people, if they were in sharp contrast to the manners of the infidels.

If we may believe a recent able exponent of Sikh religion, Dr Narang (*Transformation of Sikhism*), Guru Govind Singh found certain external bonds of union, e.g. wearing a turban and keeping long hair, great aids to the building up of the Sikh nation, and these mechanical devices, instead of losing their influence, "have remained intact throughout the last two centuries, and are at the present day acquiring still greater importance and strength." It will be found on examination that there are many Hindu practices, e.g. the abstinence from cow killing and the prevalence of buffalo sacrifice, which, apart from the argument against all kinds of animal sacrifice on moral grounds, can be justified by Hindus only on the ground that it constitutes a distinctive element of unity among Hindus in the face of a rival creed. In fact, the social exclusiveness of the Hindu does not differ materially from the bigotry of the Moslem, and his preference for the aggressive Hinduism of Vivekananda, as opposed to the rationalistic and catholic Vedantic teachings of Kammohan has the same etiology as the Mahomedan's preference of Aurangzeb to Akbar. The revival of the "Sanatan Dharma" is accentuated caste consciousness, and intensified the ceremonial differences between Hindus and Moslems. Hindus refuse to drink water touched by a follower of the Prophet, and the latter refuses to eat meat, is the guest of a Hindu friend unless it is *Halal* i.e., unless the animal has been killed in the orthodox

Moslem fashion. If the educated members of both the communities allowed them selves to be guided more by reason and less by blind fanaticism, Mr Bose's complaint would vanish in no time. 'The cultural assimilation of the Mahomedans with the Hindus,' of which Mr Bose speaks, was due to no small extent to the cultural assimilation of the Hindus with the Mahomedans. In language, dress, and manners, it would be difficult to distinguish a medieval Hindu gentleman from a finished Moslem courtier.

According to Mr Bose, humanitarianism is the choicest product of Indian wisdom, and so long as the mind is not subjugated, political dependence in the case of highly civilised nations cannot do much harm. Universal brotherhood was preached by the shastras, but our Sanyasis who alone were fit to practise it retired to the hills and the lady kept the Sudra at arm's length. I could match the noble humanitarian precepts of the shastras by numerous extracts from Comte and Mazzini, and I think it may be truthfully said that in spite of the materialistic greed and nationalistic selfishness of the West, it thinks oftener in terms of universal humanity than was ever the case in ancient India with its narrow outlook on the terrestrial life, and with *Mlechhas* abounding on all sides. As for the effect of political dependence on the Indian mind I shall quote from Mr Bose's *Lectures and Lectures*, 2nd Edition, where, speaking of Hindu civilisation during Moslem rule, he observes as follows:

"The progress of Hindu civilisation was arrested with the establishment of the Mahomedan Empire. Every Hindu work that bears the stamp of originality was written by the close of the twelfth century."

"That patriotism is a virtue previously unknown in India is a statement which runs counter to well known facts of history," says Mr Bose, and he proceeds to remark that facts like these, which his strong Western bias leads the 'neo-Indian' to forget, should be familiar to a student who has not gone beyond the stage of matriculation. In support of his statement Mr Bose cites the opposition offered by Marathas and Rajputs to Mahomedans. Let us see how far Mr Bose's statement is justified by history. I find the following on this very subject in Mr Bose's article quoted above: "Had the

people been permeated with a sense of nationality and patriotism such as pervades the people of the West, it would have been impossible for the Mahomedans to establish their Empire of India." But now that the Moslem has settled for good as his next door neighbour, the neo-Hindu, unlike his orthodox brother, would extend to him the right hand of fellowship, recognising that the future of India belongs jointly to both, and not to the Hindu alone. It may be conceded that the Hindu was not devoid of the consciousness of religious unity, but it was much less strong in the case of the Hindu than in the case of the Mahomedan, as the following illustration taken at random from Khafi Khan in Vol VII of Elliot and Dowson's History will show:

In the reign of former kings, and up to this year [1608 A.D.] the *Jharokha-darsan* [interview window] had been a regular institution. Many Hindus were known by the name of *Darsani*, for until they had seen the person of the king at the window they put not a morsel of food into their mouths.

Such a practice would be inconceivable in the case of the Mussalman subjects of a Hindu king.

"The natives of India worked freely, loyally, with their eyes open, and with all their might and main, for their own subjection to a foreign power," says Colonel Malletson (*Decisive Battles of India*). "India can hardly be said to have been conquered at all by foreigners, she has rather conquered herself," says Sir John Seeley (*Expansion of England*). In another thoughtful passage, this well known Cambridge professor of history says:

"It may seem that in Brahmanism India has a germ out of which sooner or later an Indian nationality might spring. And perhaps it is so; but yet we are to observe that in that case the nationality ought to have developed itself long since. For the Mussalman invasions, which have succeeded each other through so many centuries have supplied precisely the pressure which was most likely to favour the development of the germ. Why did Brahmanism content itself with holding its own against Islam, and not rouse and unite India against the invader? It never did so. Brahmanical powers have risen in India. A chieftain named *Sriyaji* founded the *Mahratta Power*. This was a truly Hindu organisation. ... It might appear that in this confederacy there lay the nucleus of an Indian nationality, that Brahmanism was now about to do what has been done by so many other races by their religion. But nothing of the kind happened. Brahmanism did not pass into patriotism. Perhaps its facile comprehension of all has enfeebled it as a unifying principle."

Let us now turn to Rajput and

Marathi patriotism Mr Bose surely does not forget that the Rajput and the Maratha not only opposed the Mahomedans but fought each other. Tod vol I, ch xviii, says as follows of the Rajput clans

"To bring the wolf and the goat to the same vessel was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chaudawani and the Suktiwat labour in concert for the prince of the country"

And in his sketch of the Rajput feudal system vol I ch v, Tod says

The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction that they were never capable of uniting even for the common preservation on a breath a scurrilous stanza of a bard has severed the closest confederacies ... No feudal Government can be dangerous as a neighbour for defence. It has in all countries been found defective and for aggressive totally inefficient

Tod speaks in terms of unmitigated denunciation of the Maratha invasions of Rajputana in several places of his monumental work—one or two extracts from which must suffice

Though professing the same creed a wider difference in sentiment divided the Maratha from the Rajput than from the despots of Delhi whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable because less degraded than the rapacious meanness of the Southern (I xv) The Marathas were associations of rascals, who drained the very life blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them (I xvi) But a new enemy had now arisen and though of their own faith far more destructive than even the intolerant Islamite (I xv) &c

As for Bengal the Marathas brought with them terror, desolation and despair (Colonel Malletson) Major Rennel a contemporary in his *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* [3rd ed 1793] says they are everywhere remembered with horror and I have myself beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity. The Maratha bogey is still invoked in Bengali songs to make naughty children go to sleep and the lullaby is eloquent evidence in support of these authorities. The whole matter has been treated at length in Prof K. H. Prasanna Banerjee's *History of Bengal* in the 18th century pages 162-3 and the lurid picture there drawn is not at all exaggerated. Orissa was under Maratha rule from 1757 to 1803 when it was conquered by the British. In his *Memoir of the War in India* (London 1818) Major Thörn says—

A most satisfactory confidence was shown by all the priests and officers belonging to that extraordinary temple as well as by the inhabitants of Jagannath both in the present situation and in the

future protection of the British Government" The memory of these ugly years haunted the whole population like a nightmare long after it [Orissa] passed under British rule. The Marathas had made themselves hated by every class of the people and even the priests of Jagannath had learnt to detest the cruel rogues for their endless extortions and rapine. (Hunter's Orissa Vol II)

The third Battle of Panipat put an end to the Maratha dreams of supremacy. This is how Pandit Kasi Raju himself a Maratha concluded his Persian despatch on the subject after having witnessed the battle with his own eyes

Those who reflect upon these transactions will believe that Providence made use of Ahmad Shah Duran to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas for in the eye of God pride is criminal (Isaac Keschersches Vol III London 1807)

It would be inconceivable to an Englishman or Frenchman to indulge in reflections of this kind on the downfall of his own nation

In Sir John Seeley's opinion in the Marhatta movement there never was anything elevated or patriotic but that it continued from first to last to be an organisation of plunder. Grant Duff in his *History of the Mahrattas* (London 1826) says

The pre-eminence to which the Mahrattas had attained was an mating and glorious but in their conquests certainly no other nation can sympathise they were not animated by that patriotism which devotes itself merely for its country's weal or its country's glory the extension of the raway carried no freedom even to Hindus except freedom of opinion. Destruction, rapine, oppression and tyranny were their more certain concomitants (Vol II) *

We have had only a couple of hours in a busy day to furnish up our knowledge of Indian history since the receipt of Mr Bose's book but we trust the authorities we have cited will suffice. The Neo-Indian has nothing but profound admiration for the many excellent qualities of the Rajput and the Maratha and a Bengali neo-Indian cannot but feel how much those qualities would have contributed to raise the Bengali character in public esteem. And no one is more patriotic among the modern Indian races than the Maratha Brahmins. That they were not actuated by the same feeling in the days of the Peshwas is due to the fact that the

* In recent years historians have passed a more favorable opinion on the founder of the Maratha power without at the same time excusing the rapacity of those who were mere plunderers on a large scale—Ed. U. I.

virtue of patriotism, as understood in these days, was then unknown in India. By contradicting this obvious fact, Mr. Bose only shows that his own knowledge of history is in fault. Mr. Bose has set his whole heart on preaching to his countrymen the need of the Spartan virtue of simplicity with a view to restore India's economic prosperity. But the first turn in the tide of fortune will raise the standard of living, and 'spread the comfort, decency and æsthetics of western civilisation (to quote Mr. Bose's own words), as

it is already doing among the comparatively well-to-do, and so the 'futilities, inutilities and superfluities' of civilisation, which we have the best evidence for saying were as much prevalent in ancient India having regard to its limited opportunities, as in modern Europe, will flock in once more, to the discomfiture of Mr. Bose and his pet sociological theories, without any aid from the neo Indians against whom he is so angry, but through the operation of natural causes alone.

A BENGALI BRAHMIN

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

MORAL CONDITIONS

[I wish to correct an inaccuracy in the last section of this Report, with regard to the action of the Indian Government in the matter of inserting the price of food-stuffs in the indenture contract. I find that I was mistaken in saying that a promise to do this had been publicly given. It was made to me personally, when I reported to the authorities in India the fraud that was being practised, but it was not given publicly in open Council.]

IN describing the moral conditions affecting Indian labour in Fiji, it will be unnecessary to repeat all the facts concerning the break-down of Indian married life which were given with much detail in the earlier report published in 1916. To both Mr. Pearson and myself, on our first visit to the islands, this was by far the most serious part of the evidence that was set before us. I have read through, very carefully, many times over what we then wrote. I have gone through it again and again, point by point, in Fiji itself, while living on the spot, and I feel to-day that it remains substantially accurate. It is, if anything, an understatement of the case.

I would call special attention to the farcical evidence, in that Report, which Mr. Pearson brought back from the north side of the island concerning domestic conditions among Indians away from the coolie 'hires' and the Mills. After a long

stay on that coast, I have found his own estimate singularly correct. I have been able fully to verify his statement that, in some of the free settlements the normal Hindu life, with its purer domestic morals, was reasserting itself—This is, perhaps, the most hopeful piece of news which I can carry back to India and report on my arrival and I would put it at the forefront of all that I have to say later.

Even when making the fullest possible allowance for this encouraging factor, it would still be difficult to overstate the gravity of the general situation. The murders, suicides and violent crimes, still go on with unrelieved monotony. The abominable trafficking in young girls for marriage—the selling of them, now to one husband, and then, a few months later, to another,—still is rife. Wives still desert their husbands, and pass from one man to another, with appalling frequency. Cohabitation with tiny girls of nine and ten and eleven years of age is still practised and parents encourage it. The fouler vices cannot be written about in detail, but there is evidence of them in many places,—though, it is a relief to add, they do not seem yet to have infected the whole indentured population. In mentioning these things quite plainly, as I am obliged to do, it is not meant, for one moment, to lay the blame primarily on the Indian people concerned. The root of them all has been the wholesale importation of labour, for financial gain,

without any due regard for marriage or sex.

Again and again, with monotonous frequency, Indian fathers have come up to me and said,—"Sahib, I intend to get my son married in India, not in Fiji. This country is altogether bad,"—and I have known exactly what they meant by that word 'bad.' Others have come to me about their daughters, telling me that they wished to take them back to India, and to get them safely married there. "Sahib," they have said to me, "here, in Fiji, all women become bad,"—and again I have easily understood just what that word 'bad' implied. There are, I believe, literally thousands, who would be glad to go back to India to-morrow in order to get free from their marriage entanglements and troubles. In every part of Fiji, that I have visited, the same story is told to me,— "Sahib," they say, "there may be plenty of money to be obtained in Fiji, but there is no peace of mind."—"Sahib, what am I to do with these young children? My wife has deserted me."—"Sahib, I had my boy married by Hindu rites, and spent two hundred rupees on the wedding, and now the father has taken the girl away and married her to some one else. What am I to do? There is no justice in Fiji." This same repetition has gone on now month after month unceasingly, each story having its own peculiar detail.

It has been very noticeable to me that while on my first visit a large proportion of the cases, which came before me, were concerning land troubles, on this occasion the marriage troubles were far more numerous. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to put them down as high as ninety per cent. What has been noticeable to me, also, has been the volume of the growing discontent.

This was quite unexpected, for I had imagined that, with the closing down of the indenture and the stoppage of all immigration, immediate relief would have been felt. But to-day the marriage troubles seem everywhere to be the one absorbing topic and the bitterness goes very deep indeed. Probably the fact that there is no steamer now arriving to take people back to India accounts for a great deal. Men and women came daily up to me in the street and on the road asking the question,— "Sahib, when is the ship coming to take us back?" There is a sense of injustice,—a

feeling as if they had been trapped,—when the answer is given, that there can be little hope of going away till some time after the war.

By far the most serious feature of the whole situation (concerning which very strong evidence has been brought before me), is this, that the children are growing up with habits even more lax than those of the parents themselves. They have been reared in the coolie 'lines', in the very midst of evil, and they have been so accustomed to it, that it has become commonplace. In a great number of cases, the father of the child is scarcely known; the mother has had to work all day in the fields; some woman of the 'lines' has been paid by the overseer to look after the children in batches; family life has been an impossibility.

I was anxious to see, on my arrival, whether the overwhelmingly bad impression of the coolie 'lines' would be as strong this time as on my earlier visit. I found very little difference. It is true there has been a certain amount of external improvement. But the faces of the men and women and the neglected children told me much the same story as before,—the story of depravity and vice.

I did not wish to trust merely to my own impressions on this very important point. I have made enquiries, therefore, on every hand, and the verdict has been the same. For example, I was told by one responsible authority that there had been an alarming increase in petty crime during the years 1915-1917, especially juvenile crime. Again, all those who have been engaged in school work agree on, one point, that the parents seem to have no control over their children. Educated Indians, who know their own people, speak very pessimistically about the home life. An English lady in Suva, concerning whom all Indians speak with reverence for her motherly care of their young girls,—a lady who has lived in India and knows the dark side of Indian life there,—gave me a description of what her experience has been in Fiji. She carefully weighed every word, as she gave me her evidence, telling me about the environment and home conditions of one after another of her pupils. The general opinion she had formed was very gloomy, indeed about the future. I made a further enquiry from one of the most trustworthy missionaries, who, has also, lived and

worked in India. He told me that the condition of home life in Fiji was far worse than that which he had seen in India. Another missionary who has lived with his wife and children in closest possible contact with Indian life gave me a still more gloomy picture. Indian childhood in Fiji is in danger of being ruined, for one generation at least, by the evil habits which are becoming ingrained in the domestic life of the people, owing to the vices of the coolie 'lines'.

It is necessary to contradict the very prevalent idea in Fiji that the great bulk of Indian immigrants were already criminals and prostitutes in India before they came out. That a certain proportion had this character is undoubted; but I have ample evidence to prove that the proportion was small and not large. By far the greater number have been villagers of a decent type, whose homes in India would be altogether different from those that now predominate in Fiji. I have seen the recruits in India and questioned the magistrates who have examined them before they signed their indentures. I have made full enquiries at the Emigration Office and watched very carefully the faces of those whom I have met in the coolie 'lines',—especially the new comers. I have seen Government statements on the subjects, both in Fiji and in India, and have paid visits to different 'depots' in India. From all these sources of information the conclusion is amply verified, that by far the greater proportion of Indians who have come out to Fiji under indenture are average village people.

The conviction has been forced upon me, during my second visit,—growing stronger instead of weaker the longer I stayed in the Islands,—that on this one fundamentally important side of moral life with which I am now dealing things have been growing worse every year especially in and about the coolie 'lines'. The pity of it is that in other directions things have improved. But this is keeping everything back.

As I have already stated, the exception that I found to this statement,—and it is a highly important exception,—is that where the Indians have gone right away from the mill centres and the old coolie 'lines' and started a new village life of their own, things have become more satisfactory. This is the one factor in my experience of

this marriage evil that makes me really hopeful, if only the present evils do not spread and increase before indenture altogether expires in November, 1921.

Even at the risk of some repetition (since the subject is so urgent and vital) it seems to me advisable to go briefly into the main causes of this epidemic of vice in the coolie 'lines' of Fiji.

The first cause has undoubtedly been the altogether vicious system of recruiting that was practised in India. It should be carefully noted that the recruiting agents were all of them paid servants of the Crown Colonies, so that these Colonies must share with the Indian Government the responsibility for the evil of the past. In the earlier report, the estimate was given that as many as eighty per cent of those Indians who came out to Fiji had been fraudulently recruited. I feel now, after further enquiry, that this was probably too high a figure, though I find that educated Indians in Fiji, who have made enquiries, would regard it as a correct estimate. But even if a lower figure be accepted, it seems almost incredible, that such trafficking in women should have been permitted to go on in the Twentieth Century, in modern India, under British Rule,—the recruiter being paid, per head, so much more for a woman than for a man.

The second cause has been the great disproportion of the sexes.

I have seen with my own eyes the printed official correspondence of the year 1883 in which the Colonial Secretary in Fiji insists that the proportion of women sent out in each ship shall not exceed 33 per 100 men. In this same correspondence the Emigration Agent in Calcutta asks permission from the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, to raise the number of women to 40 per hundred, though (he adds significantly) such a high percentage of women may not easily be found. The official correspondence ends with a curt letter from the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, commanding the Emigration Agent, Calcutta, in spite of his protest, to reduce the number of women in future to 33 per 100 men.

Such a record as this needs but little comment. It is easy to understand where the pressure came from, which caused the Fiji Government to insist on the lower proportion of women being sent out against the advice of its own agent, who, even at that early date, could see the con

sequences of such a disgraceful sex proportion. It is quite useless to plead, in the face of such a correspondence as this, that the consequences of a low sex rate were not foreseen. The managers of the Sugar Companies and the officials of the Fiji Government were intelligent men and knew what they were doing. But just as in the case of the old factory system in England, so in the case of the indenture system in Fiji, the hard and unnatural economic laws (so called) were brought in, to justify inhuman conditions. At some later date than 1883 (which I have not been able to trace) the Indian Government insisted on the proportion of women being raised to 40 per hundred men, and there the Indian Government most culpably allowed things to remain. I am told that in the year 1913 the Planters of the Ba District passed a resolution at a local meeting that it would be advisable to raise the percentage of Indian women imported. I would give them all the credit for passing that resolution, but it does not seem to have led to any action being taken.

The third cause, which helps to account for the break-down of Indian family life, has been the condition of the coolie 'lines' at the Mills and on the plantations. It must be remembered that enormous profits have been made out of the great Sugar Industry in recent years. To give an example, I asked at a Planters' Meeting the question, whether it was not true that the planters alone (who are a small body of men) had put fifteen lakhs extra profits in their own pockets since the war began, and I was answered in the affirmative. Indeed, afterwards, I was told by the highest authority at head quarters, that I might have put the figure much higher. Even this is not by any means the whole amount of the profits obtained, because this sum does not take into account the gains of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company itself and the two other companies, and, from all that one can gather, the profits of the C S R. Company during war-time (which are carefully kept secret) must have been fabulous. Yet up to the end of 1917 scarcely more than a few pounds of these profits had been spent on the obvious duty of putting up separate quarters for the married couples. I have only heard of two estates which had taken this in hand before I reached Fiji, and it is probable

that a couple of hundred pounds would cover the whole cost of what had been done up to the time when I left the Islands.

I am thankful to be able to add, that there is now a genuine movement on the north side of the main island, to provide separate married quarters for the people who work on the estates. The proposal has been sent up to the Fiji Government that the planters are prepared to put up separate reed huts, with sanitary arrangements, which may cost from £5 to £10 each, according to the style of building, and, in the course of time, this, or some similar scheme is likely to be put into operation.

What the state of the coolie 'lines' must have been only a few years ago, before certain modifications (such as separate kitchens) were insisted on by the Government, can better be imagined than described. I have often sat inside one of the cubicles, or partitions, which are built to accommodate either one whole family or three adult unmarried men, but the air was usually so foul as to be hardly breathable for long, and vermin of all kinds abounded. Under a specially watchful employer, these 'lines' may be kept fairly clean, but that appears to be the exception, not the rule. It is true that, in later years, much has been done to improve the drainage and sanitary arrangements, but no pains have been taken to improve the moral sanitation. In one set of 'lines' which I visited I was told that there were twenty four men living with six women, in another there were nineteen men and six women, and these disproportionate figures are not unfrequently met with. I have found a married couple in one compartment of the 'lines' and unmarried men,—three in each cubicle,—on either side of the married couple, with such a thin partition between that every least sound passed through. Under such conditions family life loses all decency, all privacy, all possibility of healthy development. Yet it only required a few hundred pounds at the most, on each estate, out of the enormous war profits, and a few thousand pounds at the Mill centres, to provide, for many years to come, suitable, healthy separate houses for the married people, and to give them a decent chance of living as man and wife should live.

A fourth cause has been, so repeatedly

brought to my notice by the most responsible and thoughtful among the Indians themselves that I feel it necessary to give to it the prominence which their emphasis demands. Indeed they have often mentioned it to me—Hindu Musalman and Christian alike—as the root beginning of all the shamelessness of Indian women in Fiji. It is the fact that contrary to all Indian custom the women have been obliged when attending hospitals to expose their persons before men. Especially among the Hindusthani women from North India I found this feeling most acute. It is probable that if I had been able to speak Tamil and Telugu I should have found the same feeling there also. Only in Suva is there a resident Matron. All hospitals for the sugar estates are in charge of male hospital assistants who are not even qualified doctors. There are no matrons or trained nurses. It has been a profound satisfaction to understand that the Viceroy has taken immediate action to get this state of things remedied in Fiji and that one company has already appointed its own resident matron.

A fifth cause of the moral degradation has been the misery and monotony of life on the plantations. This misery has driven many to commit suicide, though the more frequent cause has been some quarrel about a woman in the lines. The men under these monotonous conditions take to vice just as the same class in England take to drink. They have nothing else to do—no amusement no recreation no religious or other interests. The women also in their hopelessly inferior numbers and isolation from the outside world are practically compelled to give themselves over to the passions of the men. To make the degradation complete not infrequently in the past the overseers themselves were isolated unmarried men who shared in the general vice of the place. It is a relief to add that now married employers have become the rule on most of the estates but the evil effects of the old regime cannot be obliterated in a day. There are still too many cases of illicit intercourse.

A sixth cause which was dwelt upon at great length in the earlier Report has been the refusal in the past to recognise Hindu and Muhammadan marriage, performed according to due religious rites as legal. This led to a fatal conviction, especially

among Hindu women, that their own marriage, religiously performed was not binding. Thus Hindu married women were passed on from one husband to another without any sense of disgrace, and there is always a crowd of wifeless Indian men in Fiji who are ready to bribe them or tempt them away. A new Marriage Law recognising religious marriage has now been passed and it is hoped that matters will improve in this direction.

Beyond all these causes, yet arising out of them all there has gradually come about in Fiji a sense of despair with regard to the home life among Indians which has led to things being permitted and countenanced such as would never be allowed for one moment in India itself. These evils have spread like some moral plague and certain centres appear to be the plague spots from which infection and contamination go forth. In many of the larger coolie lines (especially those nearer the Mills) the vicious atmosphere seems to have reached the point of saturation. Each new family that comes out from India and enters this atmosphere seems to catch the disease. The husband is told that he must allow his wife to be used for immoral purposes because of the number of men who are wifeless. It is the Fiji *'dustoor'*. If at first, the man vehemently objects (as is usually the case), he is told that this place is not India but Fiji, and in Fiji the *'dustoor'* is such and such. The word *dosti* is used for this relation of unmarried men to a married wife, and the word *dost* in Fiji has nearly always a bad significance. It is out of these *dost* relations that practically all the violent crimes among Indians occur. The woman is the victim.

The same evils in an aggravated form are repeated in the case of children. A great number of young girls of tender age are married to grown up men, the number of adult women being so small. This makes a perpetual shortage of girls for mating with those boys who have just reached the marriageable age. On account of this shortage in Fiji fathers are desperately anxious to get brides for their sons as soon as possible. A little girl of eight or nine years old will often be chosen and the marriage duly performed. But, seeing that this marriage is *kuccha* and has no validity in the eyes of the law the boy's father is in continual dread lest

the girl should be given to some other youth. This fear makes the boy's father claim, that the little girl shall come and live at his house and cohabit with his son, long before the age of puberty is reached. Cases are known in Fiji of young Indian girls of eleven bearing children that are so diminutive as scarcely to appear human offspring at all.

At first, the things that I have mentioned seemed to me almost incredible, and for some time I refused to believe them, but they have been proved to me incontrovertibly and they seem to evoke little or no shame. There is no public conscience. Sometimes the young girls are sold four or five times over before they have reached the age of fourteen, and yet not a voice is lifted up against it. not a door is closed to the offender.

It is necessary to recall some of the salient features of Indian village life in order to compare it with what is happening in Fiji. The village community of India is a very complex growth, and because of its self-contained character it has withstood the shock of centuries of invasion and conquest. The marriage relations within its circle are adjusted with great care. indeed the village *panchayat*, and the caste *bira-dari* are largely occupied with this duty, and their ruling is rarely disputed or gain said. Added to this, among men and women alike, there is a special religious sanctity attached to marriage. This sentiment about marriage is upheld, with all the fervour of a creed, in every Hindu village, where caste is observed, throughout the North of India,—that is to say, throughout those villages from which the early emigrants came who landed in Fiji.

The high average happiness of Indian village life, in spite of its extreme poverty, is due in a very large measure to the chastity of the women and their devotion to their own husbands. This makes a bed rock foundation for society, upon which life itself can be built up securely. The longer I have lived in India the more deeply has this fact been borne in upon my mind. In the towns, indeed, there can be little doubt that much immorality exists, there is also a much lower moral standard among the non-caste people. My experience of Indian village life is limited to the North, but as five out of every six Indians in Fiji come from the North and the earlier emigration

was entirely from North India, such limitation in my experience does not touch the main issue.

In the face of all this, we have to ask ourselves again and again the question,—how can it possibly have happened that these very same women in Fiji have become so unspeakably corrupt themselves in their married life and are to-day teaching and training their daughters to follow a like course?

I have already written about the main causes,—the system of recruiting in India, the low proportion of emigrant women, the crowded coolie lines, the breaking down of the Indian woman's modesty, the flouting of the Indian religious sentiment of marriage. All these things have borne their part in the general moral collapse, and yet there is something beyond, something which remains unexplained,—so complete has been the downfall.

The explanation, which Mr Gandhi gave me, after he had seen the notes which Mr Pearson and I had taken on our previous visit, appears to me now to go deepest of all and to be most convincing. It is this—There are two marked stages of development, the 'communal' and the 'individual'. The interval between these two stages, during which human life passes from one to the other, is the most critical time of all. The Indian village woman has been used to the communal life of her own village, with its religious and social traditions and sanctions. These all helped, in a thousand ways, to preserve the sacredness of her married state. But the recruiting agent for indentured labour in the Colonies came her way, and she fell a victim. The recruiter collected his units, here and there, in a haphazard manner, according as opportunity presented. The whole process was clumsy and unscientific, ruthless and immoral. It tore up by the roots the old healthy communal life and put nothing in its place. It snatched one woman from this village and another from that, and then proceeded to cast forth their broken lives, without any discrimination, into the coolie 'lines' of Fiji.

Castes, creeds, races, religions were jumbled together in chaotic confusion. Muhammadians cohabited with Hindus, and Sweepers with Brahmins. Out of the wreckage of the old Indian village life, with its traditional marriage sanctity, a pitifully crippled, maimed, and diseased hu-

manity struggled with feeble efforts to build itself up afresh. The evil done to the villages of India, through the breaking up of village homes by the recruiters, was scarcely less tragic than the evil wrought upon the Indian village women when they reached Fiji.

Here, then according to Mr. Gandhi, lay the root of all the mischief. It consisted in the ruthless uprooting of the Indian village communal life. Those who introduced the indenture system never paused for a moment to consider the Indian character, or to study Indian conditions. The human lives of the Indian women—their marriage ties and sanctions—were no thing to them. They had one object in view—they wanted to make money quickly, and they made it.

Such are some of the facts which thoughtful Indians are remembering to day with bitterness in their hearts. The Indian people as a whole, are one of the most patient and long suffering among the races of mankind. They will endure poverty and want and outward oppression. But there is one thing that they will never endure. They will not allow any slight or insult to be offered to the chastity of their women.

I wish to refer in concluding this special subject to a very remarkable comparison which throws light upon the whole subject. In the Malay Peninsula the Indian labour has been free for many years past. The men and women pass freely backwards and forwards and frequently change the estate on which they work. They are in no way bound down for five years by indenture, to one single set of coolie lines. Though my time in the Peninsula was short I had a unique opportunity of getting at the true facts concerning the Indian domestic life. The result was, as I have said, remarkable. While there were other very serious evils, there was no trace of this epidemic of vice which has infected the coolie lines of Fiji. I went very carefully into the statistics under different heads and made, as far as time allowed, a searching enquiry. I am convinced that a longer stay in the country would not have materially altered my conclusion. The special marriage evil, with which I have dealt so fully, does not exist in any contagious form among Indians in Malaya. On the other hand, when I went over the same facts with a

late Home Member of the Government of India, who had recently visited the Andamans, he found that his experience of conditions there tallied with my own. It would appear then to be certain, that the close nature of confinement to special coolie lines under indenture has been at the very root of all the mischief and not merely the low proportion of women to men. This is, on the whole, hopeful and encouraging, because it seems to show that, when the indenture system is finally abolished, this vice, which is the very worst of all, will gradually disappear.

In all that I have written above, I have tried carefully to avoid exaggeration. The earlier Report, which gave all the salient facts, has now been before the public for nearly three years, and the mass of detailed evidence there given has never been challenged. All the statements which I have made in this article were placed before the planters, officials and Company managers in Fiji some time before I left the Island, with the request that if any definite facts could be brought to my notice, modifying the picture which I described, I would gladly insert them. Furthermore, while circulating this statement of my findings, I gave my address in India for any one who wished to correspond with me after my departure. Only one single point of importance has been brought to my notice and I have modified one paragraph accordingly. I have also inserted the date of the letters which passed between the Colonial Secretary, Fiji, and the Emigration Agent Calcutta, as given above, at the request of the Agent General of Immigration, Suva.

It is with an intense feeling of relief that one turns from this aspect of Indian life in Fiji to others which are far less painful and appear to be on the whole satisfactory. One of the most striking is the independence and initiative of the free Indians.

During the indenture period, except on certain well managed estates, the sense of depression remains. I shall never in all my life forget the look of misery and servitude on the faces of a large group of indentured labourers in the South of the Island as they came up to me in a body and threw themselves flat on the ground, abjectly weeping and imploring my protection. In all the fifteen years I have spent in India I have never seen a group

of men and women sunk so low in abject fear. Again and again I have noticed this look of fear in labour gangs on plantations. At the same time I have seen Indian labour gangs under indenture which were as fearless in their appearance and conduct as any free men. So much depends on the individual employer. On the North side of the Island there are quite a number of employers who treat their men well and over a large area especially in the Nadi District such good treatment might be regarded as the rule rather than the exception.

It is when the full freedom from indenture comes that the remarkable resource and initiative in Indian character begins to show itself clearly. The thrift and industry with which they cultivate their land held on lease is worthy of all praise. There is an air of prosperity along the northern and western coasts and the cultivation of the soil is clearly destined to pass more and more into Indian hands. Almost the whole of this industry is built up on borrowed capital but so fertile is the soil and so prosperous are the conditions that debts are very rarely left unpaid. In land matters the Indian agriculturist has already gained a fair reputation for faithful fulfilment of contract.

All along the country side far into the interior may be seen these Indian settlements. On more prosperous ones sugar will be grown on those which are less advanced maize and dhal with sometimes a patch of bananas. At each settlement a small number of cattle are certain to be seen and not seldom the Indian farmer will have a horse of his own to ride on. A considerable proportion of these Indian tenants have now learnt to hold their own with the Europeans. There is very little of that insistence on race superiority on the part of the Europeans which I found so universal in South Africa. The two countries are almost poles asunder in this respect though even in Fiji as will appear later certain galling restrictions remain.

It was a continual question of interest to me how far the complete rejection of caste by the Indians in Fiji (for it is as near as possible complete) had affected their lives. It has been already seen how in the marriage relations the sudden breakdown of all caste restrictions has played terrible havoc with the people.

But there have been certain compensations which must not be overlooked. The power of individual initiative has certainly become greater in Fiji than in India itself. The men are more self-reliant. I also met with a strength and vehemence of character among the women which I had not seen in India. Indeed it was so strange as to appear at first sight a dangerously adverse factor. It has certainly led more than anything else among free Indians to the constant repudiation of the marriage tie. But all the same it may be regarded in one sense as a woman's movement towards freedom away from the extreme submissiveness under the caste system. The Indian women in Fiji being in the minority have learnt their power and no husband can ill treat his wife with impunity. The pity is that nothing whatever has been done to increase their intelligence and thus new found freedom appears to lead them more than ever to be the dupes of every charlatan in an ochre coloured dress.

A further effect of the rejection of caste by the Hindus has been the splitting up of the community into all kinds of divisions and dissensions. There is very little sense of the corporate life. Each Hindu is inclined to live very much to himself. The members of the Arya Samaj appear to have a corporate feeling but it is at present too negative in its character and has roused the bitterest opposition. Yet this itself may be a sign of vitality and growing independence.

In contrast with the bulk of the Hindu population the Muhammadans in Fiji have retained their own social system and in the past few years their religious life has shown clear signs of revival. In the marriage difficulties they appear to suffer equally with Hindus and there are the same troubles in their homes. The Christian community though very small and not rapidly increasing has advanced in education far more than other bodies. Its home life is also more carefully guarded.

If the Indian community as a whole is to be given the opportunity to regain what it has lost through the evils of the indenture system then the following things appear to be necessary —

(1) The immediate closing down of the last years of service in the 'coolie lines' of those under indenture.

(ii) Inducements to be given to unmarried men in Fiji to return to India to get wives

(iii) The present coolie hives to be entirely reconstructed on a different model allowing for separate detached dwellings for married people

(iv) Matrons to be provided in all the larger Indian hospitals

(v) The provision of shipping, for repatriation and communication with India, as early as possible after the war

Other constructive proposals with regard to education and citizenship will be found in the next article which will conclude this Report

Shantiniketan

C F ANDREWS

NOTES

The Blessing and Privilege of Strength

The present juncture in the world's history enables one to realise what a blessing and a privilege it is to be strong. The strong nations of the world can not only determine the course of their own history so far as it lies in man to do so, but they can also be co-workers with God in establishing the reign of law and righteousness in world politics, world commerce and world economics. One can still more clearly understand this privilege and blessing of strength by contrasting the position of the strong with that of the weak. The weak whine and cringe and beg. They accuse only others for their miseries, and grow envious and fill their minds with hatred. They indulge in impotent rage, and voice forth demands trying to delude themselves into the belief that these are not prayers. They forget that it is quite practicable for even the weakest nation to be strong enough not to beg. They forget that though the world generally takes only those to be strong who can impose their will and inflict pain and loss on others, the highest strength lies in choosing to suffer strongly.

The strong too often forget the right use of strength, which is service. They think that strength has been given them for gaining their selfish objects. They are careless of the means they employ. They inflict suffering on others in order that they themselves may be happy. It is thus that strength becomes a curse.

The opportunity which the strong nations of the world have now got to make all kinds of international relations

moral and spiritual will put their culture and civilisation and their religion to the test. They have come victorious out of one Armageddon. It will require all their strength and all their faith in justice, freedom and true democracy to keep themselves and the world out of another, for Asia and Africa will also have their day in the not distant future. They have declared again and again that they have fought for the freedom of the world and for justice and democracy. Time will show whether they spoke the truth. It does not require any spiritual strength to be just to the strong—that is a virtue of necessity. But it does require great spiritual strength and true self-abnegation to be just to the weak. It does not test the genuineness of one's democratic principles and the strength and depth of one's faith in human nature to recognise the right of strong nations and peoples to choose their own forms of government, culture and social and economic policy. The test comes when it has to be decided whether weak or backward or unorganised peoples are also to have the right.

Administrative Experience

When it was announced some time ago, that an English gentleman named Captain Lloyd had been chosen to succeed Lord Willingdon as Governor of Bombay, people wondered who he was. It was clear he was a military officer, though of the lowest rank but one. But military experience alone does not qualify one for a governorship—so great a soldier as Lord Kitchener was not thought fit for the Viceroyalty of India. So it was

said that though Captain (now Sir George) Lloyd had never governed even a hamlet or a village lane, he had travelled in some Musalman countries but that is scarcely equivalent to administrative experience. Nevertheless, one may believe that he may prove a better governor than Lord Sydenham, Lord Harris, Lord Lamington, or Lord Willingdon. It is possible for a man to succeed in discharging the duties of a high office, though he may not be possessed of previous administrative experience. But the possession of previous administrative experience is generally recognised as a surer guarantee of success.

Indians are not appointed to high administrative posts, on the ground of their want of administrative experience, they cannot, it is said, have full responsible government even in the most advanced provinces for the same reason though in times past Indians have governed empires, kingdoms, provinces and districts, and in recent times they have proved themselves equal to any work with which they have been entrusted. Bearing in mind these past and recent records of Indians, and seeing that utter lack of administrative experience does not stand in the way of an Englishman becoming even the governor of a Presidency, one may be justified in presuming that our want of experience is not the only or main reason for not giving us the highest posts and full responsible government. The more probable reason is to be found in the opinion generally prevalent among Europeans that Indians are racially inferior to them. Their self interest strengthens this wrong opinion.

A just man is bound to say that experience is a qualification and want of experience its opposite in the case of Europeans and Indians. But Britishers generally think that Indians, however qualified, are unfit for the highest offices, and that their own countrymen however inexperienced, are fit for even the highest offices in India, though not in England. In other words they think that there is something in the British blood which makes Britishers born statesmen and administrators, if India is to be the scene of their labours. The absurdity of such a belief cannot be proved from the pictures of the Indian painted by himself. Here even

ever held any office, from the viceroyalty downwards, has been a marvellous success, and the Indian Civil Service (in the opinion of its members and interested advocates and admirers) is the most efficient service in the world, though the fact is that, along with able and good men, there have been many noodles and bad men among British officials of all ranks in India, and though chronic starvation and frequent famines, the appalling death roll from malaria, plague and other diseases, and the illiteracy of the masses, clearly show that the British Government in India is yet very far from its repeatedly declared goal. But Britishers will not admit all this. In the history of England, however, it has been admitted by British historians of all shades of political opinion that there have been some administrators and statesmen who have been highly successful, others have been moderately successful, whilst a good many have been total failures. This shows that British birth alone does not make men administrators and statesmen. It may be admitted, however, that there is something in the air and water, and particularly in the salt of India, which makes every Britisher out here eminently qualified for his office,—just as the salt of India has also the undesirable property of making numerous Britishers who have eaten it untrue to it in the highest degree.

"An Equal Voice"

It has been authoritatively stated that in the coming peace negotiations India is to have an equal voice with the self governing Dominions. But considering the constitution (or rather, want of constitution) of India and the constitutions of the Dominions, an equal voice is out of the question. As the latter have complete internal autonomy, their governments are chosen by themselves, consequently their ministers and others who will represent them in the Peace Congress will be men elected by their countrymen. India, on the contrary, is to be represented by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner. We have not the least desire to say anything against either of these gentlemen in their private capacities. Both are patriotic according to their lights. But Sir S. P. Sinha is a Government official chosen by the Government of India to represent itself. The interests of the C.

are not identical with those of the people of India. The Maharaja of Bikaner is to represent the ruling chiefs of India. But he, too, has been chosen, not by these chiefs themselves but by the Government of India. The proper thing would have been to allow the chiefs to assemble in a conference and after due deliberation under the chairmanship of one of themselves to elect one of themselves as their representative in the Peace Congress. It is not impossible that the Maharaja of Bikaner would have been chosen by his fellows. But there would have been this difference that he would have been free to act according to the views and interests of the chiefs whereas in his present position as a nominee of the Government of India it is implied that he is not to go against the views and interests of the ruling bureaucracy. Similarly with respect to Sir S. P. Sinha if he had been chosen by his countrymen to represent them he would have been free to follow his patriotic bent than he would be as a servant and nominee of the Government of India. It is true that Government might and could have chosen two Indians worse than these gentlemen to represent itself. Still that does not obviate the necessity of Indians having their own representatives at the Peace Congress elected by themselves.

As the Indian National Congress is, under the present circumstances of India, the oldest and most representative body, its president should be deputed to speak for the people at the Peace Congress. As Mr B. G. Tilak was unanimously elected president of the next congress and as he is already in England he ought to be allowed to act as our representative. Or Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is actually to preside over the next session, may be allowed to proceed to Europe as our representative. Syed Hasan Imam, who was our president on the last occasion when Congress assembled in a special session, may also be our representative. There are three men to choose from. But seeing that Mr Tilak is already in Europe his services as our representative would be the most easily available. Should it be thought that the Congress does not adequately represent Musalman views the Raja of Mahmudabad the last President of the Moslem League, may be chosen as another popular representative of India.

Attention to the Problem of India

So long as the war lasted the Tory and Anglo Indian cry was that England was too busy with the war to attend to the Indian problem. Now that the war is over, the cry has been raised that England is pre occupied with peace negotiations — to which may be added the attention which the coming general election must require. When the elections are over and peace will have been concluded, the cry may be raised that England is busy with reconstructing her own industrial and commercial fabric and her new national system of education. And so on and so forth. There is nothing wrong in a people thinking of its own affairs first and foremost. But why has England made herself responsible for the welfare of India if she cannot pay due attention to Indian problems at the proper time, if at all? The old woman in the story who admonished Mahmud of Ghazni saying,

Sire keep no more territory than thou canst well govern spoke only the bare truth. It may be a historical fact, as British historians allege that England could not help taking charge of India. But now that it has been proved beyond doubt that England cannot pay timely and adequate attention to Indian affairs, and when educated Indians are able, willing and eager to manage them why do Britishers insist on playing the role of trustees seeing that they cannot discharge the duties thereof? It is unrighteous not to allow others to do work which is by natural right theirs, particularly when the self styled trustees are pre occupied with other things.

Even if the British nation were perfectly dutiful towards India and quite well informed about her affairs, they would not have been able to do as much for the welfare of India as free Indians can. No nation is wise and disinterested enough to govern another justly and well. Moreover, the fund of energy which a nation possesses is not inexhaustible. No nation can therefore do enough both for itself and for a foreign nation. Either it must neglect its own affairs or it must neglect the affairs of its dependencies. What has always, and naturally, happened, is that it is the affairs of the dependencies which have been neglected. They have been generally attended to only to the extent that the

interests of the ruling nation required that the affairs of its dependants should be looked after. Therefore, it was not an armchair politician, not a mere doctrinaire, but a practical statesman who spoke when Mr A J Balfour said "We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

Imperial Preference

It is said that when after the conclusion of peace the British Empire resumes its normal industrial and commercial activities, Imperial Preference will be the order of the day. But will the policy of imperial preference be in consonance with the following sentences in President Wilson's famous September speech, delivered on the eve of the opening of the United States fourth Liberty Loan?

'Fourthly, and more specifically there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League [of Nations] and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms

Will not imperial preference give rise to economic rivalries and hostilities?

So long as India does not come to possess full fiscal, industrial and commercial autonomy, so long as British and Dominion industrialists and merchants can continue to take advantage of India's economic helplessness, India cannot but think that England and the Dominions should be as much discriminated against as any other country. If the other parts of the British Empire will not allow us to follow that policy which is good for us in our own opinion, why are we to prefer them to other foreign countries either as buyers or as sellers? Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions undoubtedly want imperial preference of a kind which will benefit them. But if it be of a kind which will not benefit us, why should we be forced to accept it? There is neither virtue nor profit in enforced sacrifice.

Already a correspondent of the *Englishman* and its editor also have raised the

cry that German goods must be boycotted in the Indian market for a number of years. This is an admission that economic exclusion may be good and allowable under certain circumstances. If so, why is not India allowed to choose the circumstances, and the countries to be discriminated against? Salvation does not certainly lie in being exploited, impoverished and weakened by Germany. But does it lie in being exploited, impoverished and weakened by Japan, or Britain, or any other country? Even after peace has been concluded with Germany, or the different republics springing out of Germany's ashes, it may be the orthodox Anglo Indian doctrine to hold that German industrialists and merchants are the enemies of the British Empire and particularly of India, but Indians cannot accept it as gospel truth that British and Anglo Indian firms are the friends and brethren of Indians until we have got a practical demonstration of the fact. If India is to be condemned to remain a producer of raw materials, let us have at least the freedom to sell in the most advantageous markets in the world, and if we must continue to import most of the manufactured goods we require, let us have the liberty to buy in the markets most advantageous for us. The best thing for us would be the liberty to decide to what extent we should produce and export raw materials and to what extent we should have recourse to manufacturing industries, and to adopt the policy and the means necessitated by our decision.

Interview with Sir S P Sinha

The Associated Press of India have published a brief report of an interview which a representative of theirs had in Bombay with Sir S P Sinha, who said in part —

I naturally appreciate the high honour done to me personally but I value it even more because the British Cabinet has definitely recognised the right of the Government of India to participate independently with the governments of the Dominions overseas in all deliberations affecting the Empire as a whole. I have endeavoured to make a special study with the assistance of representatives of the Government of India of commercial and economic questions affecting India which are likely to arise at the Peace Conference and I have been turned shed with the views of the Government of India Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies and public associations in India. If doubtful points arise in the course of the proceedings I shall of course refer to the Government of India. I hope I may say without impertinence that the Government of India are actuated by a

wholehearted desire to protect Indian interests generally and in particular the interest of Indian producers and so further the development and expansion of Indian industries. If my countrymen knew my instructions they would realize it as clearly as I do myself but I hope that they will bear in mind that though Indian interests are our primary concern larger Imperial interests have to be borne in mind and India must be prepared to bear her fair share of Empire responsibilities. We realize that the future is for those nations who will know how to regulate themselves and their affairs with patience, sobriety and due regard not only for their own interests but also for the rights and interests of others.

It is no doubt better in one sense that the Government of India should be represented than that it should not but from another point of view it is worse than no representation. Because this representation of the Government of India will enable the British Cabinet to say that India has been represented and given an equal voice with the Dominions whereas the real truth is that it is the governing bureaucracy which has been given representation, not the people of India.

We have no means of judging whether the Government of India are actuated by a wholehearted desire to protect Indian interests but charitably assuming that they are their view of what are Indian interests is not necessarily our view of our interests. The government of every Viceroy and Governor General has claimed to be actuated by a wholehearted desire to protect our interests and yet these have hitherto remained unprotected, inadequately protected in most respects. We the people of the country know better than the best disposed bureaucracy how and in what directions our interests suffer. No one but ourselves can adequately safeguard all our interests. And therefore so long as the Government of India is not our Government no assurance that our interests would be protected can give us satisfaction.

'The development and expansion of Indian industries may mean as at present chiefly the exploitation of India's resources by foreign capitalists or it may mean the building up of industries where the capital control and management should be in the hands of Indians, to quote the words of Sir William Clark the Government of India Member for Commerce and Industry in 1916. We do not want the word *Indian* to have the meaning which it bears in the expressions the *Indian Civil Service*, 'the *Indian Educa-*

tional Service, etc. Unless we know definitely and clearly what is meant by the development and expansion of industries in our country, we cannot derive any comfort from what Sir S. P. Sinha has said.

India must of course, bear her 'fair' or unfair share of Empire responsibilities but under present circumstances there is neither glory nor profit, nor education of civic character in the bearing of the burden. For the element of voluntary choosing is absent. Therefore our sacrifice is no sacrifice at all. We can neither really agree nor refuse to bear any kind or amount of burden imposed on us. Besides who is to determine what is our fair share? Some among us may give expression to effusive thankfulness for the fact of our having been considered worthy to bear burdens and the opportunity to do the same. Others may preserve silence. The most indiscreet may protest against the imposition of unfair and unjust burdens. It would be superfluous to enter into the metaphysics of the thankfulness, the silence and the protests that is to say into the question of the unreality and the reality behind these phenomena.

Speaking generally, the other parts of the British Empire have hitherto shown little regard for the rights and interests of the people of our country. Therefore, if we had been really free to consider or not to consider the rights and interests of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions along with those of ours and if we had decided to have regard exclusively for our own interests and rights for a century and a half to come, our white fellow subjects would have had no just right to complain, for our conduct would have been exactly in accordance with the prevalent worldly maxim. Do unto others as you have been done by. But we presume if we were really given the liberty now to be partly altruistic and partly selfish our selfishness would not be greater than our altruism to a greater extent than the selfishness of the Christian natives of Europe has been greater than their altruism in America, Africa, Asia and Australasia for centuries past. The pity however, is that as we are not free agents we can neither be praised nor blamed for what is done in our name.

The ideal we hold up for our nation is never to return wrong for wrong, and

always to protect one's natural rights by righteous means.

As for "patience and sobriety," we think we have not less of these qualities than other peoples. But as we are not free agents, we cannot unhesitatingly claim these as virtues in our case; for we ourselves are not sure how much of these qualities are the real thing and how much merely the virtue of necessity born of our political condition.

A Joint Manifesto to British Electors.

Some of the points of the manifesto to British electors jointly issued by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law are of interest to Indians. One point is, "The conclusion of a just and lasting peace and so establishing the foundations of a new Europe that further wars may for ever be averted." It would be a great gain to humanity if European nations did not again fight among themselves. But so long as Asia and Africa are considered fit only to be subjugated and plundered by Europeans, or at best, fit only to be "protected" by them, the division of spoils and of territories to be "protected" will give rise to wars, however well the foundations of a new Europe may be laid. Moreover, it is foolish to treat a future Asia and a future Africa as negligible factors. A time there was when Asia conquered the greater part of Europe. Asiatics are lacking neither in valour nor in intelligence. When they have mastered the methods of modern scientific production and industrial organisation and the secrets of scientific killing on a gigantic scale, as they are sure to do in course of time, Europeans would not be able to insult and wrong them in any way with impunity. The fact that Europe has insulted and wronged Asia in the past already rankles in the heart of Asiatics and Africans. Let there be no further insult and injustice. For if there be, it is as sure that there will in consequence be terrible conflicts in the future as night follows day. Let not the West in its pride treat Asiatics (minus the Japanese) and Africans as sub-human creatures.

Another point is:—

"It will be the fundamental object of the coalition to promote the unity and development of our Empire and of the nations of which it is composed and to preserve for them the position of influence and authority which they have gained by their sacrifices and efforts in the cause of humanity and liberty."

Is India among these nations?

Another point is preferential tariff for the colonies. If it be a good thing, why should it not be meant also for India?

The last point which we shall notice is, the "removal of all existing inequalities as between men and women." This is necessary and would be a welcome change. But this is for the United Kingdom alone. So far as the British Empire is concerned, or rather, so far as India, which is practically the whole of the British empire, is concerned, the existing civic and legal inequalities between white man and dark man have also to be removed. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme professes to remove the racial bar but in reality does not.

European Foreign Policy.

More than 60 years ago Prof. F. W. Newman wrote as follows, and it is for Englishmen to see that they are juster now and in future years than they were before.

"Every nation in the world is grasping and unjust in its foreign policy in exact proportion to its power, England not being at all an exception. England has no great European army, and cannot covet and subdue any portion of the European continent. That is no great credit, but in Asia, where she is strong and her neighbours weak, she is as grasping and unjust as Russia, Austria, France, or the U.S. I think it is the first need of policy on both sides the Atlantic."—F. W. Newman to Dr. Martineau on 10th June, 1856 [From "Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman," London, Kegan Paul, 1909, p. 239].

A South African Indian Hero.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi pays the following tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, an Indian gentleman of South Africa:—

It is my mournful duty to bring to public notice another South African Indian whose death has been just cabled to me. He bore the honoured name of Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia. He was for a number of years President of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal. It was during the Passive Resistance campaign that Mr. Cachalia suddenly leapt to fame and acquired among the Indians of South Africa a prestige unequalled by any other Indian. It was on the 31st day of July 1917, under the shadow of a tree in the holy mosque of Pretoria that Mr. Cachalia hurled defiance at the might of General Botha and his Government. Mr. Hoskin had brought a message from the General to be delivered to the great mass meeting that was held in the mosque compound, to the effect that in resisting the Transvaal Government, the Indians were breaking their heads against a stone. Mr. Cachalia was one of the speakers. As I am dictating these few words of humble tribute his voice rings

In my ears he said, 'In the name of Allah I wish to state that though my head may be severed from the trunk I shall never obey the Asiatic Registration Act. I consider it unmanly, and dishonourable to subscribe to a law which virtually reduces me to slavery.' And he was among the very few who never flinched through those long and weary eight years of untold sufferings. Mr Kachalia was by no means, amongst the least of the sufferers. He felt that as a leader his sacrifice should be striking and that he should stop at nothing if thereby the honour of this country might be saved. He reduced himself to poverty. He said good bye to all the comforts of life to which he was used, and night and day worked for a cause he held sacred. Naturally he acquired a wonderful hold over the Indian community throughout South Africa and his was a name to conjure with amongst them. As may be imagined there were often disputes among Mahomedans and Hindus and other sections of the community. Mr Kachalia held the scales even between the conflicting interests and every one knew that his decisions would be absolutely just and sound. Mr Kachalia was practically illiterate. He was a self-made man. But his common sense was of the rarest order. It always stood him in good stead, and he was able to command the confidence and respect of many Europeans who came in contact with him.

May the number of such worthies increase!

Dangers of an Outcast Caste

Indians are not quite unfamiliar with the dangers of an outcast caste. Caste riots in the Madras Presidency, particularly the Shanar riots of a decade ago, have not passed out of public memory. The rice riots in Japan of August last furnish a more recent example. The Eta, the whitom "untouchables" of Japan, who are butchers and tanners by profession, had much to do with these riots. *The Japan Advertiser* has given the following translation of some comments of the Japanese paper *Chugai Shoggo* on "Eta Rice Riots":

It is common knowledge that the recent rice riots were in great part due to the spirit of insubordination on the part of the eta, or the outcasts. The present number of the eta is about 1,500,000 and they have remarkable influence in various districts of the country. Among them there are even a number of millionaires or those who are treated by the public as respectable gentlemen. But the majority of these outcasts are poor. They live in their own settlements entirely isolated from the other inhabitants of Japan. They are the descendants of foreign immigrants, who settled in this country over one thousand years ago, and for generations they have lived in seclusion in the midst of hatred and contempt of the public. Naturally they inherited from their first ancestors a strong spirit of insubordination against the external world. Besides, they have for generations been butchers, and in consequence roughness and brutality have become their racial characteristics. These two elements make the eta a dangerous social class, with tendencies to become a mob whenever some

social crisis arises. In the recent riot, many instances were attributed to the desperate actions taken by the eta which always took the form of a social rebellion against the rich and socially respected. It is needless to say that they are equal to the other population under the Constitution. Since the Restoration, especially since the promulgation of the Japanese Constitution, all people of Japan have become free and equal. But this view is only legal or theoretical. There are really several social castes in Japan. Indeed, if the Japanese people want to become a civilized, modern and really democratic nation the destruction of these social castes is the first thing they ought to do. As to the future of the eta the first and the fundamental thing required is the people's sympathetic mind toward the outcasts. The people must love the eta as they love their own brethren. Secondly the editor suggests, the present system of their isolated life should be immediately abolished. They should no longer live in settlements. They must come out to the world, live in the world where all other people live, work together with them and finally mix and be assimilated, so as there are no racial distinctions any more. As a matter of fact, the eta must develop their virtues by their own efforts, but at the same time it is impossible to see them assimilated unless the people abandon the racial prejudices they have held in the past.

"Belief in the justice of might."

The proclamation which Prince Max despatched to Germans abroad before the conclusion of the armistice contains a notable statement. "The victory for which many hoped has not been granted us, but the German people has won a greater victory, for it has conquered itself and its belief in the justice of might." If this declaration be sincere and founded in fact, it is a remarkable conversion of a people from belief in the justice of might to faith in the justice of right. But we doubt whether there has been a sincere conversion. It is not in Germany alone that the belief in the justice of might has prevailed and would seem to be still prevalent. Unfortunately all strong nations appear to believe in the justice of might. It is only weak peoples who really believe in the justice of right. Our *working* faith is that one should possess might and use it only for the protection and restoration of right.

"The Pioneer's" Creed.

The Pioneer asks. "Do they (Indian Congressmen) seriously think that the British people who are just emerging victorious from the greatest war of the world, are to be coerced into expanding proposals which have been carried up to the very limits of safety?" The question betrays the psychology of the writer.

Evidently if he were the British people nothing but a successful rebellion on the part of the people of this country would lead to constitutional reform and progress. He believes in the "justice of might" as Prussian Junkers did or still do whereas we, being a weak people, believe in the justice and might of right. It is strange, however, that the mighty British people also professed, when the war was not yet over, to believe that the said war was for the establishment of right, the liberty of small and weak peoples, democracy, and many other things, and many people thought and still think that the British people were sincere in their profession. What does the *Pioneer* think?

Indian nationalists never proposed to coerce the British people into granting them political rights; Indian revolutionaries no doubt entertained the idea of using physical force. They did not however, ask for rights, their idea was to win independence for themselves. And its impracticability has been demonstrated. Prayer for rights and coercing do not hang together.

The *Pioneer* speaks of the British people emerging victorious out of the war. It forgets in its arrogance that victory was not won by the British people unaided and single handed. It was a combination of many peoples which has won victory. And the combination included India.

The Seceders' Conference

'Moderate' papers and speakers have repeatedly told the public the reasons why a certain number of "Moderate" politicians chose to abstain from attending the special congress held at Bombay. These reasons have been discussed threadbare in Home Rule and other papers. We do not think it necessary to take part in and prolong the discussion. Our opinion is that the secession of some 'Moderates' was a mistake, it was not indispensably necessary in the interests of the country. It is probable that the seceders will attend the Delhi session of the Congress. A joint session of nationalists of all shades of opinion will certainly be good for the country. Considering the important points of agreement among the Seceders and Congress men there is no reason why there should not be a reunion. *The Servant of India*, edited by a leading and very able secessionist, enumerates these points as follows —

These differences however, should not be allowed to obscure the large measure of agreement between the resolutions of the Congress and those of the Conference on certain vital issues. Both parties want the Government of India liberalised. Both parties demand fiscal freedom for India. Both parties ask that the Indian element should form one-half in the executive government of India. Both parties ask that the popular houses should elect their presidents and vice presidents. Both parties protest against the phrases "good government" and "sound financial administration" in the Viceregal formula of certification. Both parties require that the elective majority in the legislatures should be four-fifths. Both parties wish the reserved list to be as small and the transferred list as large as possible. Both parties would have ministers placed on a footing of perfect equality with the members of the Executive Council. Both parties ask for a complete separation of the judicial and executive functions and other administrative improvements. Both parties wish the ordinary constitutional rights, such as freedom of the Press and public meetings and open judicial trial safeguarded though in different ways.

In whatever way the poor attendance of delegates and visitors at the seceders' conference and the absence of enthusiasm which marked its proceedings, be explained, it cannot but be clear to impartial observers that the country is not with the seceders. The majority of educated Indians remain true to the Congress. But though the seceders are a minority, that does not necessarily mean that they are not in the right. What we say is that they should join the Congress again and reason with those of their countrymen who hold different views.

As for the contention that the weight of experience and of political services rendered to the country remains with the seceders, that cannot be proved by mentioning the names of only a few veterans. Veterans are to be found in the Congress camp, too. Let the organisers of the Conference publish a full list of their delegates, giving names, residence, profession, etc., and also showing how, when and by whom they were elected. Then it will be possible to judge to what extent the country as a whole and the different provinces and districts were represented, and whether, barring the minority of veterans, a large percentage of the bulk of the delegates can be said to represent the best political thought and public spirit of their respective provinces, districts, towns or villages.

Deaths from Flague

The following compilation of figures has been published in the *Searchlight* —

... of British India published as

a Parliamentary Paper brings the record down to 1915-16. It shows that the plague is still responsible for a terrible death roll. In British India in 1915 there were 380,501 deaths from plague and 53,365 in the Native Provinces being an increase of 137,000 on the previous year. In the 20 years ended in 1915 there were 7,557,313 plague deaths in British India and 1,425,043 in the Native States bringing the total up to 8,982,356.

The figures for 1916, 1917, and 1918 are not before us. In twenty years nine millions died from plague, and another million may have died in the last 35 months bringing the total up to one crore. On the debit side we in India do things on a gigantic scale.

Sir M Visweswarayya

New India mentions a rumour that Sir M Visweswarayya may be appointed to succeed Sir Prabhashankar Pattani as a Member of the Secretary of State's Council. What has the eminent and up-to-date Dewan of Mysore in common with the sun-dried antiquated and superannuated Anglo-Indian bureaucrat that he should be translated to India Office to vegetate there with them? He is and may continue to be very useful in Mysore. Indirectly he is doing good to the whole of India, too. In the Secretary of State's Council he would be practically useless being always in a hopeless minority. He might of course 'influence' (that is the favourite word now) the Secretary of State's decisions, but the days are gone when Indians cared merely for influencing anybody. They want power to do things in their own way. And in Mysore the Dewan has done many good things and may do a good many more for many years to come. More valuable than any particular thing which he may have done, has been the quickening of public spirit which he has helped greatly to bring about. The splendid work of some Dewans in the Native States not only proves Indian administrative capacity, but also serves as an example for the British Indian provinces to follow. It is to be hoped that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy will not help to remove from the sphere of his splendid and beneficial activities a statesman by comparison with whom they suffer. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore cannot surely spare him.

The Mysore Dewan's Address

As usual the last annual address of the Dewan to the Mysore Representative As-

sembly is a record of progress in all departments and directions. We can note only a few items. The franchise of the Representative Assembly has been broadened and simplified. The Assembly has also been granted the privilege of interpellation. His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to decide that the Economic Conference organisation should be made permanent.

District and Taluk Conferences—Conferences were held in every district and taluk during the past year, and also in some *hoblis* on the people's own initiative, and agricultural, industrial and health exhibitions were arranged in connection with many of them. At present these conferences are organised by the joint exertions of officers and non-officials. There is however a growing tendency for non-official gentlemen to come forward and take the initiative. And, in course of time these district and taluk conferences may be expected to develop into miniature Representative Assemblies for the respective areas and prove valuable adjuncts to local administration.

A school has been opened for the training of Forest Rangers and other subordinates. A valuation survey of sandalwood has been commenced in order to place the exploitation of this valuable product on a scientific basis. Experiments in forest industries such as the manufacture of paper pulp, straw boards, pencils and matches, continued to receive attention. The fifth installation of the Cauvery Power scheme was completed during the year and the capacity of the generating station increased to 22,650 horse power. Education in all its stages has made good progress. The scheme of compulsory primary education is in active operation in 68 centres and preliminaries have been completed in 170.

The education of the depressed classes continues to receive attention on an allotment of Rs. 50,000 having been specially earmarked for the purpose. A Panchama Boarding School for Tumkur and a smaller one for Chikmagalur have been sanctioned and measures are being taken to develop the Panchama Boarding School at Mysore into a Central Educational and Technological Institute for Panchamas and other depressed classes.

An attractive scale of pay has been fixed in order to induce lady graduates to enter the teaching profession. 77 travelling libraries, 22 taluk libraries, and 83 rural libraries have been organised.

Progress under the village improvement scheme was fairly satisfactory.

The number of communicants rose from 8,661 to 8,820 which served a population of 47½ lakhs, five thousand two hundred and thirty-nine communicants attended to work of communal benefit and 4,358 subscribed for one or more newspapers. There was a

slight decrease in the cost of work earned out with the aid of Government grants, the aggregate cost being Rs. 1,10,760. Two thousand three hundred and sixty four miles of cart track were improved by the committees and a sum of Rs. 67,156 was collected for the village common fund against Rs. 31,923 in the previous year. Including the twelve courts newly established, 172 village courts were working at the end of the year. The total number of tank panchayets sanctioned up to the end of 1916-17 was 82 and the constitution of fifteen more was sanctioned during 1917-18. Forty five blocks measuring 17,330 acres were notified as village forests. Seven new blocks were granted during the year under the Large Landed Estates Scheme. Out of 706 minor tanks that were under restoration during the year, 106 were completed. A sum of Rs. 1,35,722 was spent out of the sanctioned allotment of Rs. 2,44,000.

Progress in the construction of drinking water wells is still unsatisfactory. Only 239 works were completed and a sum of Rs. 69,217 spent during the year. Hand pumps are being installed as far as possible, to protect wells from contamination.

The whole address deserves to be read. We conclude with quoting what he says on standards.

Standards—A great deal more yet remains to be done. But no large or rapid progress is possible without definite objectives, well defined methods of work and an adequate and efficient organization. It is necessary to place some definite standards before the Public, some clearly defined aims for their guidance. As instances of what is meant by standards, I may mention three or four we have had in view selected at random. One of them is to double the agricultural produce of the country in ten years. Another is to induce every family in the village to lay by enough food grains or money for maintenance of the family for a couple of years so that in times of short rainfall, it may not run the risk of starvation. A third standard aims at doubling the present school going population in five years. A fourth contemplates increasing the number of persons engaged in industries and trade eventually to 25 per cent of the total population.

The Choice Before Us.

The following extract from the address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mukherji at the Mysore University Convocation contains sound sense—

Let me ask, then, what course shall we choose while the world all around us is making such gigantic strides in the path of progress, ever seeking to gain mastery over the forces of Nature. We cannot disentangle ourselves, even if we wish, from irresistible world currents and sit on the lovely snowcapped peaks of the Himalayas absorbed in contemplation of our glorious past. It is most emphatically true that the community, the people, the nation, the race which like the Greek philosopher will live in its own tub, and ask the conquering powers around it to move away from its sunshine will soon be enveloped in eternal darkness, the object of derision for its helplessness and of contempt for its folly. We cannot afford to stand still, we must move or be overwhelmed; we cannot waste precious time and strength in defence of theories and systems which however valuable in their day have been swept

away by the irresistible avalanche of world wide changes. We can live neither in nor by the defeated past, and if we would live in the conquering future we must dedicate our whole strength to shape its course and our will to discharge its duties. The most pressing question of the hour for the people of every race is, not what they have been hitherto, but what they shall determine to be hereafter, not what their fathers were but what their children shall be. The past is of value only in so far as it illuminates the present, the present is of value only in so far as it guides us to shape the future. Let us then raise an emphatic protest against all suicidal policy of isolation and stagnation.

Tata Iron and Steel Company

In moving the adoption of the Directors' Report of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Sir Dorab Tata, the chairman of the company, made an important and informing speech. The year was marked by great productivity, the company's output stood the highest test of quality, and in spite of controlled prices it paid good dividends. But the Company are not satisfied with mere material prosperity. They rightly think that its permanence depends on the welfare of the workers. Therefore,

While straining every nerve to raise the capacity of your works, your Directors have been as anxious to raise the tone and the standard and the comfort of your labour. As I said last year, "the welfare of the labouring classes must be one of the first cares of every employer since labour contented, well housed, well fed, and generally well looked after, is not only an asset and an advantage to the employer, but serves to raise the standard of industry and labour in the country. In looking after the labour of to-day, we are also securing a supply of healthy and intelligent labour for the future." In accordance with the views then expressed, we have set aside a sum of over two lakhs of rupees in a Sakhai Social Welfare Fund, which, as it grows, will be utilized in a number of directions for promoting the general welfare of your operatives. Apart from that, we are already beginning to provide additional educational facilities, and a large girls' school is almost ready to be opened. The existing hospital, which is utilized not only by your operatives, but even by people from remote villages, has been temporarily extended while a new hospital building, capable of accommodating three hundred beds, has been designed, and will be soon under construction. A certain amount of sanitary work has already been done, which we trust has considerably improved the health conditions of the place. We have extended the health facilities for recreation. More roads have been laid out, and further quarters built. In fact, we have had to undertake ourselves every kind of municipal work in a population of nearly 50,000 souls, which will increase rapidly even to a lakh and a half, and we are trying to do it methodically and on thoroughly scientific lines bearing constantly in mind the necessity that will sooner or later arise of developing and fitting all this work into the larger needs of a greater Sakhai in the near future. More than that, we are taking steps to see that amid the famine conditions that threaten the coming

your employees will have enough to meet their daily wants and those of their dependants. With the valuable assistance of Mr. A. V. Thakkar, whose services have been kindly lent to us by the Servants of India Society we have already made arrangements for the purchase and distribution by the Company, at cost price of grain and other important necessities of life. And we propose to go further still in this work of human welfare and organise a number of agencies at Sakchi, which will not only actively promote the health comfort and happiness of your employees but will at the same time teach them and help them to help themselves by organised and co-operative effort. Dr. Harold Maan, whose services also have been kindly lent to us by the Government of Bombay is already in Sakchi making investigations in that direction while a committee consisting of socialists like Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb and Professor Hobhouse and Urwick is sitting in London planning and designing as it were the nature and the details of the welfare work we shall take up. I have every hope that sooner or later Sakchi will not only be a model town, but its organisation a model in this country for labour welfare work.

The proposal to establish a Technological Institute at Sakchi is full of promise for the industrial future of the country. Such an institute is greatly needed.

PROPOSED TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

When I addressed you last year I referred also to another matter to which your Directors had been giving considerable attention. I referred to the difficulties that we shall experience after the war in securing a supply of skilled labour from Europe or America. We shall not be able, I am afraid, to get it at the rate, and on the terms we did before the war. The Government of Bihar and Orissa are therefore framing a scheme for the establishment, in collaboration with us, of a Technological Institute at Sakchi so that men may in time be trained in the country for the growing needs of the metallurgical and chemical industries. The urgency of research in, and the application of science to, industry is a subject that no longer needs discussion. And an Institute of the kind proposed will not only train our young men for actual operation work, but will at the same time enable us to raise our own men who will exercise the requisite scientific control over future industrial operations and research workers in addition who will initiate and help us to apply ever improving methods and processes.

IDEAL CONDITIONS AT SAKCHI

There never has been so big a demonstration and an experimental field for a technological institute so rich and varied and with such diversity in each department of training and research as at Sakchi. Consider for a moment the number and the nature of the subjects it is already interested in, or is about to take up: the manufacture of coke and its by-products; the manufacture of iron and steel; the manufacture of a large and varied number of subsidiary products; the manufacture of copper, of zinc alloys and a number of other miscellaneous products. Then there are a number of chemical industries, actually undertaken, or possible and probable such as the manufacture of acids, of coal tar products of fertilisers, of explosives and numerous similar articles. There is a large Electric Department already at

Sakchi. And electric power is likely to be used more and more from the coal mines which are within reasonable reach. The other mines are nearer still. We have already a big Engineering Department for building, drainage, road making, water supply, dam building, and such other work. Added to all this there is going to be a big hospital, with all the field of training that a hospital offers. A research laboratory of the Steel Company already exists. There will be an experimental agricultural farm close by. There will be a bank. There will be a social welfare organisation. Attached to all these activities will be a large number of experts in various departments, and on the spot. There would thus be constant association between students and teachers and these experts. And above all there will be the atmosphere of industry without its smoky gloom and with a large and varied assortment of shops, foundries, factories and works, in daily demonstration. I know of no place in India which combined so many advantages for the location of a Technological Institute, the utility of which would be more than merely local or provincial.

The Industrial Commission has also emphasised the great opportunity that exists at Sakchi for training and research in metallurgical and allied chemical problems. And it is a matter of great satisfaction to us that though we have been able to set apart as our contribution towards the proposed Institution not more than a lakh of rupees per year, the Commission have suggested a possible Imperial capital expenditure of 16 lakhs of rupees towards it.

The Company proposes to devote increasing attention to the manufacture of machinery and tools required in different industries, in addition to turning out rails, joists, etc. It will thus contribute to make the country increasingly self-contained as regards her industries. But the need of experts and trained workers is among the greatest, if not the greatest of our needs. Unless this is met, we can never hope to rise in the industrial scale. The proposed technological institute ought to go a great way towards removing this want.

An article in the November number of the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* shows what the Company aims at and what it has already accomplished. The following is an extract—

According to the last annual report, the average number of employees at the works was 10,225 in 1916-17, as against 9,749 in the previous year, of whom Europeans there were 93 as against 102, and 51 local Europeans were employed as against 53. The Company are looking forward to the time when none but Indians will be employed by them in India. The process is slow but sure as the change will be effected by advancing their workmen and apprentices according to the talents in them brought out by a sound technical and practical education. Mr. Tuckwell in his lecture gave some remarkable instances of the success already achieved—results which, by the way, have also been reached in most railway and some private works. In the last three eight hour shifts which would require the employment of twenty seven Europeans, are manned

by a crew of twenty five Indians who run the plant economically with only two European superintendents and in other departments similar reductions have been made. The chemical laboratory originally employed five European chemists. Now the chief and assistant are Europeans, the remainder of the staff of twenty-one being Indians. In very many instances Indian workmen have shown themselves possessed of extraordinary skill and manual dexterity, and the electrical department is under the superintendence of an Indian gentleman, a graduate of an English university, assisted by a staff of Indian workmen and electricians.

The rapidity with which Indianisation of the higher services at the works has hitherto proceeded has not been as great as might be desired. Perhaps in the coming years, under changed conditions, the company will be in a position to accelerate the process.

Industrial Enterprise in Mysore.

The same article from which we have quoted above gives us some idea of mineral industries in Mysore.

A very interesting experiment is being tried in Mysore. The Government of that progressive State have decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace, and have appointed Mr Perin as their consulting engineer. He has placed orders for the equipment in America, and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kador and Shimoga and convert it into charcoal at Benkipur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty five miles, and a high grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime, alcohol and other by products be extracted, calcium carbide may also be manufactured, with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces.

'Mobilization of India's Agricultural Resources.'

The following passages have been reproduced from the London *Times* in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Express*.

If, then, there is a reason to anticipate a world scarcity of food—a question which can be decided with authority only by the War Cabinet—and if there are prospects that the food can be carried to the hungry, or even that the hungry can be carried to the food, the mobilization of India's agricultural resources must be directed by the Governments of the country and not left to individual enterprise. Some tentative measures in this direction have already been taken but their effect is likely to be local and if the need is found to be real and urgent more general and drastic action will be required. The area of the industrial crops must be curtailed and ten, twenty or even thirty millions of acres diverted to the production of food. On the average about three acres will yield a ton, so that India sends to Europe, could for a single year which doubled or even trebled at the cost of curtailing the supply of important raw materials and of forcing

Asia to wear old clothes in order that Europe may not starve.

Such an undertaking would be of enormous magnitude and every one must hope that the necessity for it will not arise but it is quite within the competence of the existing land administration, which works so quietly that Englishmen are apt to forget that, though not perfect it is probably the most efficient piece of human machinery in the world. The one thing essential is that the orders should be issued in time. Once the annual rains have started the peasant must work his time for thinking and planning is then over and interference from above might do almost as much harm as good. If however, plain orders are issued in the spring and measures are taken to ensure an adequate supply of seed and capital the result would be seen in increased supplies of maize, millets and pulses coming forward in the following autumn and of wheat, gram and barley a few months later, in time to reach Europe at the critical period when it is waiting for the northern harvests to begin.

A word of warning must be offered by way of conclusion. If the War Cabinet should unhappily be driven to the decision that India's peasants must be mobilized in the interests of the world's food, the operation must be so conducted as to afford no scope for a cry of exploitation. The peasant will be asked to sacrifice his independence that sacrifice ought to suffice and he should not be required to undertake increased financial liability. In other words, the curtailment of industrial crops must be accompanied by a guarantee of minimum prices for food grains sufficient to ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser and that politicians or agitators shall be given no grounds for a charge that India is paying dearly to provide Europe's food. Given this condition it is not unreasonable that the area which is already a reserve against scarcity of food in India should be claimed in the interests of that civilization in whose benefits India shares.

In the expression "world scarcity of food" the word "world" means Europe—Asia does not count. That the food can be carried to the hungry is evident from the large exports of grain from India even in normal times. But what does the carrying of the hungry to the food mean? We know that a certain number of appointments in the higher police service in India are going to be given to British military officers disabled in the war. That is a case of carrying the hungry to the food. For there is not the least doubt that India can furnish from the ranks of her own children able police officers. So it is not that India wants these men, it is these hungry persons who want here food. They are, however, not many. If there be a food scarcity in the "world," that is to say in Europe or more particularly in England, a far larger number of the hungry must be brought to the food here. Is that one of the reasons why Mr Addison stated

* Means enslaved, † means Europe's, ‡ means forced Ed, M R

in the House of Commons on the 13th November that

A scheme has been prepared for giving special facilities to ex service men with regard to land settlement. The Government has accepted the general principle that from the beginning of demobilisation and for a year thereafter, permanent civil service appointments should be preserved for ex officers and ex soldiers.

It is entirely false to say that either in famine years or in normal years "India sends to Europe" her "surplus of food." The stock of food which is exported from India to Europe is not the surplus left after feeding her 315 millions. Many Englishmen holding high office in India have said that millions upon millions of Indians never know what it is to have a full meal. They have been quoted so often that we need not quote them again. Sir John Woodroffe, who is not a politician and who repeatedly says in his latest book *"Is India Civilised?"* that it is not his intention to write politics, says in that work that the deaths from plague, &c., are so large because of lack of sufficient food. Sir S. P. Sinha, who, it may be concluded from his selection again and again to discharge most onerous imperial duties, enjoys in a special degree the confidence of the Government, said at a recent conference at the Overseas Press Centre in London "Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things." In the July (1918) number of the *Edinburgh Review* Mr J. O. P. Bland writes with reference to child mortality in India that "the average of human lives that are wasted annually (in India) is about 7,000,000. They are brought recklessly in a land that cannot feed them." If all the food produced in India could be kept in the country there would be less chronic hunger and starvation, resulting in untimely death, in the country. But politically and economically she is not in a position to resist such drain of food to countries which are politically and economically more powerful. Mr. Bland writes

'The agricultural production of Great Britain can not suffice to maintain its present population who shall say that fifty years hence we shall be able to draw supplies from India and Russia, as we do to day, so dentally helping to impose an abnormally high infant mortality on those countries? And who shall say that the social organisation on which the

empire rests will endure even for that period, the present stress and strain of economic pressure?"

It is absurd, then, to talk of India's surplus food. We have no objection to feed the hungry of other countries. But are we not to be allowed to do it willingly after feeding our own children?

Christianity teaches the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. Christians believe that the Asiatic prophet Jesus died in order that sinners might live,—and it now appears that he died in order particularly that white complexioned sinners might live. It is, therefore, quite fitting and in harmony with the teachings of this religion of Asiatic origin that Asiatics should be forced "[only I] to wear old clothes (not to die)" in order that Europe may not starve, and that the Asiatic peasant of India should be "asked to sacrifice his independence, that sacrifice ought to suffice, and he should not be asked to undertake increased financial liability." Who will now say that Christ died in vain? Have not his followers in Printing House Square thoroughly learnt the lesson of vicarious sacrifice?

Reciprocity is a good old rule. "Do unto others as you would be done by." Did Europe ever wear old clothes in order that Asia might not starve? Or would Europe brook the idea of ever being forced to wear old clothes in order that Asia might not starve? Is Asia to understand that the first practical lesson derived by a foremost journal in Europe from the world-war, ostensibly fought for freedom, that Asia is to be deprived of her sartorial freedom and forced to wear old clothes? And the *Times* wrote all this stuff when the war was still going on.

As for India, millions of her children have not got even old clothes to wear. Some of her daughters have committed suicide because they had not even rags to cover their shame.

The limit of cultivation in Great Britain and Ireland and some other European countries and in America, has not yet been reached. Why does not the *Times* advise his countrymen to stop for a time some mills and factories, and turn the mill hands and factory labourers into field-labourers? The stoppage of these money-making machines would, no doubt, mean some pecuniary loss to the nation, but it would mean more food, too. Why does not the *Times* propose to force America

to grow less cotton and more food for Europe? As Britishers and Americans are Christians and therefore more spiritually-minded and self-sacrificing than the heathen of Asia, they ought to very cheerfully agree to be forced to undergo sacrifice. And when these Christian nations have set the example of being cheerfully forced to do something for their Christian fellow creatures, the heathen of Asia may the more readily follow that example.

"Industrial crops must be curtailed", and "the curtailment of industrial crops must be accompanied by a guarantee of minimum prices of food grains sufficient to ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser." But who will fix this fair or minimum price? Not the peasants. They are too weak, ignorant and unorganised to protect their own interests. The minimum price would be fixed either by the white buyer or by the white ruler. That the white buyer will not pay a minimum price equal to the price of industrial crops, goes without saying. When the Asiatic can be forced, why need he be paid a fair price? Did indigo cultivation cease in Bengal in spite of the planters giving the peasants a fair minimum price for the indigo plant which he was forced to grow? As for the rulers of India, they did not fix a minimum price for jute to save jute growers from loss and suffering, though jute mills were making extra millions. This recent experience shows that the rulers also are not likely to fix such a minimum price as would "ensure that the peasant shall not be a loser." So the "word of warning" "offered by way of conclusion" has been uttered simply and only to "ensure that politicians or agitators shall be given no grounds for a charge that India is paying dearly to provide Europe's food."

From before and during the recent war, Japan has been encroaching upon the cloth market of India, and Japan depends for a large portion of her supply of raw cotton on India. If India could be made to grow less cotton for some years, the textile industry of Japan could be kept partly crippled as long as it might be necessary for Lancashire to rejuvenate her textile industry and recover lost ground in the Indian market. Whether intended or not, that may be one of the "by-products" of the "mobilization of India's agricultural resources." Similar consequences may result from decrease in the production of

other industrial crops. But as the wearing of old clothes has been specially mentioned, the cotton crop is particularly meant.

The peasant will be asked to sacrifice his independence, "that sacrifice ought to suffice, and he should not be required to undertake increased financial liability." How very humane! And how naive! The peasant will be asked (not forced) to sacrifice only his independence. Independence is a trifle when it is only an Asiatic's independence. But when it is a white-man's independence, why, it is more precious than life itself.

The sanctimonious plea has been trotted out that India must sacrifice her independence in the interests of a civilisation in whose benefits she shares. That India does share to some extent in the benefits of western civilisation we do not deny, but that she suffers from its evils, too, cannot also be denied. And it is a moot question whether the evils outweigh the benefits. What compensation does she receive for suffering from the evils? But leaving these questions aside, are there not other countries which share in the benefits of occidental civilisation to a far greater extent than India? Why are they not to undergo vicarious sacrifice? Because they cannot be forced?

Allies' War Aims in the East.

Reuter has cabled the following joint declaration of the British and French Governments —

The end that France and Britain contemplate pursuing in the East that was achieved by German ambition is the complete definitive freeing of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving the authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations. In order to give effect to these intentions, France and Britain have agreed to encourage and assist the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia now freed by the Allies, and in the territories whose liberation they seek and intend to recognise them as soon as they are effectively established. Far from wishing to impose institutions on populations of these regions their only care is to assure by their support and efficacious assistance the normal working of the governments and administrations which they shall freely give themselves. To assure impartial and equal justice for all to facilitate the economic development of the country by sustaining and encouraging local initiative to encourage the spread of education to end divisions to long exploited by Turkish policy—such is the role that the two Allied Governments claim in the liberated territories.

It ought now to be perfectly clear that the reason why "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations" has not been among the aims of the Allies in India, Burma and Ceylon, is that these countries are not situated in the part of "the East that was enchained by German ambition" and "so long oppressed by the Turks," but have been, on the contrary, under 'the benevolent despotism' of the British people. That is also the reason why in Mesopotamia and Syria, but not in India, Burma and Ceylon, the Allies are 'far from wishing to impose institutions on populations of these regions', 'their only care is to assure by their support and efficacious assistance the normal working of the governments and administrations which they shall freely give themselves'.

So curses do sometimes turn into blessings, and vice versa

Influenza in the Punjab

An Associated Press telegram informs the public that "it is estimated that the average number of deaths resulting from influenza in the Punjab ranged from five to ten per cent of the population in rural areas. One village of only 6000 inhabitants reported no less than 900 deaths in a month." "Altogether it is not considered an exaggeration to place the number of deaths in the province from this epidemic at a figure of a quarter of a million." This is a most terrible death roll.

The Punjab has been among the worst sufferers from the plague. And now influenza has taken an appalling toll. There must be some reason why this province suffers so much. Is it poverty and consequent mal nutrition? Yet this province, Sir Michael O'Dwyer boasted, supplied the larger part of the wheat exported abroad. May it after all be that it was not the surplus food stock that has all along been exported, but part of the food which the people required for their own use but could not keep because of economic and political incapacity?

Indian Industrial Commission Report

The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission is an important document. It contains much useful information and many valuable suggestions and recom-

mendations. But so far as we have been able to gather from a cursory examination of its contents, it contains no recommendations and suggests no safeguards which can ensure "the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians," which, according to the Hon'ble Sir William Clark, late Member for Commerce and Industry in the Viceroy's Executive Council, is "the special object which we all have in view." In the Note by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appended to the Report, which from the Indian point of view is the most valuable part of the volume, the Pandit points out that Sir William Clark emphasised that it was of immense importance alike to India herself and to the Empire as a whole, that Indians should take a larger share in the industrial development of their country. He deprecated the taking of any step, if it might 'merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries'.

The Pandit has done well to correct the wrong impression calculated to be produced by the Report that India has all along been for the most part an agricultural country, and that for the decay of what industries she formerly possessed and for the absence of sufficient industrial enterprise in the country at the present time, her children alone have been to blame. He has shown elaborately and conclusively how much the British people and the Government established by them in this country had done to bring about the ruin of our industries and what also it has omitted to do to promote industrial development. He has also shown to what a great extent England is indebted to her connection with India for her industrial growth and prosperity. The concluding paragraph of this portion of his Note runs as follows:

I have dwelt at length upon these facts to remind my English fellow subjects how largely England is indebted for her industrial efficiency and prosperity to her connect on with India and how grave an economic wrong has been done to India by the policy pursued in the past with the object that it should induce them the more to advocate and insist upon a truly liberal policy towards India in the future. I have also done this to dispel the idea that Indians are to blame for the decline of their indigenous industries or that they suffer from an inherent want of capacity for industrial development on modern lines and that Europeans are by nature

more fitted than Asia for success in manufacturing pursuits. I have shown that up to the middle of the eighteenth century England herself was an agricultural country that for thousands of years and up to the beginning of the last century India excelled in manufactures as well as in agriculture and that during the century she came to be predominantly agricultural this was due to the special treatment to which she had been subjected and not to any want of industrial capacity and enterprise among her people.

In the introductory chapter of their Report the commissioners say —

'In deference to the wishes of witnesses or from other considerations it was considered advisable to treat as confidential some of the matters brought before us and we have accordingly prepared one volume of confidential evidence, which will not be available to the general public.'

This decision is correct, if the confidential evidence contains state secrets and trade secrets. But if the volume contains any evidence to show how Government departments have directly and indirectly discriminated in favour of European concerns and against Indian firms, such evidence should not have been classed as confidential. Trade secrets, again, should be available neither to the general public nor to European exploiters. But there is reason to fear that the latter may have private access to these secrets. The commissioners also say that 'in view of the fact that the Commission was freely admitted to inspect industrial concerns, and that information, often of a confidential nature, was placed at our disposal on these occasions, our inspection notes also will not be published.' That is also right. But may it be hoped that European exploiters will not have secret access to some of these inspection notes?

In the introductory chapter it is said

'Although much information of technical and industrial value will be found in the evidence of some of the expert witnesses our report is not intended as an industrial survey of India, and we have therefore concentrated our attention on the machinery which we propose should be set up to effect industrial development generally rather than on the particular industries to be improved.'

We agree with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in thinking that they have concentrated too much attention on the machinery which has been proposed,

and yet, I fear that, excepting the provincial and imperial Departments of Industries the machinery proposed will not promote industrial development as rapidly as the circumstances of the situation require. The scientific and technical services which they recommend will on their own showing take some time to organise, the industrial researches which

they wish to promote will take some time to bear fruit. In my opinion the immediate requirements of the country in the matter of industrial development, require the adoption of measures which will bear fruit more speedily.

There are two classes of industrial enterprises which can be taken up in this country. The first class and this is by far the larger class, consists of those which can be started by the importation of machinery and experts as first managers. In this class of work we have to imitate and not to initiate. As soon as the provincial Departments of Industries, with their Advisory Boards have been constituted in the provinces they should decide with such expert advice as may be necessary what industries of this class can be started within the province and should invite and encourage Indian capitalists by information and technical assistance to organise them. It was the adoption of such a course that enabled Germany and Japan to achieve rapid industrial development. Sir Frederick M. Cholson urged the adoption of this course on us in the following passage in his note —

On the whole then I consider that the best way both for starting selected industries in India and for training the future managers is after the fashion of Germany and Japan and other countries, for the promoters whether Government or private, to draw liberally on Great Britain etc. for real experts as first managers of any projected industries then to select young men preferably men already trained in select young men preferably men already trained in technological institutions and to put them through close disciplined industrial and business training under these experts till they are fitted either to start on their own account or as reliable business managers to capitalists. — (Minutes of Evidence, Vol. III, pages 396-397.)

Mr. Charles Tower also says —
In the manufacture of steel ware and of machinery Germany is usually credited not without justice with being rather an imitator than an initiator. Her great success in this line has been achieved by the rapidity with which Germany had adopted the improvements invented elsewhere. — (Germany of to-day, Home University Library page 173.)

This is also the course which was adopted by America. Up to 1860 America had made little progress in developing the manufacture of steel. In 1862 Park Brothers and Company imported the biggest crucible steel plant of all up to that time and imported also several hundred English workmen to ported also several hundred English workmen to ensure success. Since then the progress of the steel industry there has been phenomenal. In 1860 the output of pig iron in the States was only 0.8 million tons and of steel 1. By 1900 America was producing 13.7 millions of tons of pig iron and 10.1 of steel and in 1913 while the production of pig iron amounted to 10.3 million tons in the United Kingdom it amounted to 31 million tons in the United States. Last but not least we have an eloquent illustration in India itself of the soundness of this policy in the success of the Tata Iron and Steel Works. The works were organised with the best experts carried on under the supervision of the best experts imported from abroad and they have been a conspicuous success. This therefore is the right policy which should be followed in regard to the many other industries the need for which has been pointed out in our chapter on the industrial deficiencies of India. Raw materials and labour abound capital exists and only wants organising the home market is extensive the machinery and the expert can be imported, the profits to the Government and the people

We know that though the Geological Survey of India has been in existence for 64 years, up to 1913 only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service in it. In this connection I put the following question to Dr H H Hayden, Director of the Geological Survey of India —

'Has the department kept it as an object before it that it should train Indians to qualify themselves for employment in the higher grades of the department?'

And his answer was —

'We have been for many years training men in the subordinate ranks of the department, but they do not necessarily qualify for appointments in the higher grade. It is always open to them to apply for an appointment in that grade.

My Hon ble colleague Mr Low then asked Dr Hayden —

'You have these research scholars. Is it not one of the objects of research scholarships that the scholars, if possible, should qualify themselves for recruitment to the department?'

And the answer was —

'That is one of the objects of the efforts we have made in educating them in geology in the Presidency College and the Calcutta University. I think geological education was initiated in Calcutta by the Geological Survey. We have had more Indians in the subordinate branch of the service.

The Indian witnesses before the Royal Commission quoted the opinion of Dr Oldham the first head of the Geological Department concerning the fitness of Indians for this department which showed that he had 'the most unshaken confidence that with even fair opportunities of acquiring such knowledge (that of the physical sciences) many Indians would be found quite competent to take their place side by side with European assistants either on this survey or in many other ways,' and yet the evidence before the Royal Commission showed that competent Indians had found the door of admission barred against them and that up to 1913, only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service.

Then comes the Agricultural Department. The Pandit says —

My colleagues say that the ultimate object should be to man the services they propose with officers trained in this country. Similar language was used in the past in relation to other imperial departments. For instance it appears that in the Agricultural Department the intention of the Government of India from the very commencement was that it should be staffed largely by Indians.

'We adhere firmly,' wrote the Government of India to the Secretary of State in 1910, 'to our frequently declared policy that the service (the Agricultural service) should be manned ultimately by Indians and that the object to be kept steadily in view is to reduce to a minimum the number of experts appointed from England and to train up indigenous talent so as to enable the country to depend on its own resources for the recruitment of its agricultural staff in the higher branches.'

But in spite of this clear declaration, the Imperial Service has become the monopoly of Europeans, while Indians have been confined to the Provincial Service. The evidence of Dr Harold Mann and of the representative members of the Provincial Service before the Royal Commission showed that many highly qualified Indians several of whom possessed European degrees or experience had been unable to find admission into the Imperial Service,

which had been manned by recruits imported from Europe, who, said Dr. Mann, laboured under the serious disadvantage that their experience related to a system of agriculture, "which in its organization is quite foreign to most parts of India and will be for a long time to come."

So also with regard to the Imperial Forest Service.

The Inspector General of Forests stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission that

"when the Forest Department was instituted, and for a long time afterwards, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State expressed the opinion that it was a special department in which the service of Indians should be utilised as largely as possible."

Yet from 1891 to 1906 no steps were taken to provide for direct recruitment to the Provincial service, and it was laid down in 1912 that candidates for the Imperial Forest Service "must have obtained a degree with honours in some branch of natural science in a University of England, Wales or Ireland, or the B Sc degree in pure science in one of the Universities of Scotland." At the time the Royal Commission took evidence, the total number of officers in the superior service in the Agricultural, Civil Veterinary, Forest, Geological Survey, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments was 407. Of these only six officers were statutory natives of India!

Pandit Malaviya winds up with some general observations.

The Royal Commission recognised the injustice that has been done to Indians in their practical exclusion from the scientific and technical services. They expressed the opinion that there were no political grounds whatsoever for recruiting the superior staff of such services in Europe. They stated that if the requisite technical training were available in India, the necessity for indenting on Europe for qualified men would cease to exist, and they therefore recommended that 'a determined and immediate effort' should be made to bring about conditions which would soon make it possible to meet the normal requirements of the services without requisitioning the services of men from abroad. That effort remains yet to be made, and while my colleagues have proposed the creation of two more Imperial services they have recommended that the establishment of the Central Chemical Research Institute and of the Imperial Engineering College may wait for an indefinite future. [That is quite characteristic!—Ed., M R.] These facts, coupled with the experience of the past, make me apprehend that, if these two services are created on the lines suggested by my colleagues, the senior appointments in them also will for a long time remain practically the monopoly of Europeans, and that Indians will not only be kept out of their emoluments but also of the opportunities for acquiring high efficiency in the subjects with which the services will be concerned. The Royal Commission recommended that with a view to bring about the conditions which would soon make it possible to meet the normal requirements of the services without requisitioning the services of men from outside existing institutions should be developed or new ones created and brought up to the level of the best European institutions of a similar character. They recognised 'that this would re-

quire an initial expenditure of a considerable sum of money," but they urged that "the outlay would be more than repaid, not only by the additional facilities which such institutions would give to young men to qualify themselves for direct appointment to the higher branches of the public services, but by the contribution they would make to the industrial progress of the country." These recommendations lend strong support to my proposal that a first-class Polytechnic Institute should be established in India as one of the first measures needed for the industrial development of the country. At such an institute provision should be made for imparting the highest instruction and training in all the important branches of science and technology, and also in commerce and administration. This will be the best means of creating the army of trained workers which is needed for promoting industrial development in this extensive empire. The institution of the proposed services should wait until this has been done. And in the meantime only such appointments should be made in the Departments of Industries as it is absolutely necessary to fill.

Exactly. And we would add that if the persons who are selected to fill these absolutely necessary appointments be foreigners, they should be brought out under contracts for 3 or 5 years, renewable, if necessary, for a further similar period or periods. They may be brought out from America, the United Kingdom, or the Dominions.

Mining, Metallurgy, Mineral and Metal Works.

It was of the utmost importance for the Industrial Commission to make recommendations to ensure that India be not despoiled of her mineral wealth by foreign capitalists, but the commission has made no such recommendations. And even the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has omitted to make any. And yet if India is not to be permanently impoverished, it is absolutely necessary that her mineral resources should be exploited only by Indians, or by the Government of India when under Indian control. If for any reason Indians be not now in a position to exploit the mineral resources of the country, or if there be no immediate prospect of the Government of India being subject to Indian control, it is necessary that our mines should remain unworked to the extent and for the period of time that may be necessary; for most animal and vegetable resources may be renewed by human endeavour, but not mineral resources when once exhausted. This will be characterised by Anglo-Indians and foreign capitalists as extremism run mad. But it is nothing but justice pure and

simple. And we proceed to show how and why. Before we do so we acknowledge with gratitude our indebtedness to the paper on mining, metallurgy, mineral and metal works, which the late Hon. Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi, B.A., submitted to the Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares in December, 1905.

In all industries concerned with minerals,

the supply of the raw material is a natural supply existing independently of human intervention. Further, it is a supply incapable of augmentation or replenishment by human effort. It is a limited treasure, hidden under ground, and is in the nature of God's gift to the country where it lies, and belongs of right to the people of that country and to no one else. No doubt, in India, technically and in law, the States own the minerals as it owns the forests, except in permanently settled tracts, but such ownership can never be absolute. It is a trust held on behalf of the people and to be administered for their benefit. And in this view of the matter, it would appear that the mines should be in the hands of the people whose property they are, and to be worked by them, and ought on no account to be suffered to them, and ought to be administered for their benefit. And when—and pass into the hands of outsiders. And when—and as long as—the people are not for any reason in a position to take them over, they should be held by the Crown in trust and worked as crown mines for them. In some of the Native States the most valuable of the mines were held as the Raja's property and managed as such."

After saying what ought to be done with mines Mr. Joshi described the actual state of things.

Most of these mines are leased to foreign companies. They hold and work them, we the people of the country get only a small royalty for the state and wages for the labour employed. We have absolutely no further share in their working or management. The business experience and the invaluable training all go to the foreign Syndicates. Besides, as the mines are worked, and to the extent they are worked, they are exhausted, and such exhaustion is a permanent loss to the country which can never be recouped. An exhausted coal mine or a worked out petroleum field is an irreparable loss. Take again the ruby mines in Burma—the supply of gems is not an inexhaustible supply, and when it comes to an end, part of the nation's hidden treasure is gone, and absolutely, never to be replenished; is gone, and absolutely, never to be replenished; foreign enterprise is the only gainer. Nor, again, does the existing system bring us any moral advantage. The business is all administered by outsiders in all its main departments. We are not associated with any, and the exclusive arrangement which shuts us out from all participation in the higher advances of business discipline falls naturally to promote among us a spirit of enterprise. 328 prospecting licences were issued during the years 1888—1903, 129 in Burma, 82 in the Madras Presidency, 64 in the Central Provinces, and the rest elsewhere. Of these, 64 were for search for gold, 43 for petroleum, 36 for manganese ore, 26 for graphite and plumbago, &c. But excepting Mr. Tata's in the Central Provinces, we doubt if half a dozen of these 328 prospecting licences are held by Indians. They are for the

most part in the hands of the foreign exploiters. Such is the cramping paralysing effect of the existing system of exclusive foreign exploitation on indigenous enterprise in this matter of mining.

Figures like the above should be compiled and published every year by the Industrial Conference office and sent to all indigenous newspapers.

Economically speaking nothing can be less satisfactory than the way in which our mineral resources are exploited. Mr Joshi observes —

* In the case of this mining industry the development of the country's resources has a meaning and a reality when the minerals mined end go to the people and are added to their standing working reserve of wealth and when further such development has the effect of encouraging and stimulating their enterprise in the process. But when neither is the case it is no economic development proper but one of the worst forms of exploitation conceivable. And under such circumstances every ounce of gold every ton of coal every gallon of mineral oil every gem mined out which leaves the country—is a dead loss and without an equivalent.

This is not the view of Mr Joshi or of his patriotic countrymen alone. In commenting upon Lord Curzon's important speech at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce dinner (February 18, 1903), the *Statesman and Friend of India* expressed similar views with great clearness, thus —

* In the case of the mining industry, for instance, (i.e., the development of the country's resources by English capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired laborer's share of the wealth extracted, but that the exploitation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame rests largely with them we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist of wealth which can never, as in the case of agriculture, be reproduced. It is, in short, no mere foolish delusion but an unquestionable economic truth that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, implies permanent loss.

Returning to the subject a few days later, the *Statesman* wrote (March 5, 1903).

"As we said in a previous article the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capital at stands on a different footing; for in this case, the wealth extracted is not reproduced, and on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people of the country for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit. Even in this case, however, it must not be supposed that the people of the country reap no benefit whatever from the exploitation,

They lose a valuable asset, in the shape of potential profit on capital it is true, but they receive a greater or smaller quota of the value of the mineral wealth extracted, in other forms such as wages and royalties. In some cases, no doubt, wages and royalties combined are small compared with the profits of the capitalist, but these are the exception rather than the rule."

Where is the proof that these are the exception rather than the rule? Besides when the people of the country are naturally entitled to both wages and royalties, and the profits of the capitalist, it is no consolation to be assured that they receive only wages and royalties. Royalties, moreover, are received by the Government of the country, which is not at all identical with the people of the country. However, we should be thankful for the admissions the *Statesman* has made, and not expect it to identify itself thoroughly with the popular view of the question.

We have now understood and described the magnitude of the evil. Is there no remedy? There is.

In both Japan and China under the new awakened this undesirable side of foreign industrial exploitation in this matter of mining industry is well borne in mind, and the laws provide statutory safeguards and limitations in favour of the national interest. In Japan, prior to 1900, Japanese subjects only were allowed to undertake mining industry or become the partners or shareholders of a mining company, but according to the amendment introduced in the same year, any Japanese subject or any company organised in accordance with the Japanese commercial code may undertake mining industry in Japan so that foreigners may now take part in the mining industry in Japan as partners or shareholders of a mining company" (Financial and Economical Annual of Japan, No III, issued by the Department of Finance, Tokio, 1903, p. 48).

It may be presumed that the Japanese Government introduced the amendment only when the people of Japan had made so much progress in exploiting and in the ability to exploit the mineral resources of their country that there was no longer any danger of foreign enterprise in the field swamping indigenous enterprise. And the amendment empowers foreigners only to become partners or shareholders, not to become proprietors or holders of all the shares of a mining company.

Similarly in China, 'The control of mining operations is now in the hands of the Board of Commerce which has made new regulations respecting the constitution of mining and other companies. Of the capital of any Chinese company not more than 50 per cent may be foreign and every foreign company must reserve at least 30 per cent of its share capital to be taken up by Chinese' *Statesman's Year Book*, 1905, p. 529).

The laws of our country also ought to provide statutory safeguards and limitations in favour of the national interest, similar to those existing in Japan and China. The reasonableness of such statutory restrictions is beyond dispute.

But here alike in the British Provinces and in the Native States this higher economic point of view is more or less put aside, and our mines are freely made over on lease to foreign Syndicates for exploitation. Our very rights of property in them are denied, and they are treated as though they were the mines in No-Man's Land. All the same, however, it is permissible to hold the view that it would have been better for us and the country if instead of calling in the aid of foreign Syndicates in the matter, the State in India had thought fit to own and work these mines itself as it owns and works [some of] the Railways and the Warora coal mines. Similarly, referring to the agreement recently arrived at with the concurrence of the Government of India between the Mysore Durbar and the Kolar Gold Mining Companies for an extension of their existing leases when they severally terminate for 30 years on condition of the payment of the royalty as at present, viz. 5 per cent on the gross output and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on dividends as and when declared, it would seem that the Durbar would have done better if it had decided to take over these mines itself on the determination of the existing concessions and made them over for working to some Mysorean Syndicate, or failing such Syndicate retained them under its own administration, and run them as State concerns. In this connection it is worth noting that while the Mysore Durbar takes the only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as its share of the dividends to the Government of India in their concessions to the Ruby Mines Company in Burma claim 30 per cent of the profits of the concern as the State share. So, again it is not easy to understand the considerations which have led the Government of the Nizam to grant large mining concessions in the Hyderabad territories to a foreign Syndicate in preference to Messrs. Tata and Company.

Whatever may be the case in the British-governed parts of our country, and what ever may have been the case in the past in the parts under indigenous governments, at present and in future the rulers of the latter ought to be able to see what is to their interest and the interest of their subjects, and to do all that is necessary to safeguard their interests. For doing so effectively, they ought to be able to resist all outside pressure.

We are in hearty agreement with Mr. Joshi when he says

The main point of the argument is that this mining industry preeminently represents a field of effort which belongs to us and to no one else, and that we ourselves should work and develop our mines as best we can with our own exertions, as far as possible, and with such aid from the State in case of need as we may legitimately claim. In this as in other branches of industrial work it is well to bear

in mind that there is no instance in history of one nation undertaking and carrying out with success the development of the industrial resources of another by such methods of direct exploitation. In the case of the colonies and settlements the work there has been in supersession and exclusion of the wild aboriginal populations. And all things considered, it is clear that self-help is for us the only safe rule of action. The field is vast and varied—only touched on the fringe.

Surely it is unreasonable to expect the outsiders to work it for us nor—judging from close on a century's experience—does it seem likely that English enterprise would render to us the measure of assistance we need for the purpose and even supposing that it would, it is open to grave doubt whether we should avail ourselves of such assistance and entrust to other hands the work which it is our national duty as it is our national interest that we should do for ourselves. The hard economic situation in India imperatively demands of us such an effort and requires that we should put our hands to the plough and till the field which is ours by right of birth. And it would be little short of a dereliction of duty on our part if we should blindly persist in our present strange unconcern and aloofness and passively look on while it was being exploited by foreign agencies.

Lord Ronaldshay on the Industrial Incapacity of Indians.

In the course of the interesting lecture which Lord Ronaldshay delivered in the Indian Museum on the effect of the war in developing industries in Bengal, he said—

The power factory is an exotic on Indian soil. The people themselves have taken little interest in its development. The organisation of industries on modern lines—industries that is to say which require a huge array of machinery driven by mechanical power, steam, hydraulic or electric, and necessitate the aggregation of vast numbers of human beings to perform for a fixed wage so much of the operation as cannot be performed by the machinery itself—is some thing which is altogether alien to their genius.

The speaker has been rather hasty in his conclusion. In Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, and elsewhere, there are very big power factories owned and managed by Indians, showing that the exotic has taken root in the soil, and that the organisation of industries on modern lines is not alien to the genius of the people of India. What does his lordship think of Messrs. Tata's Works at Sakchi?

But probably he was thinking more specially of Bengal. It must be admitted that our province has been very backward in industries. But even here there are power factories owned and managed by our countrymen, and successful ones too, though they are not big concerns. However, to prove that a thing is alien to the genius of a people, it is necessary to show the entire absence of the thing in their midst. If the thing exists on a small scale,

it can be made big. If a factory employs hundreds of workmen, it is not extremely difficult or impossible for it so to develop as to employ thousands.

And it was not so very long ago that industries on their present scale and organised according to modern methods did not exist in England. That did not prove that they were alien to the genius of the British people, nor did it prevent them from growing and taking root on British soil.

Mr C. F. Andrews and the Fiji Legislative Council

The Honourable Mr Marks brought forward before the Fiji Legislative Council the following Resolution —

That this Council regrets and disapproves with the reports concerning the condition of Indians being circulated in Australia by the Rev C. F. Andrews which reports in a Council considers highly coloured and misleading and in part untrue.

The proposer referred to the 'wild statements' made by Mr C. F. Andrews and said that many of them which had been published in the Australian papers were 'scurrilous, grossly exaggerated, misleading and mainly untrue.' Mr Marks ended his speech as follows —

I have no doubt that Your Excellency has conveyed to the proper quarter the wicked and uncalled for statements that have been made by Mr C. F. Andrews, but I feel that it is necessary that we in this Council should disapprove entirely with these statements.

Mr Horricks, a Planter, seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

It is the old trick. 'No case. Abuse the plaintiff's attorney.' Mr Andrews is very careful in making enquiries and ascertaining facts. In stating the facts about the Fiji plantations, he has always displayed extreme anxiety to give the employers of the coolies as much praise as it is possible to give them without being guilty of untruthfulness. He has been very moderate in all his statements, and given his authority for them whenever it was possible to give them. Under the circumstances, we cannot but dismiss the Fiji Council resolution as unworthy of serious consideration.

Greater India

By contributing to *The Commonwealth* a series of very interesting articles on Greater India Professor Radhakumud Mookerjee of the Mysore University has

drawn attention to a rich mine for historians of Asiatic culture and civilisation to work. As our knowledge of the origins of Japanese, Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian, Annamite, Philippine and Javan civilisation, and of, in fact, the civilisation of the whole of Central and Eastern Asia and the Indian archipelago grows, the belief grows in strength that India has been to Asia what Greece has been to Europe. The proofs of Hindu influence in the various countries and islands of Asia have not all been unearthed yet. And what has been unearthed lies scattered in the pages of various English, French, German, American, Dutch, Italian, Russian and other antiquarian journals. It is not possible for the general reader to consult these sources of information. And probably the indologist does not exist who knows so many languages. If, therefore, several indologists collaborated to produce an accurate, authoritative, and popular work, acceptable to the general reader, on the place of India in Asiatic culture and civilisation, it would be a great service rendered to the cause of history. It would also promote the cause of international amity by placing before the world additional proofs of India's claim to respect. In the meantime, Professor Mookerjee would do well to prepare a handbook based on the materials which he has himself already collected.

The Calcutta Riots and the Muslim League

We learn from the *Musalman* that at a general meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League held on the 14th September a resolution was adopted, asking the Council of the League to prepare a statement in regard to the recent Calcutta riots. After that the All India Muslim League called for a statement from the Bengal League. Accordingly, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League prepared a statement and sent a copy of the same to the All India Muslim League. The latter body held a special meeting of its Council on the 4th November to consider the statement and passed a resolution urging the Government of India to appoint a Commission of Enquiry and for that Government a copy of prepared by the Bengal M. Such a commission should be appointed, though

appointed one yet. In the meantime, quite rightly, a non official commission composed of some leading European and Indian citizens, Christian, Musalman, Hindu and Jain, has been taking evidence to submit a report to the public

In connection with the riots, the Musalman asks the following apposite questions —

- 1 What was the immediate cause of the disturbances on the 9th September?
- 2 Who first ordered the firing on the crowd?
- 3 At which places—streets, roads—the police and the military had orders to fire? If not?
- 4 Was there any general order to fire? If not who ordered the firing in each case?
- 5 How many persons were shot by the Police and how many by the military?
- 6 Did the police and the military take charge of all persons wounded or killed by them? If not why not?
- 7 Was there any proper arrangement to remove all persons wounded by the police and the military to any hospital and also to remove all persons killed by them to the morgue? If so, what were the arrangements? If not, why not?
- 8 Is the Government aware that no less than 8 or 9 persons were wounded inside the Nakhoda Mosque and marks of firing are visible on the walls and panes and even on the iron gate of the Mosque? Is the Government aware that there was absolutely no justification for firing into the Mosque? Are those responsible for the sacrilege going to be punished?
- 9 Has the Government taken any vigorous steps to ascertain the number of the wounded and the dead? If not will such steps be yet taken?
- 10 Who ordered the firing at Garden Reach? Was it by a First Class Magistrate?
- 11 Were machine guns used during the disturbances? If so were not rifles considered sufficient to deal with the situation?
- 12 If machine guns were used, how many were killed and wounded with machine guns and how many with rifles?

Women in Parliament

In the House of Lords the Bill enabling women to sit in Parliament has been finally passed. But in order to show that the lords have not entirely lost their conservative instincts they rejected by 33 votes to 14 Lord Haldane's amendment permitting peeresses to sit in the House of Lords in their own right

Indian Women's Rights

A resolution has been carried in the Bombay council in favour of making women eligible to become members of the Bombay municipal corporation

At the last meeting of the executive committee of the Ladies' Home Rule League, Ahmedabad, the following resolutions, proposed by Behen Ansuyabai Sarabhai, were adopted —The executive com

mittee of the Ladies' Home Rule League, Ahmedabad, resolves that a deputation should be sent to England to secure for the women of India the same rights with the men of India in the coming reforms, and that the committee should immediately put itself in correspondence with Mrs Besant and Mrs Naidu on the subject.

(2) That the Bombay Government should be requested to undertake legislation to amend the Bombay and District Municipal Acts, as also the Bombay Local Boards Act so as to remove the disqualifications imposed on women of the presidency by these enactments

Crop Reports

Crop reports from the different provinces of India make the outlook appear very gloomy indeed

Reports for the week ending November 23rd about the prospects of the crops show that the agricultural conditions throughout India continue to be gloomy. The week was dry and rainless with the exception of light rainfall in Burma where ripening showers were needed in several districts. Cattle disease was reported from three districts in the United Provinces. No rain fell during the week and the autumn crops had been generally damaged by drought. Fodder was dear and getting scarce in many districts. Water and market supplies were deficient with prices having a tendency to rise. The weather was dry in the Punjab. Rain was badly needed everywhere. The standing autumn crops generally were average on irrigated and poor on unirrigated areas.

Rain was much needed in the Frontier Province and the prospects of the standing crops were below average in unirrigated areas in Peshawar, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

Reports from Rajputana state that the week was rainless. The harvesting of crops in irrigated areas was proceeding in certain places, but the crops in unirrigated areas were withering. The prospects were poor. The sowing of spring crops is restricted. Cattle disease prevails in certain places.

The only province where beneficial rain fell is Bombay, but there the autumn crops were withering in many places. The fodder supply was generally deficient, but pasture had been improved. A Famine

Controller has been appointed and fodder is being supplied to all affected districts

In most districts of Bengal, the rice crop has been damaged or is withering for want of rain. In several districts, rice, pulse and other articles are selling at much higher prices than at famine times. Throughout the Madras Presidency the people are suffering from worse than famine prices. *The Fort St George Gazette* states that the average price of rice in the city of Madras for the week ending 9th of November was 39 seers per rupee. The Government of India has appointed a Food controller not a day too soon.

The Times of London has suggested that Asia should be forced to wear old clothes in order that Europe may not starve. But India, a part of Asia, has already been starving and millions have not got even old clothes to wear.

Mr Tilak free to Speak and Write

A cable from Mr Baptista says the restrictions laid by the Government upon Mr Tilak in respect of public speaking and political work are cancelled by the Home Government.

Good news

Wisdom from the Premier's Lips

In course of the speech which he delivered at a meeting of 200 leading coalitionists the Premier said that 'there was value in the prevailing revolutionary spirit if it was wisely directed. It must be combated by national unity, co-operation and sacrifice. He feared neither revolution, nor Bolshevism, but reaction and dissension. Mere party considerations were unseemly.' Let both our people and Government learn wisdom from these words.

Ideals of America and Britain

The British Prime Minister has telegraphed to President Wilson—"Heartiest thanks for your cordial and kindly message. I am certain that the ideals of our two countries regarding international reconstruction are fundamentally the same, and I feel sure that at the peace conference we shall be able to co-operate to promote peace, liberty and true democracy all the world over." यहन परिचय है।

British Statesmen's Messages

The message from the Prime Minister which Sir S. P. Sinha brought to the

princes and people of this country contains the following promise, besides a proper recognition and the part which she has played in the war.

She may rest assured that the declaration of August 20th will be carried into practical effect. The scheme of Reform prepared by the Secretary of State and yourself is under consideration. As soon as conditions make it possible we shall submit our proposals to Parliament.

Mr Lloyd George's and Mr. Bonar Law's joint manifesto contains the following reference to this country.

The people of this country are not unmindful of the copious services rendered by the princes and people of India to the common cause of civilisation during the war. The Cabinet has already defined in unambiguous language the goal of British policy in India to be the development of responsible government by gradual stages. To the general terms of that declaration we adhere and propose to give effect.

Indians in British East Africa

Mr Abdur Rasul Allidina Visram, President of the British East Africa Indian Association at Mombasa, has sent the following telegram to the British Committee of the Congress.

British East Africa Government are proposing to sell 21 residential plots at Mombasa by auction on the 22nd proximo. One of the conditions of sale is that Indians are ineligible to acquire same. Another condition of sale is that no Indian can live on the said plots except in the capacity of a servant. Great indignation has been aroused among the entire Indian community at these attempts to deprive them of the elementary rights of citizenship and to give undue artificial advantages to one section of His Majesty's subjects. We have cabled to the Secretary of State through the Governor requesting him to instruct the Local Government to act squarely and delete the said objectionable conditions in the proposed sale. Kindly approach the authorities there and inform them that the community is seething with discontent. A mass meeting has protested and serious agitation is bound to follow. They believe this is but the forerunner of several attempts to impose racial disability, and unless it is nipped in the bud this policy can only end in whole streets, towns and even the very use of the elements being reserved for Europeans. Recently certain houses here belonging to enemy aliens were auctioned by the official liquidator. There also Indians were forbidden to bid for any central building despite the fact that Indians already hold the adjacent properties. There is here an increasing tendency to divide humanity into Europeans and non Europeans (instead of into British and non British) in the interests of the Empire. There are no indentured coolies here as in South Africa, but only Indians of the middle classes including educated Indians. They are mostly merchants, lawyers, doctors, subordinate officials, clerks, etc., who are conscious of their rights of British citizenship and mean retaining them. Our connection with East Africa dates back to a time when neither India nor this country was British yet they seek to deprive

rights and privileges granted even to foreigners. We hope that better counsels will prevail and that we shall be saved the necessity of unpleasant agitation.

One would fain not take the state of things in *British East Africa* as a sample of the "peace, liberty and true democracy" which Britain and America fought in company to promote all the world over.

Wanted freedom to "nationalise" oneself.

Separate representation and communal electorates have been claimed by and for some sections of the people on the ground that otherwise they would not be properly represented. But there may be, as we know there are, men among these sections who think that they can safely trust any properly qualified and rightly elected member of any community to protect the interests of all communities. If such men wish to belong to the general electorate instead of a communal electorate, surely they ought to have the liberty to thus "nationalize" themselves. The to thus "nationalize" themselves. The Moderates' Conference, held recently in Bombay, has been the first public body to make a good suggestion to this effect. It has enunciated the principle that although a community may have a special electorate of its own, it should be open to any individual belonging to it to enrol himself in the general electorate if he chooses to do so. Should the Government accept this very sound and truly democratic principle, as it ought to, it would provide a means of communal electorates being gradually got rid of. For, if in a course of gradual "nationalisation" of a community it were at any time found that a large majority of its members had transferred themselves to the general electorate, Government might safely do away with the particular communal electorate. Communal electorates are temporary expedients; but once they are sanctioned, it is very difficult to get out of them. A suggestion which offers a means of escape, as the present one does, ought surely to be accepted.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar on Revolutionary Crime.

In the course of a speech made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the seceders' gathering in Bombay, he is reported to have said, "If the Rowlatt report were going to be used against the Reforms, he

would say that he had come to the conclusion that revolutionary crime in India, especially in Bengal, was prevalent because repressive laws had come first and reforms afterwards." He added that "His conviction had deepened that the only effective way to prevent revolutionary crime was the experiment of a liberal measure of administration of the Montagu scheme."

All this is good; but the pity is that these observations of his would not have as great a circulation among the British and Anglo-Indian opponents of the Reforms, as the fact that he and Mr. Justice Beachcroft have jointly praised and supported the Rowlatt report. These opponents of reform have also drawn corollaries, hostile to our interests, from this praise and support.

Amnesty for Political Prisoners.

As the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are meant to start the nation on a new path, their inauguration should in fact be a greater occasion for rejoicing than the accession of a new king;—"greater", because whilst a new king's reign may be good or bad, the authors of these reforms expect that they would mean a new political birth for the country, marking the dawn of a new era. As a coronation sees many prisoners free, so should the inauguration of the reforms see the liberation of all prisoners who were deprived of their liberty for crimes of a purely political character. By political prisoners we mean detenus, state prisoners, and prisoners incarcerated or transported for political offences after regular trial. And we mention political prisoners specially, because in all probability they would not have been in jail, if say, a decade ago, the country had enjoyed the freedom which the reforms are meant to bestow on it, and also because they would not in all probability, under the future changed condition of the country, do anything which would again bring them within the clutches of the law. For revolutionaries and other political prisoners do not break the law for the fun of the thing. They do certain things, however foolishly or wrongly, only to obtain freedom for the country. If freedom be achieved already, or can be obtained by the means laid down in the Re-